

Commendatio
lamentabilis in transitu
magnis regis Edwardi.
Gesta Edwardi de
Carnarvan auctore
canonico
Bridlingtoniensi. [...]

Commendatio lamentabilis in transitu magnis regis Edwardi. Gesta Edwardi de Carnarvan auctore canonico Bridlingtoniensi. Monachi cujusdam Malesberiensis vita Edwardi II..
Vita et mors Edwardi II. conscripta a Thoma de La Moore ([Reprod.]) ed. from manuscripts by William Stubbs,.... 1883.

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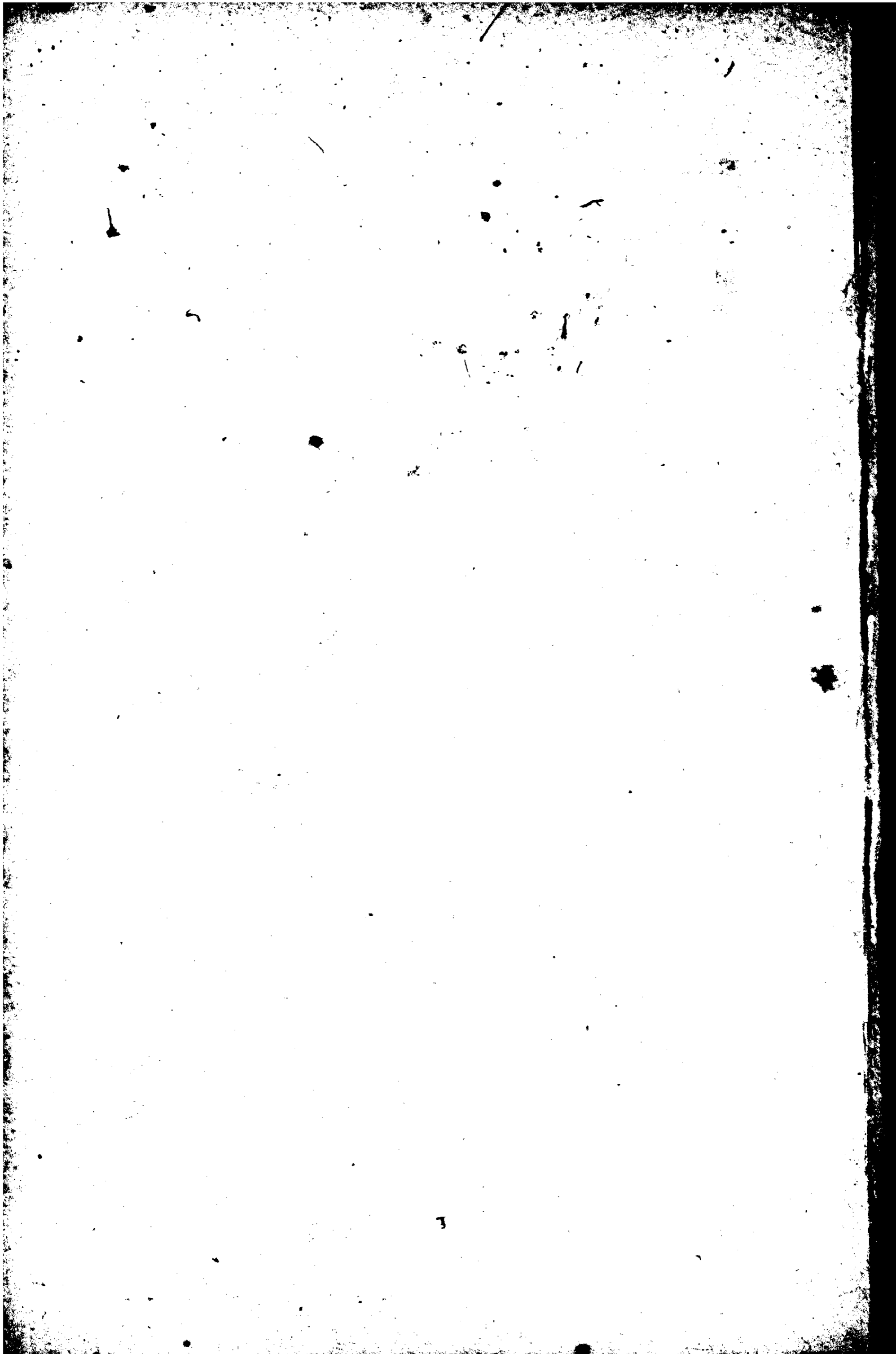
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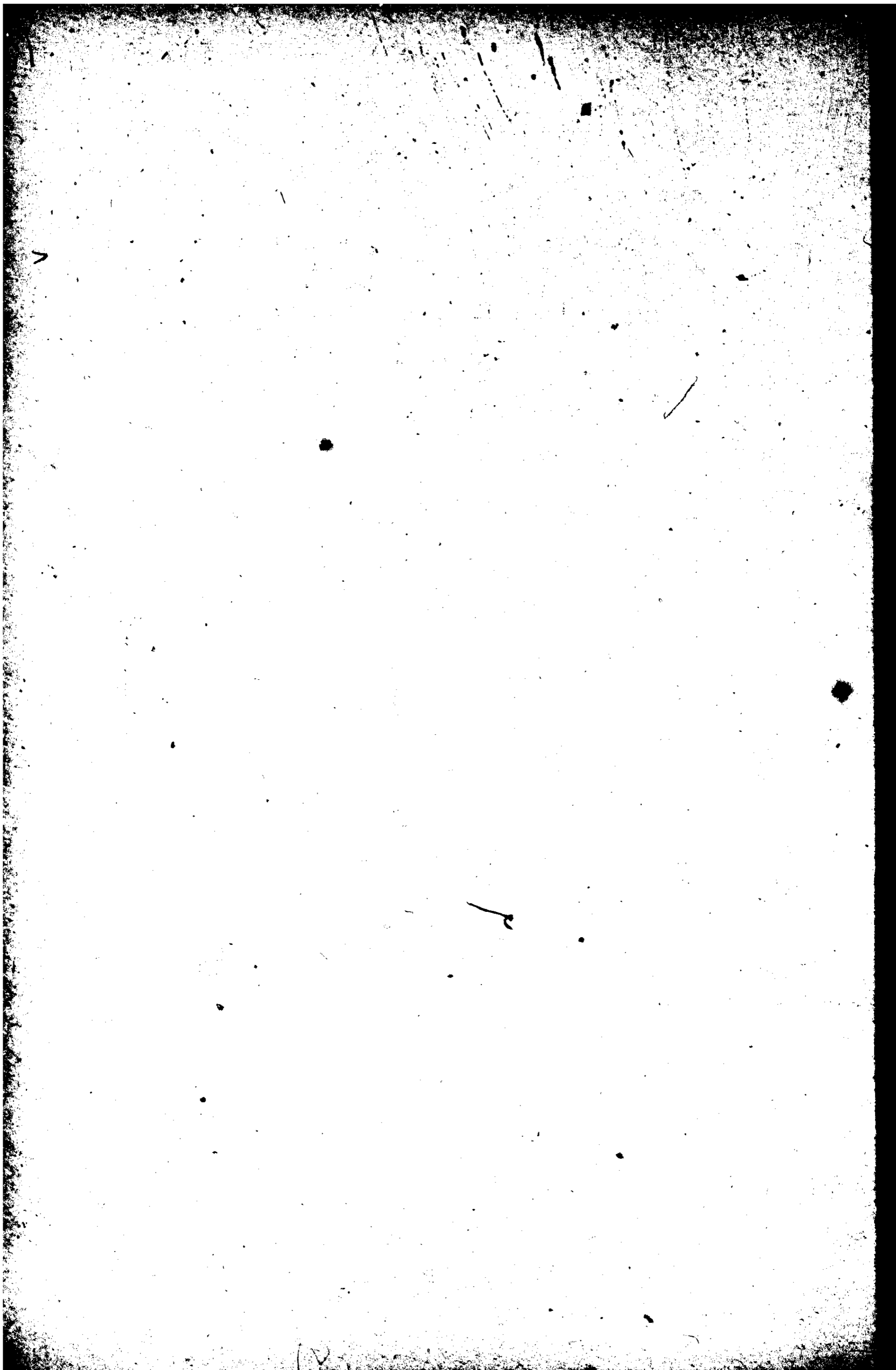
CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND IRELAND

DURING

• THE MIDDLE AGES.

[76.]

B 1681. Wt. 582.



THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

**PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER
THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.**

On the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an *Editio Princeps*; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.

The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each Chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

Rolls House,
December 1857.

J. Oct. 3506

CHRONICLES OF THE REIGNS
OF
EDWARD I. AND EDWARD II.,
VOL. II.

- I.—COMMENDATIO LAMENTABILIS IN TRANSITU MAGNI REGIS
EDWARDI.
II.—GESTA EDWARDI DE CARNARVAN AUCTORE CANONICO
BRIDLINGTONIENSI.
III.—MONACHI CUJUSDAM MALMESBERIENSIS VITA EDWARDI II.
IV.—VITA ET MORS EDWARDI II. CONSCRIPTA A THOMA
DE LA MOORE.



EDITED FROM MANUSCRIPTS

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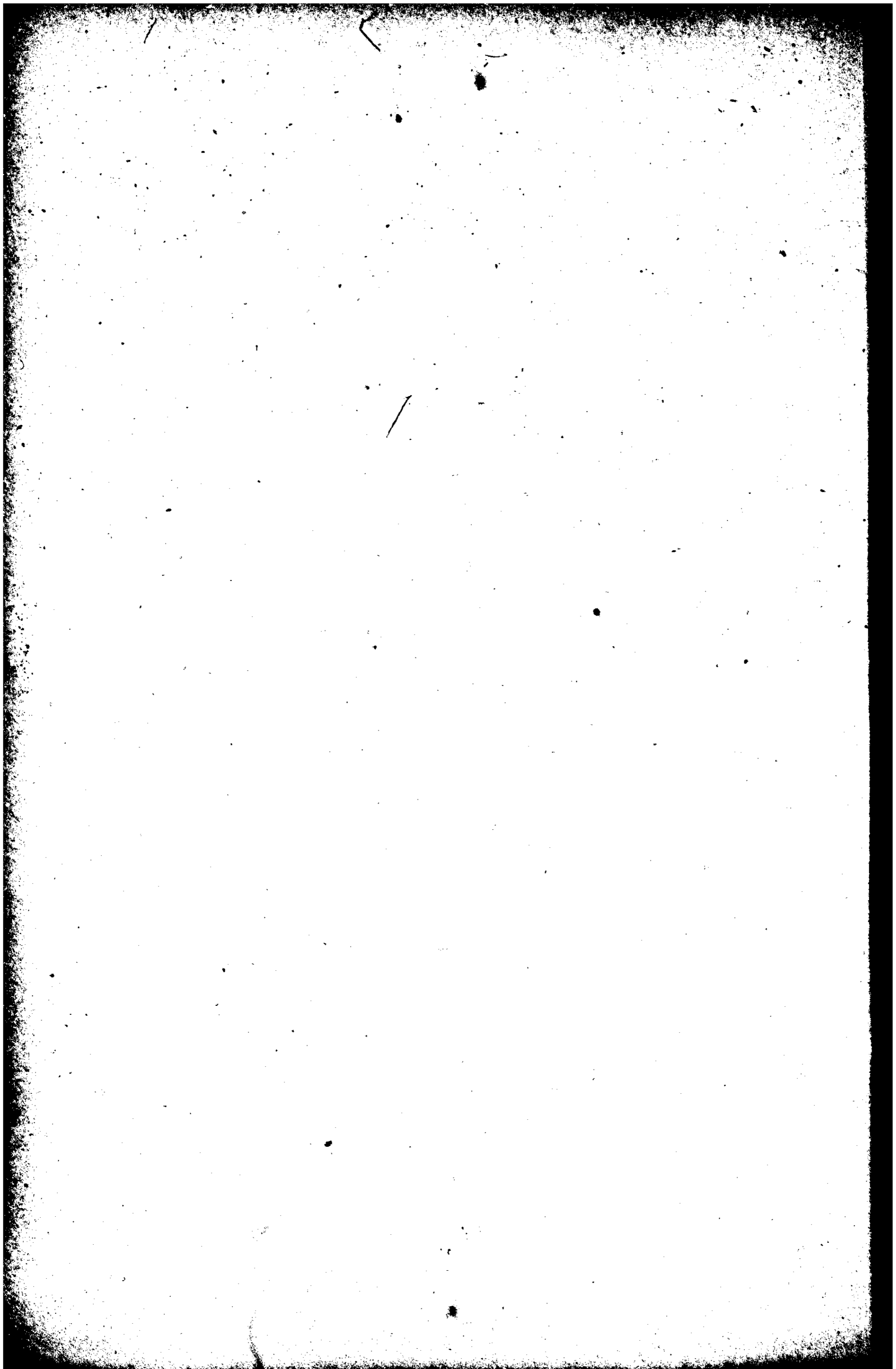
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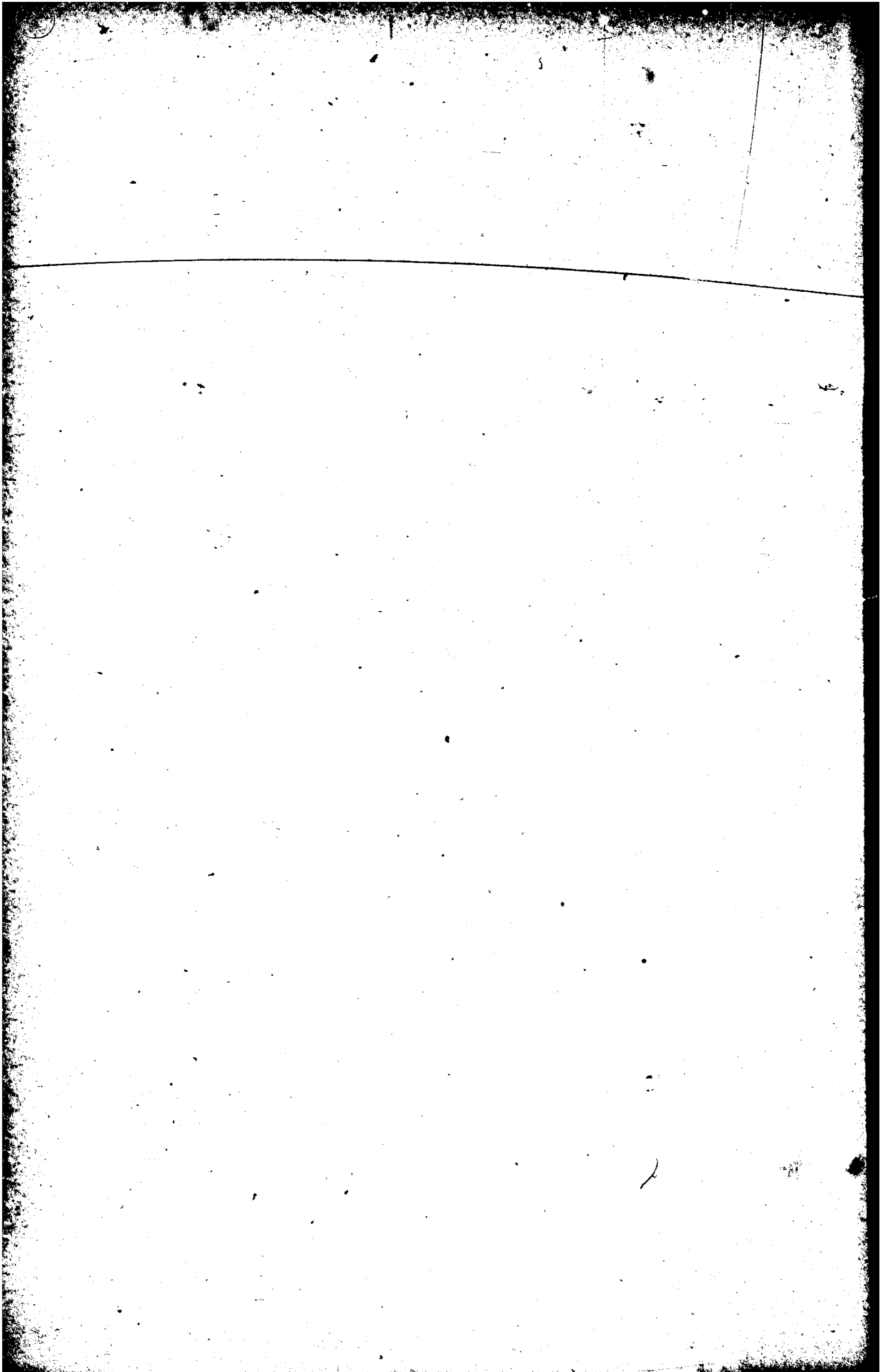
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INTRODUCTION.



INTRODUCTION.

THE present volume contains four works, of various interest and importance. On each of them certain literary questions arise, which could scarcely be answered without more elaborate investigation than is now possible. In the following account of the manuscripts used, and of the history of each work so far as it is accessible, I shall dispatch very briefly those points on which no matter of importance is found to turn, or which are of interest only in relation to other works in connexion with which, when the time comes, they may receive further examination. I shall, in treating of those points by which further research may be usefully stimulated, go into somewhat more lengthy detail. Questions, however, which arise in reference to the authorship of the "Flores Historiarum," with which the materials now before us, as was the case also in the first volume of this collection, may bring us in contact, I shall abstain from discussing, and leave to the editor of the future.

Contents of
the volume.

The first article in this volume is the "Commendatio lamentabilia," a sort of mortuary Eloge or funeral sermon on the death of Edward I.; which seems, from the number of manuscripts in which it occurs, to have enjoyed a certain amount of popularity in the early years of the reign of his son. This work is, I believe, now printed for the first time; but it is by no means an unknown piece, having been cited by Sharon Turner

I. "Commendatio
lamentabilia."

in his History of England,¹ and also by Dr. Pauli in his Geschichte von England,² and having been noticed by other earlier historians and bibliographers without any minute description.

MSS. of the
Commenda-
tio.

The text, as it now appears, is derived from five good manuscripts, all of them nearly coinciding in date with the original composition. It probably occurs, however, in several later compilations, one at least of which has come under my knowledge, but, so far as I can ascertain, with no really important variations. I cannot feel at all sure that any of the five manuscripts used can be regarded as original, although all are early copies; nor does any of them reproduce the original so closely as not to admit occasionally a very distinct emendation from one or more of the others. The following account of these manuscripts must not therefore be regarded as arranged according to their comparative value, as to which very little difference exists.

MS. Cotton
Nero D. 2

(1.) In the Cotton MS., Nero D. 2,³ the great and most important collection of annals known as the *Annales Roffenses*, the *Commendatio lamentabilis* is inserted at the end of the year 1306. The preceding portion of these annals is a copy of the *Flores Historiarum* for the several years, the particular events which concerned the history of Rochester being inserted in their proper places. Henry Wharton, in the first volume of the *Anglia Sacra*, printed from this manuscript the Rochester entries only, omitting the matter derived from the *Flores*. The derived matter ends in this, as in other kindred compilations, with the word *postulati*, line 53 of page 457 of the Frankfurt edition of Matthew of Westminster; then, in the original hand and apparently as a part of the original design, occurs, finely rubricated,

¹ Edition of 1853; vol. i. pp. 538, 539.

² Vol. iv. pp. 179, 180.

³ See Sir T. D. Hardy, Catalogue, &c., iii. 289.

the title *Commendatio lamentabilis in transitu magni regis Edwardi quarti secundum Johannem*. To this is added in a small hand of at least a century later "de Londonia," and then in a modern hand "secundum MSS. in Officio Heraldorum." The text following has been carefully collated and the variations noted in the following pages. Between the word *postulati* and the beginning of the *Commendatio* occur, in the form of a note crowded in at the foot of the page, some short particulars of the history of the year 1307. The following account is given of the death of Edward:—

"Anno sub eodem, heu proth dolor! mense Julii
"vii^o die mensis, vi^a feria, hora ix^a, in festo Trans-
"lationis sancti Thomae martiris, Christianissimus rex
"Angliae Edwardus, cum vixisset annis lxxviii., diebus
"xx. et uno, anno regni sui xxxv^o sed non pleno,
"felici morte resolutus, migravit ad Christum. Se-
"pultus est apud Westmonasterium more regio decen-
"tissime juxta sanctum Edwardum ad patris sui
"caput, xxvii^o die mensis Octobris. De rege sic in
"Scotia defuncto die et hora praedictis, per visionem
"Roberto de Wynchelse archiepiscopo, Burdegala tunc
"moranti, miraculose ostensum fuit, qui suis praecepit
"ut pro rege Angliae Edwardo orarent, et ipsemet
"pro eodem missam celebrare vellet, quod quoque
"factum est."

The *Commendatio* fills folios 199-203 of the MS. and is followed by a continuation to the year 1377, taken, according to a note of archbishop Parker's, from the *Polychronicon*, and annotated in the margin in a hand which Sir Frederick Madden ascribes to Polydore Vergil, whose description of the king's personal appearance is obviously drawn from the *Commendatio*.¹

¹ "Statura fuit eminenti, colore
"subnigro, corpore valido ac mi-
"nime pingui, id quod continua
"exercitatione vitavit; facie ve-

"nusta, oculis subnigris, qui, dum
"ira inflammabatur, subito sub-
"rubri efficiebantur, ac inde ignem
"emittere videbantur, capillo nigro

MS. Hatton.
53.

(2.) The Bodleian MS. Hatton 53, is a copy of the *Flores*, beginning with the usual prologue, "Temporum summan," and ending with the word *postulati*; after which follows, on folio 285, the title of the *Commendatio* in the same form as that of the Cotton MS., "Commendatio lamentabilis in transitu magni regis Edwardi quarti secundum Johannem." This MS. ends also, like the Cotton text, with the words "plus Deus" (p. 21 below), omitting the prayer for the writer. The penmanship is the same as that of the rest of the volume, early in the fourteenth century.

MS. Laud.
572.

(3.) The Bodleian MS. Laud 572, also a copy of the *Flores*, is imperfect, several folios having been lost between the annual for 1296 and the prologue of the *Commendatio*. The portion of the text preserved begins with "illustris rex Anglorum" (page 4, line 16), and thus furnishes us with no copy of the title; it ends with the words "plus Deus." The hand is a fine, somewhat cursive, hand of the period, and is not the same as that in which the preceding pages are written.

Heralds Col-
lege MS., 20.

(4.) The MS. of the College of Arms, Arundel 20, is commonly known as the Chronicle of John of London. It is really a short Canterbury Chronicle, the latter portion of which, down to 1306, is derived from the *Flores*; and in this likewise the *Commendatio* follows the word "postulati." The contents of the volume are described by Mr. Black in his Catalogue of the Arundel Manuscripts in *Heralds' College*,¹ and by Sir T. Duffus Hardy, in the *Catalogue of Materials*, vol. iii. pp. 362, 363.

"no crispo. Valetudine usus est
satis prospera; animo magno qui
in rebus adversis nunquam de-
fecit; ingenio præclaro, cuius-
que animi rei operam dabat, eam
facile imbibebat; prudentia sum-
ma, religionis studiosissimus, in-
solentis sacerdotum inimicus ac-
errimus . . . Amicitiam constan-

"tissime servabat; contra quos
semel oderat non facile deinceps
in gratiam recipiebat. Dum ali-
quid vacui temporis habebat,
plurimum in venationis erat."
Pol. Verg. Hist. Angl. (ed. Lugd.),
pp. 443, 444.

¹ Catalogue of the Arundel MSS.
in the College of Arms, pp. 28, 29.

The *Commendatio* begins, in the same hand as the rest of the Chronicle, on folio 82 v^o, "*Commendatio lamentabilis in transitu magni regis Edwardi quarti secundum Johannem de London*," and closes with the prayer for the writer, "*Non nobis Domine, sed nomini Tuo da gloriam et Johanni de London peccatorum veniam*."

Prayer for
the author.

(5.) The Lambeth MS. 419¹ is a compilation of annals, apparently made by a monk of S. Augustine's, Canterbury. The *Commendatio* occurs in it in the same place, at the close of the year 1300, but is represented as addressed, not to queen Margaret, but to the abbot of S. Augustine's. It is not a good copy, but contains some curious variations and has no mention of "John" as the author.

MS. Lambeth, 419.

The Trinity College Cambridge MS. B. 5. 41, which was largely used in the preparation of the second volume of the works of Gervase,² affords another and considerably later copy. In this also the *Commendatio* follows the word "*postulati*," and comes between the annal of 1306 and that of 1307. The rest of the matter of this MS. differs considerably from that of the Herald's College MS., but the two certainly contain much common material, and both, proceeded from Christ Church, Canterbury. Any editor of the Herald's College MS. will have to collate it carefully with the Trinity MS.

Trinity College MS.

These are all the manuscripts in which I have seen the *Commendatio*, but it is very probable that it occurs in other compilations from and reproductions of the *Flores*.

That the *Commendatio* was written by a person named John may be regarded as proved by the evidence of three of the manuscripts; and that he bore the design-

Name of the
author.

¹ Hardy, Catalogue, &c. iii. 370, 371. Hardy, Catalogue, &c. iii. 343, Tanner, Bibliotheca, p. 486.

² Gervase, vol. ii., pref., p. x.

Question of
authorship.

John of
London.

Difficulty of
identifying
him.

Was he
John Bever.

nation of John of London seems certain from the title and concluding sentence as given in the manuscript of the College of Arms. A less distinctive appellation could scarcely have been invented, and the question of the writer's identity might fairly be left in the obscurity which seems almost intentional, were it not that, on the strength of this title, other literary work has been ascribed to John of London, and the writer of the *Commendatio* has been identified with a somewhat better known historian of the time. The authorship of the whole of the Herald's College manuscript has been assigned to John of London, and, owing to its affinity in matter, the Trinity MS. above referred to has been conjecturally ascribed to him. I have been unable to find in either manuscript any evidence that would lead to such a conclusion. Of course, when the two manuscripts come to be edited, an exact analysis of their contents will be required to illustrate the authorship, and until that is done the question cannot be decided; but, so far as now appears, there is no more reason to connect the compilation of those two works with John of London than there is to suppose him to have been the editor of the *Annales Roffenses* or of the *Flores Historiarum*. That he was a monk of S. Alban's¹ was inferred from the occurrence of the *Commendatio* in S. Alban's MSS.; that he was a monk of Christ Church from its occurrence in the Herald's College manuscript;² and that he was a monk of S. Augustine's from its occurrence in the Lambeth MS.³ A more plausible conjecture makes him a monk of Westminster and identifies him with John Bever. This identification recommended itself to Sir Thomas D. Hardy, who in the third volume of the *Catalogue of Materials* printed a document from which he infers

¹ See Hardy, *Cat. Mat.* iii. 282.

² See Hardy, *Cat. Mat.* iii. 362.

³ Tanner, *Bibliotheca*, p. 436;
Hardy, *Cat. Mat.* iii. 371.

that John Bever was a monk of Westminster and was also known as John of London.¹

John Bever is known as the compiler of a chronicle which is in the Harleian Collection, No 641, and which was transcribed by Hearne in a volume now in the Bodleian, MS. Rawlinson B. 185. Hoarne believed it to contain the material of the burnt MS. Vitellius E. 17. The chronicle itself is of no great importance, and the latter pages of it are simply a reproduction of the *Flores*. Curiously enough, it ends with the word "postulati," but does not contain the "Commendatio." It is of course possible that other copies may have comprised this also, and in that case there would be strong reason to accept Sir Thomas Hardy's conclusion. But this also is a point on which we may wait for further evidence. There is nothing in the *Commendatio* itself to suggest that it was the work of a monk, or to connect it with Westminster.

John
Bever's
chronicle.

Another John of London was in 1312 a minor canon of S. Paul's and custos of the new fabric.² Possibly he drew the sketch of the cathedral for the *Annales Paulini*. A presumption may arise that the authorship of those Annals or continuation of the *Flores* may belong to the minor canon; but such mere conjectures are too easily multiplied. It is by no means unlikely that he was the real John of London.

Another
John of
London.

The tract itself, as a mere eulogium on the great king, has no particular merit of its own. Its language is not eloquent or even correct; its illustrations are hackneyed and threadbare; it shows no special reading and no very distinct idealising of character. But it is interesting in some of its details, and has a special importance as showing that the points in the character and policy of Edward I. which have recommended themselves most strongly to the admiration of posterity

Character of
the Com-
mendatio
Lamentabi-
lis.

¹ Hardy, Cat. Mat. iii. 202, 209. | and 1907, cf. Ann. Paul., vol. i.

² Charters of S. Paul's, Nos. 318 | pp. 276, 277.

R 1681.

were not left out of sight among the men of his own days, even when they were obnoxious to more direct criticism, provoked strong hostility, and to all appearance were far ahead of the ideas of the time.

Date of composition.

Description of Edward's person and character.

Comparison of Edward I. with Henry II., in person;

and character.

The *Commendatio* must have been written so soon after the death of Edward I. as not to bear traces even of the earliest difficulties which beset his unfortunate son. This would have made the description of the king's personal appearance, with which the work begins,¹ very valuable, if the writer had not been too modest to write it in his own words. Instead of doing this, he adopts and adapts the language in which Peter of Blois described Henry II., and, whilst definitely marking the points in which the two great kings differed, insensibly draws us to the conclusion that in character at least they had very much in common. Henry was of middle height, Edward was very tall, a head taller than the generality of his subjects. Henry had a small nose, Edward a long one; Henry was ruddy, red haired, and blue eyed; Edward had black and curly hair, and his eyes were probably dark also, although both in repose and in excitement they recalled the expression of his great ancestor's. Henry grew fat in his advancing years, Edward until his last illness was as straight as a palm tree and as active as a boy, and he retained as long as he lived both his teeth and his eyesight unimpaired. Both had round heads and were strongly made men, but the advantage in point of beauty is clearly on the side of Edward. Henry's figure strikes us as business-like and common-place beside that of his great-grandson. In character they had many features alike; both were fond of hunting; both modest and simple in dress, although magnificent when occasion warranted; both were indefatigable in their movements, able and original legislators, clever judges of causes, acute investigators of questions, elo-

INTRODUCTION.

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quent, cautious, and patient. Both were faithful in friendship and inexorable in hostility. Both, it may be added, were captious in controversy, and prone to the use of that sort of diplomacy which sacrifices words to sense and occasionally sense to words. In personal morality, piety, and truthfulness Edward was far above Henry. Considering the characters of the three kings that came between, we do not wonder that a parallel between these two suggested itself instinctively to our author. He does not, however, proceed to draw any analogy between the great organiser and the great definer of our national mechanism. If he had done so, we might have suspected him of drawing a forced parallel, and have considered the tract, as an illustration of current opinion, less important than it really is. It will be as well to note here some of the points in which we find Edward's distinctive policy clearly apprehended.

Common
Saults.

View of the
author.

After describing the king's person and character, the writer proceeds with a series of lamentations placed in the mouths respectively of the pope, of the kings of Christendom, of the royal widow, to whom the *Com-mendatio* is dedicated, of the bishops, of the earls and barons, of the body of knights, of the clerks, and of the laymen of England. The single point in the pope's speech is Edward's self-sacrifice and devotion to the Crusade.¹ The kings dilate on his conquest of Wales and Scotland and on his recovery to the crown of the earldoms of Norfolk and Cornwall, both sufficiently definite marks of his political ambition.² In the mouth of queen Margaret, with no particular appropriateness, but clearly expressed, are put the praises of the king as one who, for the peace of the people, united parliaments, confirmed treaties, made alliances with foreign nations, and by his renown in battle inspired foreign

Abstract
of the Com-
mendatio.

Eulogium
by the pope,
the kings of
Christen-
dom, and
the queen.

¹ Page 7.

² Pp. 8, 9.

Praises of
the bishops:

princes with terror.¹ The bishops praise him for his zeal in abasing the proud and his sympathy with the oppressed; his justice and moderation in the exercise of his rights over church property—a point which in the mouth of a monk would scarcely be applied to the author of the statute *De religiosis*;—and his mildness in dealing with his defeated enemies in Scotland;—a point again which marks the distinction drawn between the Scottish enemies whom like Balliol he treated as belligerents, and the later prisoners who like Wallace met the fate of rebels.² The bishops compare him as a conqueror with David, and recal in the same connexion the events of his baptism, which was performed by the legate Otto, and his confirmation by S. Edmund, a second Samuel. The earls and barons continue the

of the earls
and barons:

of the
knights.

scriptural illustration, and draw a parallel with Solomon, to the advantage of Edward, who, not having a David for his father, had to earn his own glories. But, although in his legislation and in his felicity he resembles Solomon, his great glory is in the measures which he took for the defence of his country; his great expenditure on castles and fortifications, his prowess in tournaments, the splendour of his alms and gifts to shrines, his championship of the liberties of the church, and his laying out of parks and fisheries.³ The collocation of these boons seems to us somewhat grotesque, but there can be no doubt that in the mind of a healthily constituted baron of the age the picture is true and harmonious. The panegyric of the knights follows; they enumerate among the exploits of their patron the capture of Berwick, which was a parallel with, or rather superior to; that of Jericho; the banishment of the Jews, the ten years war with France, the recovery of Gascony, and the rescue of his father, that holy Daniel,

¹ Pp. 9, 10.

² Pp. 10-12.

³ Pp. 12-14.

from the den of lions represented by Simon de Montfort.¹ The heroes with whom he is compared are now Brutus, Arthur, Edgar, Richard I., and Alexander the Great; but, as he more than fulfilled the type of the first three heroes in uniting his people, he had greatly the advantage of Richard and Alexander in the length of his reign, and in his escape from the assassins at Acre and the archers at Stirling. But he was peculiarly the patron of knighthood, and the writer preserves an anecdote of his bounty to the knightly order which shows that down to the end of his reign he maintained the character which he had assumed in the troubles of his father's reign as the spokesman of the Bachelors of England.² The encomium of the clergy follows, and is devoted curiously, as it would seem, to a parallel between the king's last march against the Scots and the advance of Saul on Mount Gilboa, the point being that dwelt on by Josephus, from whom a long extract is inserted, that both kings knew that they were marching to their death: yet again Edward is the gainer; "he did not fall before the Philistines like Saul rejected by the Lord, nor did the Amalekite take away his crown, nor at the setting of his star did his army experience defeat, but victory; for in his death, like Samson, he puts the living to death, nor when dead could he be buried until all but one of his betrayers were brought to naught."³ The concluding words of this section read almost as if they might have been spoken at the funeral. The last lamentation was that of the laymen: they enlarge chiefly on the king's perils, which, like Saint Paul's, were various and countless; his devotion to the saints, especially the Confessor; the peace which the land enjoyed in his time; and the sympathy which he had with his people, bearing their griefs and carrying their sorrows. He is compared in this with S. Martin,

Comparison
with
ancient
heroes.

Encomium
by the
clergy.

Lamenta-
tion by the
laity.

¹ Pp. 14-16.

² Page 16.

³ Pp. 16-18.

Prayer of
Edward I.

whose words of pious submission are put in his mouth.

He is an aged king, and his prayer is this: "Lord, if I
" am still needful for thy people, I refuse not to undergo
" travail for them; and if thou wilt spare the age, it is
" good for me. Behold, I, thy unprofitable servant,
" hard upon three score years and ten, and in labour
" from my youth upwards, have devoted myself wholly
" to thee. And lo! the new tyrant of Scotland invades
" thy people. Do thou then guard those for whom I
" fear: thy will be done."¹

Real im-
portance of
the tract.

Notwithstanding the threadbare texture of the dis-
course, its far-fetched parallels, and somewhat artificial
ejaculations, there is in it an insight into the historical
position of Edward, and an appreciation of his real
devotion to his royal work, which places the *Commen-
datio* far above the common run of panegyrics. I have,
in the abstract just given, not stopped to point out each
assertion of merit which later ages have confirmed, but
a careful reading will show that there is scarcely
characteristic feature of the king and his reign that
not in one way or another touched upon for praise.
There need be no doubt that the lamentation was for
the most part sincere and well deserved, or that it
expressed the feeling of intelligent Englishmen even
before their sense of loss had been stimulated by ex-
perience of the waywardness, infatuation, and incapacity
of Edward of Carnarvon.

II. The
*Gesta Ed-
wards de
Carnarvon.*

II. The second article in this volume is the short
chronicle of Edward II., written by a canon of the
Augustinian priory of Bridlington in Yorkshire, to
which is added a compilation of annals of the reign of
Edward III., embellished with extracts from the poetical
prophecies of a worthy of the same house, John of Brid-
lington. The two may be considered as a part of the
same work, although it is not necessary to suppose them

to have been the work of one hand. The whole is now printed for the first time. The text is derived from two transcripts made in the seventeenth century from an original which has not been identified, and from an ancient but imperfect copy not far removed in date from the time which it describes. The more ancient copy demands the first notice.

Printed
from trans-
cripts.

This is contained in a Bodleian manuscript, numbered Bodl. 101: a small quarto of the fourteenth century, composed of several short chronicles and historical memoranda, of which the Bridlington memoir is far the most valuable. Its contents are briefly as follows:

The Bod-
leian MS.
101.

folios 1-16 contain a short chronicle from the creation to the year 1377, followed by the legend of the dedication of Westminster, and containing no memoranda of any special importance. On the 18th folio begins a chronicle list of the kings of England to the death of Edward I., intended as a sort of introduction to the longer tract on Edward II. which follows. This is noticed by Sir T. Duffus Hardy in the Catalogue of Materials, vol. iii., p. 395, but without comment, for which it affords no ground. It fills only a page and a half, and on the lower half of folio 18vo. begins the Preface to the *Gesta Edwardi de Carnarvan*. The MS. is a poor one, in an indifferent hand of the latter part of the century, slightly rubricated and written in single column, and from thirty to thirty-six lines in the page. It contains the full text of the work down to the year 1321, including the matter of pages 25 to 65 of the present edition, and breaking off suddenly with the word *subsequentes*, indicating that the transcriber stayed his hand before beginning to copy out the process against the Despensers. Instead of continuing it he begins a series of notes on the wars of England with France and Scotland, starting with the coronation of Edward I. and running on in a very unconnected way to the battle of Poitiers and the death of King John of France.

Its varied
contents.

The copy of
the *Gesta*.

Imperfect.

Historical
materials in
the MS.
Bodl. 101.

The notes may have been derived from a Chronicle of Merton, a religious house which is mentioned in one of them, but they are of no value, and, except for the fact that they are written by the same scribe, have no connexion with the work that precedes them. They extend to folio 35 of the MS.

Another brief chronicle of the scantiest character, from the creation to the capture of Calais, fills the next twenty leaves, folios 36-56; written in an earlier and much better hand than the rest of the volume. A regal Chronicle of Britain down to the reign of Richard II. occupies folios 57-69, and a list of the dukes of Normandy, on a spare leaf, completes the contents of the volume. It has no history, and contains nothing that suggests a conjecture as to its former owners. The text of the "*Gesta Edwardi*," so far as it goes, agrees exactly with that of the two transcripts, and, whilst itself gathering confirmation from them, affords a sufficient presumption of their general accuracy.

The trans-
cript in
MS. Harl.
688, once
Stilling-
fleet's.

The best known of the transcripts is contained in the Harleian MS. 688, a volume once the property of bishop Stillingfleet, for whom in all probability the copy was made. The volume includes also a transcript of the *Dialogus de Scaccario*, and of the Chronicle ascribed to John of Wallingford. The transcript of the *Gesta Edwardi* begins on fol. 252, and is entitled "*Gesta Regis Edwardi II. per Monachum de Bridlington*;" on fol. 311 begins the second part, with the title "*Continuatio Nicholai Trivetti per quendam monachum de Bridlington*." Unfortunately the volume contains no indication of the home of the original MS., and I have not succeeded in finding any notice of the occasion on which the copy was made. It is briefly noticed in the *Catalogue of Materials*, vol. iii., p. 396.

The trans-
cript at
Trinity Col-
lege, Cam-
bridge.

The other transcript is in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, numbered O. 5.37. This is a volume of Gale's transcripts, and the copy of the *Bridlington*

book which it contains was, I think, made by the same person who worked for Stillingfleet. There are some slight variations, but not such as imply more than two successive readings by the same eye. The Trinity MS. however omits the prologue and arranges the minute jottings, with which the work ends, in somewhat different order, as if in the original they had been scattered on flyleaves or were stray notes.¹ This transcript does contain a note of the source from which it is derived, and therefore may be supposed to have been re-copied for Stillingfleet, although on such a supposition it is hard to say how the prologue disappeared.

The first article in the volume is thus described: "Continuatio Chronici Nicholai Trivetti per monachum de Bridlington ex codice Lumleyano;" the work to which this title is prefixed is, however, simply Trivet's Annals of Edward I., beginning "Edwardus rex Anglorum," and ending "dies viginti," as on pages 281 and 414 of Mr. Hog's edition of Trivet. — The first page contains the following notes: (1.) "Appendix ad Chronicon Nich. Trivett, forte per monachum de Bridlington, ex codice olim Lumliano, Anno 1681." (2.) "Bibl. Cott. Faust. B. 9.² cum. Cron.³ Mailr.³; aliud exemplar in Coll. Gresham cum Johanne Pyke."⁴ (3.) "Aliud chronicon monasterii de Bridlington laudatur in compilatione de jure regis Angliæ ad regnum Scotiæ,⁵ ubi quedam adferuntur de tempore regis Jo." (4.) This copy was taken from the booke of Mr. Baskervile (or ^{Mr. Baskerville.} "Basket note") as, I think, belonging to the Fine Office "in the Temple."

We may, I think, infer from these notes that the Bridlington book was transcribed from a volume which

¹ Beloe, pp. 148-151.

² Hardy, Cat. Mat. iii. 285, 286.

³ Hardy, Cat. Mat. iii. 177.

⁴ MS. Arundel, 220, in the British

Museum. See Hardy, Cat. Mat. iii. 295, 376.

⁵ See Palgrave, Documents and Records illustrating the History of Scotland, i. 60-67, 134.

Light on the history of the MS. contained also that part of the Annals of Trivet which described the reign of Edward I.; and that the MS. was known to have belonged to Lord Lumley, whilst at the time of transcription it was the property of Mr. Baskerville. At the end of the copy of Trivet is a note, "Desinit hic Codex Arundelianus in Bibl. Gresh., 1688;" showing that that volume had been collated. Then follows the work before us with the title "Incipiunt Gesta Edwardi regis Angliæ dicti de Carnarvon filii Edwardi boni regis." The volume contains further the copy of Nennius, prepared for the edition in Gale's *Scriptores*, and a few notes from the Rolls of Parliament of the 21 Richard II.

The original MS. not now traceable.

Fate of Mr. Baskerville's books.

After a long and careful inquiry I have failed to ascertain anything more about the fate of the manuscript from which the two transcripts were made. Lord Lumley's collection was, as is well known, purchased by James I., and is still in the Royal Library, which forms part of the British Museum. The volume in question, if it were ever a part of the Royal Library, must have strayed from it before the Restoration, and somehow have come into Mr. Baskerville's hands. But who was Mr. Baskerville? The eccentric squire of Bayworth, near Sunningwell, in Berkshire, Thomas Baskerville, "who was commonly styled the king of Jerusalem,"¹ was a collector of manuscripts, and in the year 1678 had books and manuscripts which were, in Hearne's opinion, of very good value and great curiosity.² These, on his demise, descended to a still more eccentric son, and on his death were sold, July 5, 1721, to Mr. Murray, of Sacomb, in Hertfordshire. Hearne was anxious to buy them, but Mr. Giles, a farrier of Oxford, who was young Baskerville's executor, was determined that he should not; Mr. Murray got them for twenty

¹ *Reliquiæ Hearnianæ*, vol. ii. 122, 127, 318; vol. iii. 268.

² Hearne's *MS. Diaries*, vol. cxix. 50.

pounds,¹ and among them a copy of Henry VIII.'s Bible printed in 1541. The disappointed antiquary suspected that all were not sold, but of any missing volumes nothing can now be discovered. Mr. Murray was a friend of Hearne's, and, had any such manuscript as the one in question come into his hands, we might have found some notice of it in the diaries of his correspondent. This is not the case. Mr. Murray's library was sold by Corbett, in May 1749, and there is a printed catalogue of its contents annotated by Dr. Rawlinson, who bought largely at the sale. But no article described in the catalogue can be identified with the lost volume. And indeed it is not quite certain that Mr. Baskerville "belonging to the Fine Office in the Temple" can be identified with Mr. Baskerville of Bayworth. The fragments of the collections of the "king of Jerusalem" now among the Rawlinson manuscripts in the Bodleian do,² however, by their antiquarian character, somewhat favour the supposition. Further research, as the more remote receptacles of old and private collections are ransacked, may one day bring again to light this and the still more valuable manuscript from which the third work included in the present volume is derived.

Mr. Murray's library.

Passing on from the external history to the contents of the treatise before us, we find no difficulty in determining the home and position of its author or authors. It purports to be the work of a brother of the religious house established at Bridlington, in Yorkshire. This was a house of Augustinian canons, and the proper designation of the writer accordingly is not monk but canon. Bridlington priory was founded early in the 12th century by Walter of Gant, and is connected with

The *Gesta* written at Bridlington.

¹ Hearne's MS. Diaries, vol. xci. 213; cf. xci. 37, 69, 148.

² See *Reliquiæ Hearnianæ*, iii. 318; and the account of one of

them given by Dr. Bliss in his edition of Antony Wood's Diary, for the Ecclesiastical History Society.

Literary
tradition at
Bridlington.

the literary history of England through several early names. William of Newburgh, also an Augustinian canon, and the most philosophic historian of the twelfth century was, according to ancient testimony, a native of Bridlington,¹ although he does not seem to have been connected, except by community of profession, with the priory. The canons possessed a book of chronicles sufficiently authoritative to be cited as confirming the claims made by Edward I. on Scotland. This book may not improbably have been a copy of Hoveden's Chronicle annotated and continued, or even of the earlier compilation used by Hoveden and continued in the *Gesta Regis Henrici*. It went down to the year 1209, and possibly stopped there.² A third historic name connected with Bridlington is Peter Langtoft, a canon of the priory, whose work, written in French, contains the poetical history of England, or rather Britain, from the days of Brutus to the death of Edward I. There can be no doubt that the poem of Peter Langtoft was known to the author of the work before us.

The *Incidentia
Chronicorum*.

Bridlington priory possessed however two books of more special importance in relation to this writer; a register of public documents entitled "*Incidentia Chronicorum*," and a volume of prophecies ascribed to John of Bridlington, which somehow acquired a reputation high enough to command the services of a commentator. The "*Incidentia Chronicorum*" was probably an ancient repertory of documents, charters, treaties, letters of prelates and similar records, and no inference as to the date of the writer could be drawn from the citations made from it.³ The

¹ Leland, *De Scriptoribus*, p. 203; Bale, *Scriptores* (ed. 1559), p. 247.

² See above, p. xxi; and Palgrave, *Documents and Records illustrating the History of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 60-67, 134.

³ See below, pp. 31, 35, 36, 40,

53, 78, 82, 83, 84, 85; these references all occur in the first portion of the *Gesta*, and show that the "*Incidentia Chronicorum*" contained the documents touching the suppression of the Templars, the appointment of the Ordainers, the

book of prophecies on the other hand ought to be referred to a certain date, and that, judging from the character of the predictions, must have been between 1361 and 1372. The earl of Hereford, to whom the commentary ascribed to John of Erghome is dedicated, died in 1372; the prophecies cease to have that relevancy, which belongs to predictions made after the event, soon after 1361. The whole work with its commentary has been published in the present series under the editorship of Mr. Thomas Wright, who did not hesitate to declare his belief that both prophecies and commentary were the work of one hand, and that the name of John of Bridlington was only borrowed to conceal the fraud.¹ It is not necessary here to criticise this theory, or to suggest a new one, as, for instance, that the prophecies may have been the produce of a series of years of visions. Bale believed John of Bridlington to have been a real person, gives the day of his death Oct. 10, 1379,² and adds that he was canonised; identifying him in fact with the sub-prior or prior of the house whose reported posthumous miracles called for an investigation at the hands of archbishop Neville a few years later.³ The identification can hardly hold good; for, supposing even that the commentary and prophecies were forged by the same hand, it is unlikely that they

The Book of Prophecies.

John of Bridlington.

Ordinances; the papal bulls against the Scots; the proceedings against the Despensers, against the rebels taken after the battle of Boroughbridge, and Sir Andrew Harela; the truce of 1323, and the portent in Provence (p. 85). In the second portion the "Incidentia" is referred to at p. 99, for queen Johanna's marriage treaty, and for the treaty with the Scots in 1335, p. 124, but evidently the documents given in full are taken from the same compilation.

¹ *Political Songs and Poems relating to English History* during the reign of Edward III., vol. i. pref. pp. xxviii. sq. 123.

² Bale, *Scriptores*, p. 487.

³ Burton, *Monasticon Eboracense*, p. 249. This was in 1386. The letter of the Vicar-General to the Commissioners for taking evidence in the case is printed by Mr. Raine, who calls the prior John of Thwenge; *Letters from Northern Registers*, pp. 420, 421.

The *Gesta*
drawn up
after the
publication
of the pro-
phesies.

would be falsely ascribed to a well-known and dignified ecclesiastic who was still living; and on the theory of a double authorship it is still more improbable. The date however is scarcely affected by these considerations. It is clear that when the Chronicle before us received its present shape a great part of the prophecies was already in circulation and received in the priory as a credit to the scholarship and perhaps also to the sanctity of its members. The Chronicle can scarcely be said to have received its present shape before the year 1377, under which year the death of Edward III. and the succession of Richard II. are recorded.¹ Although, as will be seen directly, the substantive interest of the narrative ends in 1339² and the later insertions are all incidental jottings with no method or connexion, it is still possible that the original from which our two transcripts were taken was a late copy, made between 1361 or 1372 and 1377, and embellished by the copyist with the extracts from the prophecies of which the priory, whether right-fully or wrongfully, was already proud. On any theory, however, except that of the genuineness and authenticity of the prophecies, the insertion of these curious relics of superstition or imposture must have taken place after the contemporaneous materials of the earlier portion of the work had been collected.

The early
portions
contempo-
raneous.

Two por-
tions of the
work.

The Bridlington book, as we have seen in the survey of the manuscripts, may be divided into two portions, the history of Edward II. and the so called continuation of Trivet, describing the early years of Edward III. and continued by a few scanty jottings to the date of his death. The two may have been the work of one author, and indeed the language used at the close of the first portion and at the beginning of the second, as well as the references to the *Incidentia Chronicorum*, show that, whether or no that was the case, the narrative was

¹ Below, p. 150.

| ² Below, p. 148.

put in its present order by the same hand. Supposing that the original draft of the work ends at the year 1339 there is no difficulty in referring the whole of it to one writer. On the other hand the *Gesta Edwardi II* are not interlarded with the extracts from the prophecies, which must have come into the hands of the writer when he was employed on the last years of the reign, and when he was able to add in from the Polychronicon the character of his unhappy hero. It is of little use, however, arguing in the dark, and, on almost any hypothesis, the value of the Chronicle must depend not on the authority of its unknown writer, but on the self-evident contemporaneity and consistency of a great part of its contents.

Uncertainty
whether
both are the
work of the
same writer.

The great Chronicle of Meaux Abbey,² the work of abbot Thomas Burton who presided over that house from 1396 to 1399 and lived until 1437, contains a quantity of material derived either from our author or from a common source. In particular the minute history of the expedition of Edward Balliol is told in both books in language nearly identical. Meaux Abbey is not twenty miles from Bridlington, and there can be no doubt that literary communication was easy enough. The Meaux Chronicle was certainly drawn up long after the Bridlington Annals, and generally, where it does not exactly reproduce the language of the Annals, it gives the substance in a form so condensed as to deserve the name of abridgment.³ But it likewise contains particulars,

Connexion
of the *Gesta*
with the
Chronicon
de Melsa.

¹ As the eighth volume of the Polychronicon has been published since the matter of the present work was printed, I may give here the references for the passages cited from it. The character of Edward II., below, p. 91, will be found in Hygden, viii. 298; the character of John XXII., below, p. 49, is in the Polychronicon, viii. 306; and the

account of Clement V., below, p. 45, agrees closely with that of the Polychronicon, viii. 292.

² Chronicon de Melsa, edited in this series by Mr. Boad, who has given in the preface to vol. ii. an account of the Bridlington Chronicle, pp. xli-xliii.

³ See Mr. Boad's preface, p. xlii.

Relation of
the Brid-
lington An-
nals to the
Chronicle of
Meaux.

even in the passages where the resemblance is closest, which are not found in the Bridlington Annals. It may be inferred that in these places the Meaux chronicler either added details from other sources, or made larger use of common materials. But we are still arguing on hypotheses which the discovery of another manuscript of the Bridlington book may entirely dissipate.

Prologue
of the
Bridlington
book.

A rapid survey of the points of special interest contained in this work will for the present suffice as an illustration of its value. The prologue, half prose and half metre, is, to say the least, curious in itself, and not the less in the author's deprecation of hostile or fastidious criticism. Peter Langtoft, the more famous writer of the priory, was perhaps still alive, and any comparison between his elaborate work and the compilation that follows must be to the disparagement of the latter. The rehearsal by the barons of 1308 of the constitutional formula which in 1321 was charged against the Despensers as treason-

Political
notices.

Story of
Antony
Beck.

able, is one of those points which require careful examination in tracing the growth of the political programme of the time,¹ but it is not peculiar to the present writer. The account of the appointment of the Ordainers, and of their proceedings in general, is carefully abstracted from the original evidences, as is likewise the report of the proceedings against the Templars. On the occasion of the death of the great prelate and patriarch Antony Beck, the writer introduces the story of his mediating between Edward I. and the earls in the quarrel of 1297. Of the speech put into the bishop's mouth, the germ is to be found in Peter Langtoft's chronicle,² but the language, which is clear and spirited, must have been derived by our author either from a much more elaborate record of what took place, or from the relation of an eye witness. The account of the judicial proceedings of Inge and

¹ Below, p. 33, and note 3.

² Pet. Langtoft, ii. 290, 291; below, pp. 38, 39.

Spigurnell¹ against Gaveston is, if true, an important addition to our knowledge of the events preceding his execution. The statement is circumstantial enough, and, if these two judges were really sitting at Warwick at the time of the arrest, the earls may not improbably have fortified their action with some show of legality. I am not aware of any confirmative evidence on this point, nor is it likely from what we know of the political connexions of the judges that they would be willing instruments of the vindictive policy of the earls; large at least belonged to the unpopular party.² Under the year 1314 we learn that the Scots after the battle of Bannockburn pushed on their incursions as far as Richmond,³ and under 1315 that they in that year plundered Hartlepool;⁴ the story of the abduction of the Lady de Clifford by the warden of Barnard Castle is a piece of Yorkshire scandal characteristic of the time;⁵ all three are local notes illustrative of contemporary authorship. Under the year 1317 we have a long argument addressed by the earl of Lancaster to Edward II. which is not found elsewhere,⁶ and which for its value as a contribution to the political controversy may be ranked with the documents preserved in the *Annales Londonienses*. In 1318 the burning of Northallerton by the Scots and their advance to Bolton Abbey are mentioned,⁷ and under 1319 we have the fullest account extant of the White battle or Chapter of Myton and of the fortunes of the archiepiscopal standard which so narrowly escaped capture.⁸ The march of the invaders as far as Pontefract, and their retreat through Airedale and Wharfedale, are also particularly noted.⁹ Under the year 1321 we have some very important details, which show the great

Incidental points of interest in the Bridlington book.

Local notes of Yorkshire history.

Letter of Lancaster to Edward II.

The White battle.

¹ Below, pp. 43, 44.

² See vol. i. p. 264, and Chron. Lanercost, p. 212.

³ Below, p. 47.

⁴ Below, p. 48.

R 1681.

⁵ Below, p. 48.

⁶ Below, pp. 50-52.

⁷ Below, p. 53.

⁸ Below, pp. 57, 58.

⁹ Below, p. 58.

Lancaster's
proceedings
in Yorkshire
in 1321.

support given to the earl of Lancaster in Yorkshire, and the means which he was taking to promote a formal attack on the king's government, when the quarrels on the Welsh marches provoked the premature contest in which the Despensers, after a short period of disgrace and banishment, gained the upper hand and sealed their triumph by the execution of the earl.¹ On this phase of the tragedy I propose to offer a short commentary on a further page of this preface. The narrative of the civil war that ended with the battle of Boroughbridge is shorter than we should have expected from a writer who lived so near the scene of action, but still preserves some curious points; in particular the story of the attempt made by the younger Despenser to prevent the king from a formal declaration of war.² The history of Edward's escape from the Scots at Byland,³ his flight to Bridlington and Burstwick,⁴ the terrible alarm of the canons on Bruce's advance to Malton, and the spiritual peril into which they fell by their desire to make terms with the excommunicated enemy,⁵ are interesting additions to our knowledge of the events of 1322. With these however the importance of the chronicle for this reign ceases; the remaining details adding little or nothing to what the southern historians have put on record, and some portion of the material itself apparently being drawn from the Polychronicon.⁶

The Brid-
lington
annals of
Edward III.

The annals of the reign of Edward III. begin ambitiously, and seem, by their anticipation of his triumphs, and their rehearsal of the good omens of his career, to have been drawn up after his victories had begun. They are also permeated with the predictions of the soothsayer of Bridlington, and are for the most part of much inferior interest in points of detail. The follow-

¹ Below, pp. 61-65.

² Below, p. 75.

³ Below, p. 79.

⁴ Below, p. 79.

⁵ Below, pp. 80-82.

⁶ See above, p. xxiv., note.

ing are worth notice: the adventure at Stanhope Park;¹ the abortive rising of the Lancaster party in 1328;² the particulars of Mortimer's arrest;³ and the accident at the tournament in Cheapside in 1331.⁴ Under the year 1332 begins the narrative of Edward Balliol's expedition to Scotland, which is very circumstantial, and is perhaps, as a whole, the most important and original contribution to history contained in the work. With the details of king Edward's dealings with Scotland, the siege of Berwick and the subsequent fortunes of Balliol up to the point at which the French began openly to intervene in the struggle, the rest of the book is filled. The writer seldom mentions any event that occurred in the south of England, and even touches Yorkshire history only as it is connected with levies of men and demands for money. Some important records are inserted in the text, doubtless from the *Incidentia Chronicorum*, but most of them are found in other collections. With the expedition of Edward III. in 1339 to Flanders the continuous narrative ends. It will be seen, I think, that this enumeration presents material amply sufficient to justify us in ranking the *Bridlington Annals* high among the second rate authorities for the history of a period which is singularly deficient in first rate authorities. The episode of Edward Balliol however alone redeems the second portion of the work from the character of a mere compilation or abridgment of common material.

¹ Special points in these annals.

Edward Balliol's invasion of Scotland.

The important part ends in 1339.

III. I will now proceed to give an account of the source from which the third work contained in this volume is derived.

III. The monk of Malmesbury.

This is the "*Vita Edwardi II.*," printed by Hearne in 1729-30 in a volume comprising also the "*Annales*" of John of Trokelowe and the "*Chronica*" of Henry of

¹ Below, p. 96.

² Below, p. 99; *Ann. de Melm.* ii. 358, 359; pref. p. xlii.

³ Below, p. 101.

⁴ Below, p. 102.

The *Vita
Edwardi II.*
published
by Hearne.

Blancford. Both these works have been reprinted in the present series and form part of the third volume of the Saint Alban's chronicles edited by Mr. H. T. Riley. The "*Vita Edwardi*" is generally cited as the work of a monk of Malmesbury, to whom it was, on a very insufficient conjecture, referred by Hearne; and has ever since its publication been regarded as a primary authority for the history of the reign. Hearne transcribed it from a manuscript in the possession of Mr. James West; the following few pages will not be wasted in the record of a small piece of literary history, although it appears to end in a catastrophe which is now irremediable.

Mr. West's
MS.

In the month of October 1728 Hearne received from Mr. West, who was then a young Master of Arts of Balliol, and had rooms in the Temple, a manuscript collection of historical character which had come into his hands with other papers of Gervase Holles. West, who had very early begun the antiquarian and bibliographical studies which he combined so successfully with public business, consulted his friend as to the age and authorship of the book.

Lent to
Hearne in
1728.

On the 20th of October Hearne writes: "I have not yet found out the author's name of your MS. chronicle; I wish I could; I have not quite read it through, being forced to do it at leisure hours. I find four entire pages wanting in the history of Edward II. which I wish could be retrieved from some other copy, but that I fear you will not be able to do." The industrious antiquary was in fact just bringing out the life of Richard II. by the monk of Evesham, and was too busy quite to realise the importance of the volume before him. On the 23rd of December he was better informed, and I find this note in his diary: "Mr. West hath lent me an old MS. anonymous chronicle of good note; the life in it of Edward II. It is large and full,

¹ Hearne to West: MS. Lansdowne, 778, p. 101.

" but four pages are wanting of it, which Mr. West tells me he is wholly incapable of retrieving. The chronicle belonged formerly to the Abbey of Malmesbury and may therefore be properly stiled *Anonymi Chronicon Malmesburiense*." ^{Hearne's opinion of the MS.} He wrote the same day to West, in answer to some information on another book. " I am glad you sent me a note about the age of the two MSS. of the life of Richard II. But as for your MS. miscellany, since it doth not relate to that reign, I will give you no trouble about it at present." ^{His description of the contents.} But on the 14th of January 1729, he wrote again: " Your old historical MS. that I have consists of two parts, done as I take it by two different authors. I think the first part, ending with Henry III., contains nothing but what is more fully and clearly represented in our already published old historians; but the second part is a large and full account of the reign of Edward II., which I have therefore a mind to transcribe, notwithstanding the imperfection I formerly told you of; only I would first know whether it may not, as I believe it will not, prove to be the same with Tho. de la More's life of this prince printed in Camden's *Anglica, Normannica, &c.* ^{He proposes to transcribe the life of Edward II.} I have not this work, and therefore I beg that you would write me out and send me the first and last three or four lines, by which I shall be able to form a judgment." West complied, and copied out on the back of the letter a few lines to send to his correspondent. ⁴ On the 30th of January Hearne writes to thank him: " I thank you for sending me the beginning and ending of Tho. de la More. I now perceive that the life of Edward II. in your MS. is different from De la More. . . . I wish we could discover the author of your MS. life of Edward II." ⁵ West in his next letter

¹ Diary, vol. 120.

² MS. Lansdowne, 778, p. 103.

³ Ibid., 778, p. 107.

⁴ Ibid., p. 108.

⁵ Ibid., p. 111.

The MS.
had be-
longed to
Gervase
Holles.

had more to tell of the history of the volume. And Hearne notes in his diary: "February 13, 1729. Mr. West at the same time informed me that his MS. chronicle that I have by me, and from which I am transcribing the life of Edward II., belonged to Sir Gervase Holles, among whose papers and letters, as he remembers, it came into his hands."¹

Imperfec-
tion of the
MS.

Hearne was now working steadily at his transcript. On the 3rd of April he wrote: "I have now gone over your old MS. life of Edward II. As I remember I told you it wanted four pages. I now find that it wants fourteen others for which I am sorry and heartily wish another MS. could be met with. You will take occasion to inquire after MSS. of this king."²

Hearne
proposes to
publish it.

Early in the summer he completed his plan of publication and prepared proposals for subscriptions. On the 4th of July he wrote: "I have transcribed the history of Edward II. from the MS. you lent me. To this history of Edward II. are subjoined some short memoirs belonging to the reign of Edward III. You can tell best whether in your S. Alban's MS. there may be anything proper to be taken into the history of Edward II. This you may consider at your leisure."³ On the 15th of July he sends the prospectus: "You will see by this paper that in a little time I shall make a publick use of part of your MS. that is in my hands."⁴ On the 5th of August he sends another copy of the prospectus.⁵ The text was now in the printer's hands and Hearne found time to analyse the other contents of the manuscript.

He exa-
mines the
first portion
of the MS.

On the 15th of August he wrote: "I am sorry your MS. life of Edward II. wants what relates to the death of that unfortunate prince; but de la More (which is already printed) supplies that defect. I have now got

¹ Diary, vol. 120.

² MS. Lansdowne, 778, p. 121.

³ Ibid., 778, p. 131.

⁴ Ibid., p. 136.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 137, 138.

" de la More, having purchased Camden's *Anglica, Nor-*
 " *mannica*, &c. lately. Upon second consideration I find
 " the first part of your MS. better by much than I
 " formerly thought it, so that I am also transcribing that
 " part likewise at leisure minutes; but I know not yet
 " whether I shall print it, my present design confining
 " me only to that part which relates to Edward II."¹

He is transcribing the first part.

The edition was ready before the end of the year, and the editor was preparing his edition of Caius which was issued in 1730 in two volumes. He had in fact been too much in a hurry to do justice to the work in hand, omitting to give any distinct account of his MS. and in his preface making a curious confusion between Pharaoh and Potiphar² which gave his enemies better ground than they usually had for ridiculing him. On the 23rd of January 1730, he had finished printing; "The Trokelowe, &c. be done. Yet I have not quite done with your MS. and yet I have transcribed much the greater part thereof, and shall at my leisure minutes dispatch the rest."³ On the 17th of February he sends out the subscription copies: "I have this day sent you by Godfrey's waggon one copy in large paper of Trokelowe's *Annals of Edward II.*, &c. the price of which is a guinea, which may be sent by Godfrey."⁴ Mr. West took the hint, and the next letter records the receipt: "Feb. 28. I just now received your guinea very safe. I thank you for it, and acknowledge it to be in full for the copy in large paper I sent you of Trokelowe's *Annals of King Edward II.*, &c. I have not yet done with your MS., which I wish were as coherent in the other parts as 'tis in that I printed. I might then propose to publish those parts also. But indeed in many respects they are not in one conti-

He prepares his edition in haste.

The book published in February 1730-31.

¹ MS. Lansdowne, p. 139.

² "Josephi adinstar (quem Pharaonis uxor . . . sollicitaverat):"

Lectori, p. xxxiv. See MS. Lansdowne, 778, p. 181.

³ MS. Lansdowne, 778, p. 156.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 778, p. 158.

Letter of
Hearne to
West.

"nued method, but are in some measure only broken
"scraps, though even these scraps are by no means
"despicable. I am glad you confirm what I have said
"of the former owner. I might have said more had I
"known then of the papers you speak of. I know not
"which of them at present to fix upon, but you may
"use your discretion in communicating whatever
"you shall think fit."¹ The transcription of the manu-
script went on through the spring. On the 7th of May

Hearne
completes
his copy
and returns
the manu-
script.

we find: "I have now transcribed the other part of
"your historical MS. and have nothing more to do but
"to compare my transcript with it, which I must also
"do at leisure."² A month later: "June 9. I have at
"last returned your historical MS. from whence I
"printed the Vita Edwardi II. It comes this day by
"Godfrey's waggon at the Oxford Arms. The carriage
"is paid. I desire you would be pleased to let me
"know when you receive it."³

His note on
the MS. on
his own
diary.

The same month Hearne notes in his diary the com-
pletion of his task. "June 16, 1730. On Tuesday
"June 9, 1730, I returned carriage paid to James West,
"Esq., at No. 7 in Figtree Court in the Inner Temple,
"London, his folio MS. containing matters of English
"History in the Latin tongue. The MS. formerly be-
"longed to the abbey of Malmesbury, after which at
"length it came to Gervase Holles, as I have insinuated
"in my preface to John Trokelowe's Annals, where I
"have printed from this MS. Vita Edwardi II. which I
"have ascribed to *Monachus quidam Malmesburiensis*,
"whose name I know not. The first part of the MS.
"contains, as I take it, collections from other historians,
"without a just order, yet the beginning goes regularly
"enough on. I have also the transcript of this first
"part. I returned the said MS. by Tho. Godfrey's

¹ MS. Lansdowne, 778, p. 159.

² Ibid., p. 167.

³ Ibid., p. 165.

"waggon that puts up at the Oxford Arms in Warwick Lane."¹ On the 20th of June he has heard of its safe arrival: "On the 10th of June 1730, Mr. West tells me he had received from me safe his MS. from which I printed Vita Edwardi II."² On the 17th he wrote "I am glad you received your MS. safe."³

The MS.
remains in
West's
hands.

Having thus carefully followed the history of the volume back to its home in the Temple, it is painful to have to state that it has never since been seen by any one able to recognise it. And, this being so, there can be little doubt as to its fate. In January 1737 the

It is lost.

Gentleman's Magazine tells this sad tale: "Monday Jan. 31. Several fires happened in London this month, but one in the Inner Temple, on the 4th at night, was the most considerable; near thirty counsellors' chambers were destroyed. The Prince of Wales was there for some time, encouraging the firemen, and gave orders for fifty soldiers to assist."⁴ Poor Mr. West was one of the greatest sufferers. On the 14th of the same month Dr. Rawlinson writes: "Mr. West of the Temple

Its probable
fate.

has suffered a considerable loss in valuable MSS., at least 1,800*l.* burnt. This fire like that of the Cotton Library is a public loss."⁵ Ten days after Mrs. Elstob wrote to George Ballard: "Jan. 24, 1736-7. Now, my good friend, I must join with you in lamentation, for I dare say you are grieved as well as myself for the loss our learned and ingenious friend Mr. West has sustained by the late fire at the Temple. I cannot forbear grieving when I think what losses have happened of that kind within these few years, and heartily beseech Almighty God to preserve all our noble repositories for the future."⁶

West's
books
burned in
the Temple.

¹ Diary, vol. 126.

² Ibid.

³ MS. Lansdowne, 778, p. 169.

⁴ Gent. Mag. for 1737.

⁵ Ballard's Letters, MS. vol. ii. f. 10.

⁶ Ballard's Letters, MS. vol. 43, f. 18.

Mr. West's
later collec-
tions.

Great as Mr. West's loss was, all his collections did not perish; he lived for many years after, and collected another noble library, which, after his death on July 2, 1772,¹ was sold in London. His MSS. were bought by Lord Shelburne, and now form part of the Lansdowne Collection in the British Museum. In this collection are some volumes that once belonged to Gervase Holles, but neither there, nor in the sale catalogue of Mr. West's Library, is a trace of the precious volume in question to be found. Fortunately Hearne's copies were preserved; his transcript of the *Vita Edwardi* is now contained in MS. Rawlinson, B. 180; and that of the first half of the MS. in MS. Rawlinson, B. 414, in the Bodleian Library. From these we are enabled to draw up a minute account of the lost volume.

Account of
the manu-
script in-
ferred from
Hearne's
notes.

The manuscript was a folio, and must have contained a hundred and sixty-five written leaves, no allowance being made for the eighteen missing pages, the loss of which was remarked by Hearne.² Of these the folios numbered 1-62 contained a consecutive chronicle from the year 1066 to the year 1347; folios 62-84 contained a *recapitulatio de rege Ricardo et ejus successoribus*, which is a long extract from the chronicle of Walter of Hemingburgh, pp. 227-309, of the first volume of Mr. Hamilton's edition published for the English Historical Society. After some intervening scraps from William of Newburgh, which were not worth transcribing, followed a list of the abbots of Malmesbury, which is added in the appendix to the present preface. Then on folio 92 began the *Vita Edwardi II.*, filling folios 92-165. "At the end of the said life of Edward II. is" an old deed, which will likewise be found in the ap-

¹ West was M.A. in 1726; F.S.A. the same year; M.P. for S. Alban's in 1741; joint secretary to the Treasury to 1762; had a pension of 2,000*l.* a year in 1765 or 1766;

died July 2, 1772: Nichols' Lit. Anecd., vi. 344.

² See above, pp. xxxii., xxxiv., and below pp. 224, 271, 275.

pendix, and upon the first page of the last parchment leaf "G. Holles } 1648."
 Meis, mihi }

Hearne has added on the last page of the transcript the following note, which apparently expresses his last thoughts upon the subject. "As I take it the history of Edward II. in this MS. was done by a quite different author from the rest, which seems to be extracted only from other writers. Yet both were done by some hand or hands of Malmesbury. The writing of the first part of the MS. is different for the most part from the writing of the life of Edward II. I believe they were formerly bound in two different volumes, notwithstanding bound together it may be by Sir Gervase Holles now; for one blank leaf, so I take it to have been, hath been cut out after the abbats' names, and there is now one blank leaf after that remaining; only a modern hand hath transcribed on the front page thereof the names of the abbats. The life then begins of Edward II., an illuminated great E. being the first letter, without any other title than in a modern hand Edwardus 2. I was once thinking that this life of Edward II. had been Hemynghford's, but Hemynghford's way of writing by chapters, putting the contents before each chapter, was different."

The one interesting question that arises upon this is what was the chronicle that occupied the first part of the volume? Hearne's careful copy enables us to give a complete answer. The chronicle runs, as has been said, from 1066 to 1347; but it really is a composition of three distinct sections.

(1.) From 1066 to 1282 it is an exact copy of the chronicle of, I believe, the Præmonstratensian abbey of Barlings, in Lincolnshire. My reason for assigning it to Barlings is this:—The chronicle, in its base and over a great part of its extent, coincides with that of the Præ-

Hearne's
last note
on the MS.

What was
the first
part of
the MS.

The
Chronicle
of Barlings.

Reason for
ascribing
it to Bar-
lings.

Another
copy of this
Chronicle at
Magdalen
College,
Oxford.

Analysis of
the Barlings
Chronicle.

Præmon-
stratensis
notes.

monstratensian abbey of Hagneby, now MS. *Vespasian B. xi.* in the Cottonian Collection, but has occasional divergencies and additions that point to a house of the same order in Lindsey. The first addition in point is in the second year of Henry II.: "Venit conventus apud Barlings." The last is in 1282: "Obiit Matildis de Longespee vigilia Sancti Thomæ apostoli." The house of Longespee were the patrons of Barlings, and Matilda was an especial benefactress. Another copy of this Barlings Chronicle, exactly, even to the clerical errors, corresponding with Hearne's transcript, is in the library of Magdalen College, Oxford, No. 199, in perfect preservation, and perhaps the identical volume from which the scribe of the lost MS. made his copy. As this chronicle has been hitherto practically unknown, and certainly unidentified, I will add a brief analysis, premising that, down to the year 1253, the same description will apply to the Hagneby Chronicle; after that year there is only a general resemblance down to 1282, after which the Hagneby Chronicle continues to the year 1307.

The history of the Norman reigns is an independent compilation from Henry of Huntingdon, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Florence of Worcester, and William of Malmesbury, with occasional extracts from Robert de Monte. The reign of Stephen is mainly from Henry of Huntingdon; under A.D. 1145 we find "exordium ordinis Præmonstratensis in Anglia apud Neuhus"; under 1148, "Conventus apud Alnewyk primo venit"; under 1150, "Institutio ordinis Præmonstratensis apud Dribrygg." The chief source for the reign of Henry II. is Robert de Monte; but the latter part of the reign has only a scanty abstract; the same description applies to the reign of Richard I., although the source from which it is derived is not quite clear.¹ With the account of

¹ The story of Richard's death is told thus: "Ultimo anno regis Ricardi, dum idem rex obsideret cas-

" tellum Wydomari comitis Lemo-
" vicensis, scilicet Caluz, iiii^{to} nonas
" Aprilis, minus provide armatus

the death and burial of Richard I. the chronicle begins to coincide verbally with the Annals of Waverley, and this coincidence continues with more or less accuracy to the year 1252; the most significant exceptions being an entry under 1230, "Combusta est ecclesia de Barling in festo undecim millia Virginum circa solis occasum," which is not in the Hagneby book; and one under 1252 mentioning the death of William of Longespee at Damietta. The matter that follows down to the year 1282 seems to be original, and I have ventured to print it in the appendix to this preface.

Agreement
with the
Annals of
Waverley.

(2.) The compiler, having completed his copy of the Barlings Chronicle, seems to have been at a loss for a continuation: "hic quatuor lineæ adeo penitus sunt erase ut ne una quidem littera appareat"; but to have easily contented himself for he takes up the jejune compilation known to us under the name of Galfridus le Baker de Swinbroke, with the words "Tantus calor erat" as in Dr. Giles' edition, p. 36, and follows it down to the year 1336, where it stops abruptly.¹ From the year 1307 onwards there is an occasional close correspondence between this compilation and the *Eulogium* published under Mr. Haydon's editorship in the present series; the lost chronicle, however, agreeing more closely with Geoffrey le Baker than with the *Eulogium*, where the two differ. From the year 1337 to the year 1347 the

A continua-
tion from
1282 to 1347.

Coincidence
with the
Eulogium.

"quam tantum regem decuit, et pro-
pius castellum accedens, contigit
ut quidam de militibus nomine
Bertramus de Gurdone, dirigens
sagittam in regem quam ipse prius
in vanum direxerat, proth dolor,
eadem sagitta percussus est. At
ipse vilipendens percussorem
manu propria hastam fregit, sed
ferrum ut fertur toxicatum prope
medullam ossium adhaesit. Sic
que factum est ut arte periret quam

"ipse alios perdere satagebat. Sep-
timo igitur idus Aprilis ibidem,
Eo disponente cujus providentia
in eui dispositione non fallitur,
viam universarum carnis ingressus
est, et sepultus est ad pedes patris
sui in monasterio sanctimonialis
Fontis Ebrocii."

¹ Galfridus le Baker de Swin-
broke, ed. Giles, pp. 36-43. On
this Chronicle see further below,
pp. lvii., sq.

Coincidence
with the
Eulogium
1337-1347.

Eulogium, or the work from which both the *Eulogium* and the lost chronicle were derived, is closely copied, and all relation to Baker's compilation ceases. This portion is of very little value except as indicating the existence of some material, besides the continuation of Adam of Murimuth, to which all three compilers were indebted. The *Eulogium* itself is referred with great probability to Malmesbury¹ as its proper home, and, if it really were the source of the material used in those additions to the Barlings Chronicle, it may slightly strengthen the inference to which Hearne came, that the whole volume, whether or not it was first bound together by Gervase Holles, had a real relation to Malmesbury.

Connection
of the MS.
with
Malmes-
bury.

This connexion with Malmesbury, so far as the latter half of the volume goes, would seem to be proved by the fact that the list of abbots and the transcript of abbot Robert's charter were written on the blank leaves at the beginning and the end of it. Through whose hands it passed before it reached those of Gervase Holles we have no information; and there is no use in conjecturing the circumstances of its early history by connecting the Longespee foundation in Lincolnshire with the possible interest which, as earls of Salisbury, other Longespees may have had in Malmesbury, or even at Osney, where Geoffrey le Baker wrote. Gervase Holles was a devout adherent of Charles I.; a member of the family from which sprang the earls of Clare, and representative of the borough of Great Grimsby in the parliaments of 1640 and 1661. At the beginning of the civil war he brought 117 men to the king at Nottingham; he raised a foot regiment at his own expense; served through the war with the rank of colonel, and, as his own petition relates, was plundered, imprisoned, and banished.² At the Restoration he made his sufferings known, and re-

Gervase
Holles,
the owner
of the MS.

¹ See Mr. Haydon's preface to | ² Domestic State Papers, Charles
the *Eulogium*, vol. i., pp. xxix-xlii. | II., i. 112.

ceived the appointment of Master of Requests with a pension of 100*l.* a year.¹ He died in 1674, Feb. 10; and was buried at Mansfield.² It is said that throughout his long career of business and adventure he took every opportunity of collecting traditions, manuscripts, and church notes, and especially laboured at the history of his own family and county. Several volumes of his notes and collections are in the Lansdowne Library, which they reached after Mr. West's sale, and some are among the additional MSS. in the Museum.³ Our lost MS. came with the others into Mr. West's hands, but we do not know how; nor among the many enthusiastic antiquaries who flourished between 1674 and 1726 do we find any who knew of the valuable material which it contained. Hearne, we may fairly say, discovered it and gave to the world the most precious of its contents.

Account of
Hobbes.

It must be allowed that Hearne satisfied himself very easily about the authorship of the "*Vita Edwardi II.*" He had thought that it might be Thomas de la More's; and afterwards that it might be Hemingburgh's; but he contented himself with believing that, as it had come from Malmesbury, it must be the work of a monk of Malmesbury. Accordingly he so entitled it, and as the work of the monk of Malmesbury it has been known ever since; so firmly has the name adhered to it that I have not thought it necessary to separate them in this new edition, and, until a real claimant comes forward, it must remain as it is. But looking at the internal evidence I must say that I find very little that would have led me to infer either that it had, so far as the authorship goes, any connexion with Malmesbury, or that the writer was a monk. As Hearne was a good authority on the date of the penmanship, and as the

Hearne's
description
of the book
to the
"Monk of
Malmes-
bury."

Slight evi-
dence in
the poem.

¹ Domestic State Papers, Charles II., i. 496.

² Bliss, *Fasti Oxonienses*, ii. 27.

³ MS. Lansdowne 207, six volumes; Addl. MS. 6118.

Question as
to contem-
poraneous
authorship.

MS. is lost, we may accept his account of it, and believe that the work was written during the century which it illustrates. But it is a grave question whether it can be regarded as a composition strictly contemporaneous; the air of expectancy which the writer occasionally assumes seems to be rather artificial, and the anticipations of misfortune in which he frequently indulges read very much like the wisdom that prophesies after the event. There is in the work little of the undesigned and yet forcible coincidence that suggests that the writer was learning more of his subject as he proceeded; there are few of the local and chronological data which, by their irrelevancy to the main issue, show themselves so valuable as proofs of contemporary annotation; and there is throughout a tendency to moralising which would be strange indeed if we supposed the author to have been living, whilst he wrote, in the midst of the most stirring events. Yet, on the other hand, it is almost as difficult to suppose that the book was written long after the time; there are no important anticipations of definite events; indeed it can scarcely be said that there is any distinct foreshadowing of the great catastrophe of the period. The happy auguries uttered on the birth of Edward III.¹ do not imply that they were penned after he came to the throne, any more than the lamentation that his father has reigned six years,² and done no good, implies that at the time of writing he had reigned only six years. As the narration increases in the amount of detail which it gives as it approaches the close, I am inclined to think that, on the whole, the writer may have begun to write towards the end of the reign of Edward II. As he does not anticipate the revolution and murder of the king, and as his genuine work ends at the year 1325, we cannot infer that he wrote much later than that year. All the later

Provisional
conclusion.

¹ Below, pp. 188, 189.

² Below, p. 191.

entries in the MS., which continue the history down by a thin string to the date of the great plague, are added from the Polychronicon.¹ Hearne does not indicate that they were written in another hand, and, if they were not, we must infer either that the MS. was not the original work of the annalist, or else that, growing weary of his task before he finished it, he had brought his labour to a hurried and borrowed conclusion. All this is matter of inference from hypothesis, and would of course have to be materially modified if any other copy, or even our lost MS., should ever be found.

Additions
from the
Polychro-
nicon.

Leaving the date of the composition thus unsettled, we ask what conclusions does the work suggest as to the character, position, and local home of its author? As for the last point, it must be allowed that there is very little material for a conclusion at all. The events of which the writer seems to have the most local knowledge are those connected with the family of Berkeley and the town of Bristol, both sufficiently near to Malmesbury to furnish some slight presumption in favour of Hearne's hypothesis. The stories of the troubles at Bristol in 1316,² and of the attempt to get Maurice Berkeley³ out of Wallingford castle, are the two circumstantial episodes to which I refer; but there are other incidental notes which look in the same direction. Yet the earl of Warwick is the great man

Internal
indications
of the posi-
tion and
character of
the writer.

¹ I give here the references to the pages of the Rolls edition of the Polychronicon, where these passages will be found: the outlawry of the queen (p. 289) is from Polychr. viii. 318; the following particulars to the end of the reign (pp. 289, 290) are the 42nd chapter of the seventh book of the Polychronicon, *ibid.* pp. 318-322. The opening of the reign of Edward III. (p. 290) down to the word *fatam*;

(p. 291), is from the 44th chapter, pp. 324-330; the creation of the earls (p. 292) is from the same chapter, p. 332; and the remaining entries will be found, pp. 334-345, a small portion of the matter of the Polychronicon being omitted.

² See pp. 219-221.

³ See pp. 273-275.

⁴ See pp. 160, 184, 212. Maurice Berkeley is mentioned, p. 210.

Illustrations
of the
character
of the
writer.

His learn-
ing.

His dislike
of the court.

His attitude
towards the
court of
Rome.

for whom the writer has the most fervent admiration and whom he laments for most. As for his own character, we are not by any means left in doubt; he is a most self-conscious moralist, never hesitating, at the most critical moments of the tragedy, to act as chorus; he has read ancient history, sacred and profane,¹ and, what is more rare, he is very fond of quoting, without express citation, passages from the Code, the Digest,² and the Decretals.³ These come in more naturally than the historical illustrations, as if they were the habitual language in which his thoughts would run. He has many little tags of verse, or even versified proverbs.⁴ But further, he is very hostile to the court and to courtiers,⁵ and that not as an ignorant outsider: he writes as John of Salisbury might have written if he had lived two centuries later, not like a mere disappointed candidate or the hanger-on of a disgraced favourite. And in regard to the papal court he uses such strong language of reprobation⁶ as at first sight might suggest that he wrote as late as the days of the great schism, or even as late as the Reformation. The abuses of the curia,⁷ the impotency of the pope,⁸ the miserable effects produced in England by the practice of appeals,⁹ by the countenancing of simony,¹⁰ by the promotion of unfit

¹ See the reference to Æneas, pp. 166, 245; Patroclus, p. 168; Richard I., p. 191, where the Latin and French history is referred to; the barons' war, p. 196; battle of Falkirk, p. 205; of Courtrai, p. 206; the story of Xerxes, p. 207; Julius Cæsar, p. 229; Nebuchadnezzar, pp. 237, 241; Arphaxad, p. 237; Helen of Troy, p. 241; Alexander and Philotas, p. 245; Achilles, p. 251; Amonius, p. 253, and the several references to Geoffrey of Monmouth.

² See pp. 166, 170, 176, 182, 186,

187, 194, 198, 199, 213, 232, 260, 270, 276.

³ See pp. 231, 232, 252. There are references to English law, pp. 262, 272.

⁴ See pp. 163, 165, 167, 168, 174, 176, 180, 182, 184, 204, 213, 219, 260, 270.

⁵ See pp. 167, 180, 184, 195, 223, 239, 246-249, 271, 273, 283.

⁶ See pp. 197, 198.

⁷ See p. 197.

⁸ See p. 198.

⁹ See p. 197.

¹⁰ See pp. 197, 198, 253.

bishops,¹ by the general uselessness of the Avignonese administration, are set forth in language that constitutes one of the most striking features of the book. If it were not that we have in Matthew Paris, who, we must remember, wrote but seventy years before him, equally strong and pointed denunciations, and that after the preaching of Wycliffe, and the more violent utterances of the early reformers, a new element of venomous bitterness and personal hatred enters into the attacks on ecclesiastical abuses, as well as into the defence of existing conditions, we might, as I have said, be tempted to throw the whole composition forward to a later date. But this is unnecessary; and although, judging from our author's language on these points, we may be sure that he would have sympathised with Ockham in his attack on the papal practice of misgovernment, it is not so clear that he would have accepted his theory, or his criticism on the papal theory. Still the passages are curious, both in themselves and in the illustrations they furnish that the zealous rebukes of a friend may in time of peace be clothed in language not very different from that which the enemy takes up in open warfare. On the whole, we conclude the writer inclines to pose as a political philosopher; he hates the court, he criticises the pope, he has a pitying contempt for the king, he thoroughly despises the political bishops, and he has the laws and histories at his fingers' ends. He might be a teacher in a university or a retired civilian, but could scarcely be a monk.

His severe criticism on the popes.

With all this uncertainty about him it is possible that there may be two opinions as to the value of his work, although there can be but one as to its interest. The remarks which in a contemporary writer are proofs of perspicacity, or of real insight, in the mouths of the next generation are the emptiest of all platitudes. And with some such allowance for uncertainty we are obliged

Allowance for the uncertainty of data.

¹ See pp. 197, 251, 252, 253.

Necessary allowance.

to accept all the political statements vouchsafed to us by the two most intelligent authors whose works are before us. Their views are of questionable importance, because we cannot determine the points at which they are standing. We will, however, for a moment accept them as the opinions of intelligent lookers-on, and on that supposition ask what they thought of Gaveston and the Despensers, and of the favouritism of their master.

Political attitude of the two writers before us.

Neither of the writers before us, the Bridlington canon and the unknown person whom we must still call the monk of Malmesbury, writes as having any personal hostility to Edward II. or any attachment to his great adversary, or any admiration for the queen. But the silence of the first writer and the criticism of the second alike warn us that from the beginning of the reign there was a growing misgiving about the king's capacity for government or for any serious business.

Moderation of language.

The language of the Malmesbury writer is so moderate that it may almost be regarded as a proof that the historian lived before the fall of the king and the tyranny of his mortal foes had made him a character for tragedy or had enlisted strong feeling on either side. Edward was not hated, despicable as he might seem, until his wife raised against him the cry of her fabricated wrongs, and won for the moment the support of those who, however deeply they may have felt, had not yet pledged themselves to avenge the death of Lancaster. He was a trifle, an amateur farmer, a breeder of horses, a patron of playwrights, a contriver of masques, a smatterer in mechanical arts; he was, it may be, an adept in rowing, and a practised whip; he could dig a pit or thatch a barn;¹ somewhat varied and inconsistent accomplish-

Character of Edward II.

¹ This curious taste of the king's is noticed not only in the Lanercost Annals, but by Hall's Continuator of Trivet, p. 18: "motam faciens

" . . . fossatis ipsam forestam claudendo, aliaque faciendo quæ statum suum minime decuerunt."

ments, but all testifying to the skilful hand rather than the thoughtful head, and in some respects reminding us of the tastes of more modern and scarcely less unfortunate princes, such as Lewis XVI. He had a certain skill in the arts of the tournament, but no credit for the serious pursuits of arms; a love of the pomp and expense of military show, no taste for discipline or manœuvre or the sustained conception of a siege or campaign. But he was a fine, tall, handsome man, with strong likes and dislikes and exaggerated ways of showing them. He inherited from his grandfather a readiness to speak and an absence of sound judgment in the use of words. He had little self-restraint, and could be very provoking. Still England could have forgiven a great deal to his father's son, and the lamentation of the Malmesbury writer over his uselessness and want of enterprise is very different from a harsh commentary on a hated tyrant. Even the favourites are not spoken of vindictively until it is seen that they are ruining the king.

Trifling
matters.

His figure
and manner.

And there is a great difference between the two favourites. The one is a foreigner greedy of money and power, a misleader of the king, a cause of extravagance and expense to the court, an upstart pretender to a royal alliance, an insolent critic and rival of the great nobles of the land; but for all that a most accomplished knight who, if he could have won the favour of the classes next below the barons, might have created a counterpoise to the influences under which both he and his master fell. Gaveston had no friend but the king nor any who even tolerated him but for the king's sake. With all his wealth he gained no favour among the poor and endowed no religious house that might have conserved his praises. Considering the very short period during which he was really in power, from July 1307 to May 1308, he must have had a wonderful capacity for incurring enmities. Yet no harshness, or

Difference
between
Gaveston
and the
Barons.

INTRODUCTION.

Character
and position
of Gaveston.

cruelty, or oppression is laid to his charge; he engrossed the king's gifts and favours, but he is not said to have usurped the rights of other men. And when he died his name perished; no surviving son inherited either his enmities or the duty of revenging him, so as to keep alive popular odium. The writers of the time could afford to pity him notwithstanding his great faults. Edward's regard for him is the one redeeming strong feature of his shallow but sensitive nature. Unquestionably he was attached to him as his friend from childhood, and admired him both as endowed with accomplishments which he did not himself possess, and as having a stronger mind, and a readier, clearer will than his own. He worked hard to avenge him, and endowed a house of friars to pray for his soul and watch his tomb. It was reserved for a later generation to discover an element of vice in what his contemporaries viewed with pitying indignation as a stupid but faithful infatuation.

Position of
the Des-
pensers.

The antecedents of the Despensers, and indeed all the circumstances that mark their action in the drama of the reign, were very different. Gaveston was a foreigner, they were members of the great baronial order which had sprung from the allies, officials, and servants of the Norman and Angevin kings. Gaveston was an upstart, whose promotion by marriage was a disparagement to the great house into which he was forced as suddenly and with as little regard for appearances as any of the grooms of the court to whom, according to their enemies' story, Henry II. and Richard I. had given noble heiresses. The Despensers were near akin to the Bigods and the Lovels; Hugh le Despenser, the father, was brother-in-law to the earl of Warwick;¹

¹ He paid a fine of 1,000 marks in the 15th year of Edward I. for marrying without licence Isabella, widow of Patrick of Chaworth,

daughter of William Beauchamp, earl of Warwick. I suppose that she was mother of his son, the younger Hugh.

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E

it could be no disparagement to the highest lady in the land to marry a grandson of the justiciar who fell at Evesham. The bestowal on Gaveston of the royal earldom of Cornwall was an outrage on aristocratic and even popular feeling much greater than the gift of Gloucester to the younger Hugh, or Winchester to his father. But whilst Gaveston's foreign extraction and sudden rise drew on him contemptuous hatred, the Despencers had to encounter a hostility in which fear was largely intermingled. The case of father and son is not the same, and the historians who regard both with the same dislike, and indeed reflect the general odium under which they fell, vary very much in their account of their comparative demerits. They have little pity for either, yet they differ in the proportion of blame they assign to each.

It would be hazardous to attempt to trace the course by which the political principles for which Simon de Montfort fell had been handed down to the third generation after him. With the one exception of the great struggle of 1297, the internal difficulties of Edward I. had had no political character whatever. The king had represented the law and the constitution: the men who set themselves in opposition to him were not the representatives in blood or in principle of the men who had resisted his father. They were not men of the same moral strength or of the same high purpose; truth and justice seemed as long as he lived to have changed sides. With the weak and foolish reign of his son whatever remained of political principle and patriotic feeling awoke in opposition to the crown; and the leaders of the time provoked by the slights of the court, or animated by jealous dislike of the favourites, had to look around them for a formula which might justify their demands for a limit on the powers of the crown. There was reaction too, no doubt, against the stringent pressure by which Edward I. had kept his

Combina-
tion of
parties
against
Gaveston.

Desertion
of the elder
Despenser.

He is re-
moved from
the council.

His son
takes part
against
Gaveston.

earls in order, and had clipped the wings and cut the claws of Bigod and Bohun. Still the old ministers of the old king, Henry de Lacy at their head and Hugh le Despenser with him, although thrown out of the positions of power which they had long possessed; Thomas of Lancaster, his nephew, whose ambition he had nursed; Gilbert of Gloucester, his grandson; and Humfrey of Hereford, his son-in-law, might together have held the key of power, and maintained the royal administration on the old lines. As against the first favourite they had presented a united phalanx. But early on in the quarrel the elder Hugh le Despenser had gone over to the enemy. Whether his hatred of Thomas of Lancaster or the mere wish to court the king's favour were the cause, from the second year of the reign he was on Gaveston's side. The Malmesbury writer speaks of him as the only baron who took his part, and the Annals of Lanercost, as well as the Annales Paulini,¹ name him as one of the six counsellors who in the autumn parliament of the first year, that is immediately after the banishment of Gaveston, were removed at the urgent desire of the earls from the royal council. Of the other three, Nicolas Segrave had incurred the enmity of earl Thomas probably by supplanting his ally, William Mareschal, in the office of marshal at the coronation;² for the hereditary marshalship had expired with the last of the Bigod earls, and the service was now performed by deputy. Yet whilst the elder Hugh was committed to the king's party, his son was the reputed author of the formula in which, according to some of our authorities, the confederation for the limitation of the king's authority depended for justification. The principle which was alleged in the act against the

¹ Vol. i. p. 264. Chron. Lanercost, p. 212.

² Mon. Malmesb., below, p. 162.

Segrave appears later in the reign as a retainer of the earl, see below, p. lxxxiii.

Despensers, as invented by the younger Hugh in order to draw John Giffard into his alliance, that homage and fealty are due to the king in consideration of his crown rather than of his person, and that if he acts unreasonably he may be constrained to do right, was the principle on which the proceedings against Gaveston were instituted. And, if we may judge by the attitude which the younger Hugh took both then and afterwards, we may well believe that he had enunciated this formula and was enlisted in the party opposed to that in which his father was found.¹ Possibly he may have been at this period of his life under the influence of the earl of Warwick, who was his mother's brother, and who according to the historians of the time, was notwithstanding his roughness, a man of remarkable sagacity and statesmanship. When in 1311 the Ordainers presented a second series of demands, which, having a personal and temporary application were not incorporated in the final draft of the Ordinances, one of the clauses ran as follows: that Robert Darcy and Edmund Bacon and others who went out of the palace in order to run upon Sir Hugh le Despenser the son, be removed from the king's household and retinue and be in no office under the king.² Obviously the younger Hugh was at this time in alliance with Warwick and Lancaster. In 1312 the father is one of the king's agents in making peace after Gaveston's death; in 1313 he is excepted from the benefit of the pacification by Lancaster's interest,³ and in 1314 he is driven from court. Yet in 1315, according to the statement of Sir Thomas de la Moore, Sir Hugh the son was forced into the office of

Declaration of constitutional power to restrain the king.

Influence of the earl of Warwick.

The younger Hugh supported by the Ordainers.

Dissemination of political views.

¹ This is a curious point on which more light may be thrown hereafter.

See vol. i. p. 155; vol. ii. p. 33. Statutes of the Realm, i. 182, below, p. 65; Rot. Pari. iii. 363.

² Ann. London, above, vol. i. p. 200.

³ Above, vol. i. p. 221.

⁴ Mon. Malmesb., below, p. 193. Below, p. 299.

The younger
Hugh made
chamber-
lain.

Involved
in the
Gloucester
disputes.

Engaged on
the king's
side.

Story of his
conduct at
Burton-on-
Trent.

chamberlain by the Lancaster party, although the king hated him; and certainly in 1318 he was continued in the office by a parliament in which Lancaster was the leading spirit, and in which he had refused to be reconciled with the elder Hugh.¹ It was probably his marriage with the eldest of the Gloucester heiresses that drew him finally into the king's party; for, although this must have taken place as early as 1309, long that is before he went over, it was not until after earl Gilbert's death in 1314, or even later, after the division of the Gloucester heritage, which was made in 1317,² that the rivalry of the husbands of his sisters-in-law assumed the form of active hostility. As his position at court and in the country grew stronger the family hatred grew more violent, and before the end of the year which had seen him confirmed in the chamberlainship he was committed to the line of aggressive usurpation which involved him in the struggle that ended in his banishment. Immediately on his return, after a short period of exile, during which he seems to have behaved very lawlessly, more like a pirate than an English baron, he threw himself heart and soul into the king's design against Lancaster. Yet even now, if we may believe the Bridlington annalist,³ he preserved some of the legal scruples which had marked his early career, and strongly opposed the king's measure of raising his standard, as for civil war, at Burton-on-Trent. This is the last occasion, however, on which we find him counselling even a show of moderation. After joining in the judicial murder of earl Thomas and the other rebel lords he is found pursuing a career of avarice and aggression indistinguishable from that of his father.

It is curious that the writers of the time should have themselves been uncertain how they should apportion

¹ Roll of the Parliament, Cole's Documents, p. 4; cf. Mon. Malmesb., below, pp. 236, 240.

² Cont. Trivet, ed. Hall, p. 25

³ Below, p. 73.

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the blame between father and son. They agree in attributing to the elder Hugh up to the time of the crisis a high reputation for justice, not unmingled with severity, and to the son the great influence over the king which he so fatally misused; but beyond these sufficiently obvious points there is a conflict of opinion. Our own survey inclines us to the opinion that whilst from the beginning of the reign the father had swung to the court party, the son had more or less identified himself with the opposition; and that it was only after the year 1311 that the two began to work together on a common plan of personal aggrandizement. The Pauline annalist, leaning at the political side of the matter, lay the blame of the quarrel of 1321 on the son, who he exercised despotic authority over the royal household and estranged the king from his friends and councillors.¹ The Bridlington writer, who notwithstanding his northern home and experience occasionally speaks with severity of the Lancaster policy, regards the elder Hugh as one of the first men of the day in sense and probity,² and preserves for us the anecdote of the son's conduct at Burton, which serves to give us a favourable impression of his character.³ The Malmesbury writer attempts to deal out a measure of blame to both. The father was cruel and greedy, too severe in punishment and utterly unscrupulous in acquisition. It was not right that the son should bear the iniquity of the father; but there were some who thought that the malice of the son outweighed the severity of the father, and that the misuse of his personal influence with the king was the cause of their common ruin.⁴ Sir Thomas de Macclesfield, too, was inclined to think the father a victim to the faults of the son; he extols the honourable conduct

influence
opinion
of the
aggrandizement

To blame
annalist

To blame
Bridlington

To blame
Malmesbury

To blame
Macclesfield

¹ Vol. i. p. 292.

² Beave. p. 67.

³ Beave. p. 72.

⁴ Beave. p. 260, 261.

Beave. i. 270.

Opinions
about the
Despensers.

Comparison
of the fates
of the
favourites.

industrious, and energetic old man ; and ascribes to his inordinate attachment to his most ambitious, cruel, haughty, and abandoned son the ignominious end which befel him. The other contemporary writers, of whom Adam of Murimuth may be regarded as the chief, observe a careful discrimination, and abstain from any strong expressions of praise, blame, or sympathy. It would almost seem that the misery of Edward's own fall engrossed such pity as the men of the time could afford to bestow, just as it had been with Earl Thomas before him. With the two terrible examples of the instability of human greatness before men's eyes, the minor actors and sufferers were of less account. Where the great earl perished the fate of men like Badelesmere and Burghersh was a matter of course, and so when the king fell men cared little about the Despensers. As compared with Gaveston too there was little room for pity ; they reaped as they had sown ; he, if he had won the hatred of his rivals, had done nothing to deserve the vindictive cruelty with which they destroyed him. Further, the family of the Despensers continued to maintain hereditary feuds ; the glory of the Gascon upstart waned as rapidly as it had waxed : Gaveston left no heir ; the quarrel of the Despensers runs on for nearly a century, until the blood of earl Thomas of Gloucester, shed in 1400 by the rabble at Bristol, mingled with the stream in which Henry the Fourth avenged the wrongs of Lancaster. He was great grandson of the younger Hugh ; the Gloucester earldom was the fatal boon that destroyed them both. The unwise favouritism of two kings, the long hatred of the men of Bristol, and the fall before the rising party of Lancaster, add in this instance one more to the many parallel circumstances of the two revolutions of the century, and testify to the permanence of secondary, almost accidental, circumstances in the sequence of cause and consequence.

IV. The fourth and last of the memoirs collected in this volume is the "Vita et Mors Edwardi Secundi," ascribed to Sir Thomas de la More, or de la Moore. IV. The Vita et Mors ascribed to Sir Thomas de la Moore. This has been known to the world since 1602, when it was printed by Camden in the collection which bears the name of "Anglica, Normannica, Hibernica, Cambrica a veteribus scripta," and was published at Frankfurt. It has ever since been one of the chief authorities for certain portions of Edward's history, but its exact position as to date and authorship is somewhat indeterminate, and I am not able in this edition to throw any new or decisive light upon it. I have indeed printed the tract rather in the idea of making it an appendix to the other and more valuable works which it accompanies, than with the thought of defending its authenticity or originality. A few pages will suffice to place the reader in possession of what can be said to be known about it.

In the year 1347 a certain clerk, possibly a canon, of Osney, named Geoffrey le Baker, who describes himself as of Swinbrook, in Oxfordshire, wrote a short chronicle at the request of Sir Thomas de la More. Geoffrey le Baker of Swinbrook and his chronicles. This is a very scanty abstract of universal history, from the creation to the year of writing, in which the dates of the several events recorded are defined not only by the years of the eras, first of the world and then of the Incarnation, but by their distance from the year 1347: as for example, the death of Edward the Confessor, A.D. 1065, is marked also 282; the battle of Bannockburn, 33; the creation of the six earls in 1336, 11. It is impossible to say whether any part of this is original, but either it or the chronicle from which it was derived must have been used in the compilation of the continuation of the Barlings Chronicle above described, as contained in Mr. West's MS.¹ It also agrees very closely with the chronicle called *Eulogium*, the relation of

¹ See above, p. xli

Date of
Geoffrey le
Baker and
Sir Thomas
de la More.

which to West's MS. has been already examined. This little work is of importance, however, here only as showing that the date of Geoffrey le Baker and Sir Thomas de la More is sufficiently well fixed. Besides this, Geoffrey le Baker wrote a longer and perhaps more original chronicle, although the early portion is derived in great measure from Adam of Murimuth, extending from the year 1303 to 1356. This is preserved, apparently in the author's own manuscript, in the Bodleian Library, MS. Bodl. 761, and was edited in 1847 by Dr. Giles, among his *Scriptores Monastici*, together with its shorter companion. In this work the writer declares himself indebted to Sir Thomas de la More for the substance of his notices of Edward II., and even goes so far as to describe himself as a mere translator from the French work of his patron. In narrating the mission of the bishops to Kenilworth to receive the king's resignation, he uses the words, "whose company you adorned by your wise and illustrious presence, being attached to the bishop of Winchester; you, generous knight, who saw these things and described them in French, whose interpreter after a fashion I am: you, I mean, Sir Thomas de la More."¹ In another section he directly addresses Sir Thomas as "miles reverende,"² and this work may, in fact, as well as the shorter one, be said to be dedicated to Sir Thomas de la More. It is from this statement alone that we derive our knowledge that Sir Thomas wrote a French life of Edward, and the writer gives us no indication as to the extent of his own debt to the French original.

Geoffrey's
debt to Sir
Thomas.

Appearance
of the *Vita et
Mors* as the
work of de
la More in
the reign of
Elizabeth.

About two centuries after the date of Geoffrey le Baker's work a small tract was circulated in manuscript which purported by its title to be a direct translation from Sir Thomas's French memoir: "*Vita et mors*

¹ See below, p. 313, note 1:
where, however, the word *comitiver*

should be *comitivam*, and *generosa*,
generose.

² See below, p. 316, note 1.

“Edwardi secundi Gallice conscripta a generosissimo
 “milite Thoma de la Moore, qui sequentium pars
 “nonnulla fuit, et in Latinum reducta ab alio quo-
 “dam ejus synchrono.” At least two copies of the
 work exist written in Elizabethan hands, and one of
 them ends with an explicit, “ex vetustissimo exem-
 “plari quod penes Guilielmum Bowerum, et Lauren-
 “tius Noelus transcripserat.” Whatever may have been
 the age of this most ancient copy, the earliest notice of
 its existence is derived from this note. Laurence Nowell ^{Known to}
 died dean of Lichfield in 1576. William Bower or ^{Laurence}
 Bowyer was keeper of the Records in the Tower, in ^{Nowell, and}
 1564 and 1567, and was a collector of manuscripts at ^{William}
 the time. It is not clear from the words given above ^{Bowyer}
 whether he was the owner of the ancient copy, or of
 Nowell's transcript, or whether the two were identical.
 Just at the same time the work was known to Foxe the ^{Foxe and}
 martyrologist, who possessed the copy now in the Inner ^{Stowe}
 Temple Library; and to John Stowe, who, however,
 seems to have lent to Camden as extracts from the
 history of Thomas de la More a copy of the entire
 Chronicle of Geoffrey le Baker; for in the Lansdowne
 MS. 229 are contained, in Camden's writing, a series of
 notes “ex historia Thomæ de la More quam mihi
 accommodavit J. Stowe, 1577,” which are really de-
 rived from the larger work. We must suppose that
 in the twenty-six years which intervened between the
 date of this note and the publication of the *Anglica*
Normannica, Camden had forgotten the identity of the
 work which he published as Sir Thomas de la More's
 life of Edward with the section of the much longer
 chronicle which Stowe had lent him. For the so-called ^{It is a mere}
 “Vita et Mors” is really only an extract from Geoffrey ^{extract.}
 le Baker's Chronicle, abridged and slightly altered in
 the earlier parts, but in the latter portion so mere a
 copy as to have retained the direct address of the writer
 to Sir Thomas, which occurs in the manuscripts, but is
 omitted in Camden's edition.

Camden's
account of
Sir Thomas
de la Moore.

Before proceeding with an account of the manuscripts we may examine Camden's notice of the author of the work. This occurs among the preliminary matter prefixed to the *Anglica, Normannica*, and runs as follows: "Thomas de la Moore, so far as I am able to ascertain from the records of the ancients, was born of a knightly family in Gloucestershire, served under Edward I. in his Scottish wars, and, when all who held twenty librates of land by knight service, as men called it in that age, were ordered to be made knights, was girt with the knightly girdle and sword and received the knightly dignity from the same king. Afterwards when he had as an intimate friend done faithful service at home and in war to Edward II., and that king had been wickedly despoiled of kingdom and life, he wrote his life and death in French and had it translated into Latin by Walter Baker, alias Swinborn, a canon of Osney."¹ It is possible that Camden may have found the name of Sir Thomas de la More in some list of persons knighted by Edward I., and he certainly found among the records of the reign mention of a knightly family of the name which was flourishing in Gloucestershire. But the rest of the description, and perhaps the whole of it, is a mere amplification of what Geoffrey le Baker tells us of his patron. I have been unable to find in the accessible records of the reign of Edward I. any notice whatever of Sir Thomas, and I am inclined to think that there is very little authority for what Camden has written.

Wanting in
authority.

¹ *Vita Thomæ de la Moore.*
" Thomas de la Moore, quantum ex
" veterum monumentis investigare
" possum, equestri familia natus in
" comitatu Gloucestrensi, meruit
" sub Edwardo primo Angliæ rege
" in bellis Scotticis, cumque singuli
" qui viginti libratis terrarum, ut
" eo sæculo loquebantur, per servi-
" tium militare, milites fieri jube-
" rentur, militari cingulo et gladio
" cinctus equestrem dignitatem ab

" eodem rege accepit. Postea cum
" regi Edwardo secundo filio ejus
" intimus domi bellicque fidelem
" operam præstitisset, cumque ille
" et regno et vita immani cum sec-
" lere spoliatus esset, ejus vitam et
" mortem Gallice scripsit, et in La-
" tinam linguam a Gualtero Baker
" alias Swinborn, canonico Osnei
" eusi converti curavit." Camden,
Anglica, &c., ed. 1603.

Sir Robert Atkyns, the historian of Gloucestershire, had, however, no such misgiving; he recognised Sir Thomas as a Gloucestershire man, and gave him a place in the pedigree of the knightly family which in the fourteenth century possessed Eldland or Oldland in the parish of Bitton. Richard de la More of Eldland held half a knight's fee in Bitton in 1277 and 1282, and was knight of the shire for Gloucester in 1290. He died in the twentieth year of Edward I. So much is known of him from the records of the reign,¹ and Atkyns describes Sir Thomas as his son: "Thomas de la Moore, his son, succeeded him. He had twenty pounds a year in land and was made a knight by king Edward I. He lived in the court of king Edward II. and wrote a faithful history of the life and death of that king which is now extant."² This account of Sir Thomas³ was accepted by Tanner,⁴ and has, so far as I know, never been questioned. Sir Robert Atkyns pursues the history of Eldland through five generations of Mores, Stephen, who held it the second year of Edward III., Walter in the fourteenth, and John in the twenty-third. Obviously there was a somewhat rapid succession. On examining, however, the *Calendarium Genealogicum*, and the printed calendar of *Inquisitiones post mortem*, we find that Atkyns's identification of Sir Thomas is not only not proved, but so thoroughly disproved that scarcely any place can be made for him in the family pedigree. He was not the son of Richard de la More, who died in 1292, for Richard left no son, and the question of his succession had to be tried by jury. The

Sir Thomas
described as a
Gloucester-
shire
worthy

and a ped-
igree as-
signed to
him.

The ident-
ification is
more in-
ference and
conjecture.

¹ Palgrave, *Parl. Writs*, i. 22, 205, 211, 212, 234, 242, 746.

² Atkyns, *Gloucestershire*, p. 287; the statement is copied word for word in Radder's *Gloucestershire*.

R 1681.

³ Tanner, *Bibliotheca*, p. 531. Wharton (in *Cave's Hist. Lit.*, p. 20) follows Camden's statement, but without mentioning Gloucestershire as the county which gave birth to Sir Thomas.

No place for
Sir Thomas
in the
Gloucester-
shire family.

jurors on the inquisition found that Bartholomew de la More, of Bitton, was twice married; by his first wife he had a son named Nicolas who married and left a son named John. By a second wife Bartholomew had two sons, Richard the defunct, who died without heir male of his body, and Bartholomew who left a son called Stephen. The jurors were unable to decide whether John or Stephen was the heir of Richard, and the king, on the 27th of June, ordered the escheator to commit the custody of the lands to Stephen until John's claims were discussed in the king's court; on the 30th of April in the following year John was summoned to answer Stephen.¹ Stephen certainly succeeded and held Eldland until his death in 1328. He performed regular service in Wales and Scotland under Edward II., represented Gloucestershire in the parliaments or parliamentary assemblies of 1316 and 1324, and, unless he is confounded with another person of the same name, was taken prisoner by the king at Leeds Castle, in 1321.² His successor at Eldland is called in the *Inquisitiones* William, and William's son John held the lands in the twenty-third year of Edward III.³ There is thus no room for Sir Thomas as lord of Eldland. Two persons of the name are mentioned in the Parliamentary Writs, published by Palgrave, one as manucaptor for the burgess returned for Weobley in 1306,⁴ the other as attending an array in Suffolk in 1326,⁵ neither of them of course bearing the designation of knight. It is then just possible, within the verge of possibility, that Sir Thomas may have been a younger son of Stephen de la More. I am, however, inclined to look for him nearer to the home of his friend Geoffrey le Baker.

¹ *Calendarium Genealogicum*, p. 436.

² *Parl. Writs, Alphabetical Digest*, pp. 1194, 1195.

Inquisitiones post mortem, Calendar, vol. i. p. 108; vol. ii. pp. 13, 92, 157.

⁴ *Parl. Writs*, i. 170, 747.

⁵ *Parl. Writs*, II. i. 747.

Swinbrook is a village in Oxfordshire, in the hundred of Chadlington. In the same hundred was a place called Mora or Moor, now known as Northmoor. In this place, in the seventh year of Edward I., one John, son of Stephen de la Mora, held thirty acres of land, a mill, and a passage over the Thames, under the prior of Deerhurst, the tenant in chief, by annual payment of 53s. and 4d. and suit at the hundred court of Chadlington.¹ The family of De la More continued to flourish at Northmoor, for Anthony Wood found there fragments of their sepulchral monuments,² and evidence of their coat armour, argent a fesse dancettee gobony gules and sable between three mullets gules.³ Now in the first two parliaments of 1340 Sir Thomas de la More sat as knight of the shire for Oxfordshire⁴ and was a member of the great committee appointed, in the second session to sit from day to day until the business was finished and the petitions turned into a statute.⁵ He was evidently a person of great consideration, was again elected in 1343 and 1351, and thus outlived the great plague.⁶ He may safely be identified with the patron of Geoffrey le Baker. I shall not venture to identify him with Sir Thomas de la More⁷ who in 1370 was constable or vice-warden of Porchester Castle under the earl of Arundel, although, supposing him to have been a young esquire in the service of bishop Stratford in 1326, he may easily be supposed to have survived until the close of the reign of Edward III. Sir Thomas de la More, or de la Mare, who

The de la
Mores of
Northmoor,
in Oxford-
shire.

Sir Thomas
de la More
knight of
the shire
for Oxford.

¹ Rotuli Hundredorum, ii. 732.
² Wood MS.
³ Turner, Visitation of Oxford-
shire, p. 6.
⁴ Return of Members, pp. 139,
181, 137, 149.
⁵ Rolle of Parliament, ii. 113.

⁶ See p. 317, below. He was
probably alive in 1350, when Geof-
frey's longer chronicle ends.
⁷ See the Issue Roll, published by
Mr. Devon, pp. 5, 243, 372, 424,
and Feodera, iii. 880.

The De la
Mare of
Alder-
maston.

was sheriff of Oxfordshire in 1370¹ and is in the published list of sheriffs domiciled at Aldermaston in Berkshire, may have been a member of the same family. Aldermaston was in 1345 still in the hands of the Achards, and I am not able to say at what date it passed to the family of De la More or De la Mare, or whether that family took its name from Northmoor. I venture, however, to suggest with some confidence that it is in this direction we should look for more evidence touching the reverend knight to whose testimony in 1347 Geoffrey le Baker appealed, and I have no doubt whatever that the knight of the shire of 1340 was the same person.

Geoffrey le
Baker.

Of Geoffrey nothing more is known. Camden indeed calls him a canon of Osney, but he describes himself as a clerk, and I am not sure that, if he had been a canon regular of the order of St. Augustine, he would have called himself by a name which implies a secular rather than a regular profession. We know from his own writings that both he and his patron survived the great plague, and were alive in 1356; that Geoffrey used Thomas's French Memoir in the composition of his chronicle; that Thomas was a knight who, in attendance on bishop Stratford, had visited the dethroned king at Kenilworth in January 1327; and that Geoffrey's account of Edward was written after the great plague thirty years after the king's death.

The extant
work is
more ex-
tract.

I think that there need be no doubt that, whatever may have become of the French work of Sir Thomas de la More, we have in the tract as printed by Camden, only an abstract and extract from Geoffrey le Baker.

¹ Called Sir Thomas de la Mare of Aldermaston in Mr. Davenport's list of Lords Lieutenant and High Sheriffs, p. 20; but the family is, in Ashmole's Berkshire, called De la

More. The returns, which give Thomas de la Mare as knight of the shire for Berks in 1379 (p. 201), confirm Mr. Davenport's reading: cf. pp. 207, 210, 214.

arranged on a possible conjecture of the identity of the Latin text with a French original. But it is not a mere abridgment; there are considerable omissions and verbal modifications, although there is no addition of the smallest importance. Camden's text however does not exactly represent the manuscript known as containing St Thomas de la Moore's work, for it omits the reference to him as author and patron, and in some places substitutes a classical Latin word for the word used both by Geoffrey and the abbreviator. One or two instances will show this. Biakelawe is given by Camden as the place of Gavers-ton's execution. Gaversiche is the reading of Geoffrey and of the Harleian and Petyt MSS. At p. 305 Camden substitutes *fratre* for the *germanus* of the MSS. at p. 314 *facturam* for *uenerat*; at p. 316 *exemplum* for *inprimis*; at p. 317 *innotuit* for *deceperat*. In all these and a few like cases Geoffrey is back to the reading of the manuscript.

These manuscripts however do not always agree with Geoffrey. They describe Gaveston as *Italus* when he has a blank for the word to designate the nationality of the favourite; and they frequently describe Walter de Stapleton, bishop of Exeter as *Wilhelmus*. It is however of little use to go into minute particulars on this point. A careful collation shows that whilst for the early years of the reign the text of Geoffrey has been a good deal retrenched for the later years and for the catastrophe it is reproduced with some approach to accuracy.

It is by no means impossible that the original French of Thomas de la Moore may still be extant. But no trace of it has as yet been found and it may prevent some future disappointment if I add that the ordinary title given in the manuscript to the Latin life is "*Gallice conscripta*" or "*Gallice sermone scripta*" and that "*in Latinum reducta*" may lead to a wild goose chase. Such at least has been my own experience of the

"Gallice conscripta" is so suggestive of a French original that one is apt to forget that it is only a part of the ordinary title of the book.

The manu-
scripts used
in this
edition.

The manuscripts which have been used for this edition require no lengthened description, and as they furnish no various readings of any importance it is of no use to go into exact detail respecting them. The first is found in the Cottonian MS. Vitellius E. 5, folios 261-270. It is written in a fair round Elizabethan hand. The same volume, which is a collection of notes and transcripts, contains in the same hand a copy of Marlborough's extracts from the Polychronicon. I have not succeeded in discovering the writer, unless the following slight indication should be considered to point to a well known historical student of the age. In the colophon, describing the text as derived from Laurence Nowell's transcript, the scribe has ornamented the last line with a shield, which, unless intended for a mere flourish, bears the heraldic interpretation of argent, four fusils in pale sable. This is the cognizance borne by families of the name of Daniel. Samuel Daniel, the author of the first comprehensive history of medieval England, was born in 1562, matriculated at Oxford in 1579, published his history in 1613 and 1618, and died in 1619.¹ We know from his account of the reign of Edward II. that he was well acquainted with the work ascribed to Thomas de la Moore.² Curiously enough, in his will, of which Dr. Bliss, in the *Athenæ Oxonienses*³ has given an abstract, he leaves a legacy to Susan Boure. Supposing then that Samuel Daniel bore the arms in question, and both by birth and by position at

The Cotton
MS. Vi-
tellius,
E. 5.

Possibly the
property of
Daniel.

¹ Wood's *Athenæ*, i. 379, 380; Bliss's *Wood*, ii. 272.

² In particular I may refer to the story of the shaving in ditch water, and other tortures inflicted on Edward II.; and the execution of John

Daniel and Thomas Micheldever or Micheldene. See the reprint of Daniel in Kennett's *Complete History*, i. 212; below, pp. 312, 316.

³ Vol. ii. p. 272.

court he must have been qualified to bear arms and supposing that he was connected with the family of Bowyer, this copy may have been made by him from the original draft of Laurence Nowell whilst in William Bowyer's hands. The interest, however, of the Cottonian volume, in reference to our subject does not end here. It contains, in a hand quite different and in a quire which has no organic connexion with the one just described, a series of notes taken from Thomas de la Moore, "who wrought this history in French being turned into Latin by one who lived in his time taken out of a copy written by Laurence Nowell." These are followed by another series of notes on Irish History and then by "*Cronica Glaston collecta per Laurentium Noellum sua propria manu scripta*" being a copy taken from Nowell's manuscript by Francis Thynne and dated "7 Octobris A.D. 1592, in domo Willelmi Lambardi armigeri apud Halling in Kentia." Lambard, as it is hardly necessary to say, was the eminent scholar and antiquary to whom we owe the *Archaionomia*, *Archeion*, and *Eirenarcha*. He was a pupil of Laurence Nowell, under whom he studied in Lincoln's Inn and he was later in life keeper of the Records in the Tower to which office he was appointed in 1601. William Bowyer, it will be remembered, was a holder of the same office. Thynne was a great antiquary and herald, a friend and helper also of Camden and a commoner of Magdalen College at the very time at which Daniel was a commoner of Magdalen Hall.

Context of
of Laurence
and how
not

Francis
Thynne
William
Lambard
Laurence
Nowell
and
William
Bowyer

¹ MS. Vitellius, E. 5, fol. 143-fo 144 v.

² MS. Vitellius E. 5, fol. 147. These notes are not, as has been supposed, in Nowell's hand, but in Thynne's. MS. Vitellius D. 7, which has likewise been regarded as Nowell's, is really Jocelin's, as is

Vitellius E. 14. See Churton, *Life of Alex. Nowell*, p. 27.

³ Hearne, *Curious Discourses*, 436.

⁴ Wood, *Athenae*, i. 306, 320. Hearne, *Curious Discourses*, i. 447.

Laurence
Nowell.

Connexion
of the
Nowells
and Bow-
yers.

All the circumstances noted in connexion with this MS. point to the same cluster of names, and that cluster has its centre in Laurence Nowell. Laurence Nowell was a brother of the more famous Alexander Nowell, dean of S. Paul's, and, although dean of Lichfield, seems to have lived a good deal in London, where he cultivated historical antiquities and the Anglo-Saxon language with great success. He was indeed almost the founder of the Elizabethan school of Anglo-Saxon students, and as the instructor of Lambard laid posterity under a great obligation. William Bowyer, or Bower, the owner of the MS. which he transcribed, was, as has been noticed, keeper of the Records in the Tower,¹ and the owner of more than one precious manuscript. The Bodleian Register of prior Molash of Canterbury² bears on its first page the inscription "Sum Guilielmi Bowyer," and the same appears on the small chronicle wrongly assigned to Hugh Hoveden in the Harleian MS. 3776. As keeper of the Records he compiled a short abridgment of the Patent Rolls, now MS. Additional 5511.³ He also was one of the early members of the Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries.⁴ It is certain that there was a close connexion between the Nowells and the Sussex family of Bowyer. Alexander Nowell, dean of S. Paul's, was twice married, and on each occasion to a widow with a family.⁵ His first wife, to whom he must have been married before 1561, was Joan, daughter and coheir of Robert Merry of Hertford, and widow of Thomas Bowyer of London.⁶ She died in 1579, and her husband, who survived to marry another

¹ Calendar of Domestic State Papers of Queen Elizabeth, 1547-1580, pp. 234, 290-292, 298.

² MS. Tanner, clxy.

³ Index of Addl. MSS., p. 55.

⁴ Hearne, Curious Discourses, ii. 423.

⁵ Churton, Life of Alexander

Nowell, p. 352. His second wife, called Elizabeth Hast in Foster's Lancashire Pedigrees, had been wife first to Lawrence Ball, and secondly to Thomas Blount.

⁶ Dallaway, Hist. of Western Sussex, pp. 60, 61.

lady as third husband, lived until 1602. In his will he excused himself for not leaving anything to his first wife's children, but bequeathed to his friend, Thomas Bowyer, Esquire, of the Middle Temple, five pounds to buy a ring, and ten books at his own selection.¹ Francis Bowyer, by whose assistance Nowell was enabled to escape from the hands of Bonner in the early days of the Marian persecution, and who was sheriff of London in 1577, was a member of the same family, and Mrs. Nowell's nephew by marriage.² I am not able to say whether William Bowyer, the keeper of the Records, was a member of the same family, but it is not improbable that such was the case.³ Certainly the later Bowyers, whatever their family connexions may have been, kept up their interest in history: Fuller dedicates to Thomas Bowyer, Esquire, of the Old Jewry, merchant, a part of his Church History; and Robert Bowyer is well known as the sworn clerk of the Parliament who in 1609 drew up the journal of both Houses from the first year of Henry VIII. to the seventh year of Edward VI., now among the Cotton MSS. We have strayed too far from the subject in hand. It is, however, curious to trace within how small a ring of antiquarian friends and relations the work of Sir Thomas de la More gains its first formal recognition. The Bowyers are kinsfolk of the Nowells; Lawrence Nowell is the tutor of Lambarde; Lambarde shows his MSS. to Thynne; Thynne is Lancaster Herald, whilst Camden is Clarendieux; Camden borrows the same book from Stowe; Daniel is a contemporary of Thynne at Oxford and

¹ Churton, Life of Nowell, p. 353.

² Churton, Life of A. Nowell, p. 20.

³ The Additional MS. 12,504 contains a case concerning the leases granted in 1568 or 1569 by Dean Nowell, his wife Joan, and

his stepson Thomas Bowyer, of the farm of Runckton, in Somerset. The seat of the family was at Laythorne, in the parish of North Mundham. Thomas Bowyer, Mrs. Nowell's grandson, was made a baronet in 1634.

possibly also connected with the Bowyers; Foxe the friend and ally of the two puritan deans is the owner of the second copy of the manuscript.

The Petyt
MS. in the
Inner
Temple.

This second manuscript, which is of very much the same character, date, and hand, is among Petyt's collections¹ in the Library of the Inner Temple, contained in a volume numbered Petyt 47, folios 303-314. It is possibly the oldest of the manuscripts which I have seen, but is a transcript, not the original abstract or Laurence Nowell's first copy. It contains, moreover, no reference to Nowell, and may be an entirely independent transcript of the MS. that Nowell used: possibly it may be Nowell's own. An early owner has added to the title after the name of Thomas de la Moore, "qui sequentium pars nonnulla fuit, et in Latinum reducta ab alio quodam ejus synchrono." He also recommends the future inquirer to look at Bale, cent. v., "et comperies quemdam Stephanum Eiton hæc eadem scripsisse." But this is marked for erasure, probably by some one who found that the work described by Bale as Stephen Eiton's was incorporated in its integrity in the chronicle of Thomas Walsingham.² The curious description of Gaveston as an Italian by birth may possibly be accounted for by the difficulty which the scribe has had in determining whether the right reading was "Italus" or "ista." The original work of Geoffrey le Baker, from which the original compiler was copying, leaves a blank for the word; it is possible that in the original abstract the writer had inserted "itaque," as is so commonly done in hagiographies at the

¹ Appendix to the Second Report of the Historical MSS. Commission, pp. 151, 155: "MSS. out of John Foxe his study." Catalogue of Petyt's MSS. by Jo. Blew, Sept. 21, 1716:—"MS. 47, fo. 303. Vita et mors regis Edwardi

"secundi Gallico sermone composita a generosissimo milite Thoma de la Moore, et in Latinum reducta ab alio quodam ejus synchrono."
² Hardy, Catalogue of Materials, iii. 368, 393.

opening of the narrative parts, and finding a blank in his exemplar had left a blank after *itaque*, which a more impatient transcriber had turned by a happy emendation first into *ista*, and on second thoughts into *Italus*. Another variation occurs in the spelling of the English words recorded as spoken by the attendant of Edward II. on the miserable journey to Berkeley. Where Geoffrey le Baker has "Avant, sire kinge," Camden's edition reads "Fare forth, syr kynge," the Petyt MS. "Fare forth, sier cinig." These are the only variations of any significance, but there are one or two peculiarities of spelling: Langdon at p. 307 is spelled Legendon; and Gaversike, for which at p. 298 Camden and the Vitellius MS. have Blacklawe, appears as Gaversiche. The writer has been also uncertain as were the other copyists, whether bishop Stapleton was named William or Walter. He seems, moreover, to have determinedly called bishop Orleton *Toderon*: in one place Despenser is written De Spensier: and there are a great many false readings of terminations. The MS., though old, is not valuable as an authority. This manuscript was one of the twenty-three articles in John Foxe's study which were incorporated in Petyt's collection.

The third manuscript, Harleian 310, is also of the reign of Elizabeth, but is written in a tall, pointed hand of the character sometimes called Italian, and strikingly different from the formal round hand of the other two MSS. It has several small variations and some corrections, which have probably been introduced after collation with the other copies. In some respects, as in the reading of Gaversiche for Blacklaw, it resembles Camden's edition less closely than the Vitellius MS., but the differences are very slight.

Another copy of this work was formerly in the hands Sir Nicolas Jekyll, in whose catalogue it was numbered 81. Jekyll's MSS. became the property of Mr. Holman,

Another
copy lost.

Holman's MSS. went to Mr. Morant, Morant's to Mr. Astle, Astle's to Stowe, and the Stowe MSS. to Ashburnham. None of the catalogues of the later collections contain any mention of this copy after it was in Holman's hands. Mr. Macray, to whom I am indebted for my knowledge of its existence, was inclined to think that on the "Gallice conscripta" of the recorded title some hope might be founded of recovering Sir Thomas de la Moore's French original. But I see no reason to think that the words have more significance in this case than in the others. Anyhow the MS. is not to be found.

The Bod-
leian MS. of
Geoffrey le
Baker.

The Bodleian MS. from which Dr. Giles edited Geoffrey le Baker, and which I have collated with Camden's text for this edition, is numbered Bodl. 761. It is a large paper volume of very miscellaneous contents, comprising a medical treatise dedicated to Johanna countess of Hereford, A.D. 1408, copies of medical prescriptions, and papal bulls. The longer chronicle begins on folio 99 and extends to folio 145 verso; the shorter begins on folio 149 and ends on folio 156. On folio 160 begins a copy of the *Speculum of Brunellus*, by Nigel Wireker, which is followed by some French poetry; "Chier
"ami relevez de moy, un beau present qe vous envoy,
"non pas dor ne de argent, etc." At folio 184, "Anno
"D. 1347 facta est quedam visio in claustro Cister-
"ciensis ordinis Tripoli—quidam monachus celebravit
"missam coram abbate suo uno ministro presente;
"inter ablutionem et communionem missæ apparuit
"quedam manus scribens super corporale"—certain prophecies follow. At folio 187 occur some bulls of John XXII., dated at Avignon in the seventh and ninth years of his pontificate, and the last article on folio 195 is "de la progenie des Soldans et du Caliphe." Great part of the volume is in the same hand, which, if not Geoffrey le Baker's own, must be that of an early transcriber.

The Chronicle of Geoffrey le Baker is founded upon the Chronicle of Adam of Murimuth. A careful examination of the early years of both show that the former writer began his work at the same point, the year 1303, and followed implicitly the corrupt computation of his predecessor, who, by beginning the year at Michaelmas, has contrived to throw all events that happened between January and October one full year behind the true date. This practice, which is undoubtedly peculiar to Adam of Murimuth, coupled with the coincidence of the initial date, would be sufficient to mark Geoffrey as the copyist, even if we distrusted Adam's assertion of the originality of his own memoranda. Both probably were Oxfordshire men, and Fifield, the lordship of the house of Murimuth, lay, like Geoffrey's home at Swinbrook, within the hundred of Chadlington. There is no improbability in supposing that Geoffrey was one of the first readers of Adam's chronicle. The year 1347, in which Geoffrey began to write, is also the year in which the *textus receptus* of Adam's chronicle ends. It is not now the time to inquire what is the state of Murimuth's text, or what is the exact point at which his personal labours closed: some discussion of the latter point has been attempted in the preface to the first volume of this work; the former must wait until all the manuscripts which bear the name of Murimuth have been more critically examined. It is enough for our present purpose to note that from 1303 to 1340 Adam supplies the chronological string on which Geoffrey's facts are arranged, and even considerable portions of the wording of his narrative. Geoffrey, however, adds very largely to Murimuth, and more largely as he approaches his own time of writing. It is to him through the medium of Stowe, that we owe many of the picturesque details of the early years of Edward III. as well as of the tragedy of Edward II. And he utilised the labours of other contemporaries and eye-witnesses, besides Stowe.

How much
of Geoffrey's
chronicle
was derived
from
Thomas de
la Moore?

Confusion
of the
chronology
derived
from Mur-
muth, not
from de la
Moore.

Thomas de la Moore. It is, however, with the period for which he claims Sir Thomas as his authority that we have now alone to do. It would be possible, I think, by a very careful and literal collation of Geoffrey with Adam of Murimuth for the reign of Edward II., to determine approximately the amount of information which he drew from Sir Thomas de la Moore; and I am not sure that it was not by some such process that the first editor of the so-called "*Vita et Mors*" supposed himself to be enucleating Sir Thomas's original contribution. But that editor has, as it would seem, so far modified the language of Geoffrey in the earlier parts of the work as to add a further element of confusion; he has retained, too, so much of Murimuth's language, in places, as to make it impossible without such help to maintain the continuity of the story; and he has, by the retention of the perverse chronology of Murimuth, vitiated the computation ascribed to Sir Thomas de la Moore, in one case so far as to fabricate a date for an authentic document. It will be observed that throughout the "*Vita et Mors*," as printed in this volume, the dates in the text are in most cases a year behind the dates in the margin. For example, the battle of Bannockburn, which was fought in June 1314, is placed in the year 1313, because Adam of Murimuth began the year at Michaelmas, and Geoffrey le Baker either condoned or never discovered the fault. The worst case in which this perversity affects the chronology of the work is the dating of the act by which Edward II. surrendered Aquitaine to his son. That act was done in September 1325, in the nineteenth year therefore of the reign.¹ Geoffrey is following Murimuth and calling the year 1324; but not content with that he goes on to add the regnal year,² "*anno*

¹ *Foedera*, ii. 607, 608.

| ² Below, p. 367.

"decimo octavo," which, of course, is a fabricated date, ^{importance of this point} inexcusable on the ground of any such crotchet as influenced the author whom he was copying. It is more important to observe this, as otherwise some doubt may be thrown on the more circumstantial details of the narrative, which we may suppose to have been obtained from Sir Thomas, on the ground that his reminiscences were so far removed from the time of the events that he has misdated them by a full year. The misdating is Geoffrey's own, caused by a blind following of Murimuth's absurd computation.

The "Vita et Mors" has been so long before the ^{Value of the Vita et Mors} world that it is quite needless for me to analyse it here or to attempt an exact estimate of its historical value. I will content myself with saying that, although filtered through the somewhat uncertain medium of Geoffrey's chronicle, and to some extent spoiled by the intermixture of Adam of Murimuth's language and chronology, I believe it to be in the main trustworthy. As I have said already, I do not altogether despair of a rediscovery of a French original, which will determine the questions on which I have perhaps spent too much space and labour.

The reign of Edward II. possesses, in its more prominent events, an extraordinary amount of tragic ^{Character of the reign of Edward II.} interest; but outside of the dramatic crises it may be described as exceedingly dreary. There is a miserable level of political selfishness which marks without exception every public man; there is an absence of sincere feeling except in the shape of hatred and revenge; there is a profession of economic and reforming zeal which never comes into practice, and there is no great triumph of good or evil to add a moral or inspire a sympathy. This absence of inspiring topics renders certain parts of the reign simply unreadable;

The middle
of the reign
especially
dreary.

Party war-
fare.

Reconcilia-
tion after
Gaveston's
death.

Lancaster
supreme in
1316.

yet there are great quantities of records which are, as a series, instructive enough, and capable of a good deal of antiquarian illustration. This is true of the whole of the reign, but especially true of the years that intervene between the death of Gaveston and the attack on the Despensers. During this period the national history may be summed up as a series of attempts made by the party of the earl of Lancaster to reduce the king to impotence, on the pretext of compelling him to observe the Ordinances; interrupted from time to time by renewals of the Scottish war, which constrained the conflicting parties to a show of reconciliation and joint action; and by a series of intrigues and counter intrigues to obtain for a party independent of the earl of Lancaster, a hold on the royal administration. The king all the time, whether working underhand against Lancaster, or acting overtly against him under the influence of a body of allies in whom he has no confidence, is gradually being thrown more and more completely and helplessly on the support of the Despensers, who finally get him entirely under their hands.

Gaveston perished in June 1312; the second half of that year and the whole of the next were occupied with negotiations for reconciliation; the parties reconciled joined in the war with Robert Bruce; the battle of Bannockburn furnished Lancaster with a convincing argument of the king's incapacity and of the importance of the Ordinances. Gradually almost all power slipped out of the king's hands, and in the parliament of Lincoln held in January 1316 the earl was made chief counsellor, and restraints were placed on the action of the king, who was to undertake nothing important or arduous without the consent of the earls and barons. Edward had nothing better to do than to confirm the Ordinances, and try, by satisfying the demands of the clergy, to secure some measure of peace and some supplies of money.

This state of things did not continue long. The king ^{intention of the year 1317} tried to make a party of his own, and different clusters of courtiers organised themselves in parties too to take advantage of the first opportunity that might arrive of gaining power on the pretext of freeing him. The year 1317 was a period of intrigue and private war. Lancaster, as we learn from a valuable letter preserved by ^{the Bridlington historian} the Bridlington historian,¹ had attempted in his office of chief councillor, to impose some new ordinances. A committee had been appointed in the Lincoln parliament to reform the administration, and of this committee, which included bishops and earls, the leading men were Lancaster himself, archbishop Reynolds who was supposed to be committed heart and soul to the king's side, and Bartholomew lord Badlesmere who was an enemy of Lancaster and only cared for the king as the fulcrum to be used for the promotion of his own ambition of governing. Ordinances were framed and were sent in writing to the king by the hands of Badlesmere and Inge the chief justice. Of course nothing was done, and the precise purport of the ordinances themselves is not now to be recovered. The earl was violently offended, ^{Lancaster offended} and his sulky attitude strengthened the hands of the intriguing parties at the court. But matters went further. Early in 1317 the king called councils which Lancaster refused to attend.² He sent to the pope to ask for absolution from his oath to the Ordinances and for a sentence against the Scots. The pope declined both requests; the Ordinances were drawn up by men who could be trusted with the interests of both church and crown; the Scots were not to be condemned until the cause had been tried on its merits; if the king would devote his energies to the crusade the clergy might grant him money, not otherwise. The pope's ^{Edmund's opinion of the pope}

¹ Belov, pp. 50, 51.

² Mon. Mahon, below, pp. 226-228, and notes.

Intrigues
against
Lancaster.

Threaten-
ings of civil
war.

Lancaster's
refusal to
attend a
council.

The king and
earl watch
one another
in arms.

advice was thrown away. The courtiers advised defiance of Lancaster and the prosecution of the Scottish war to which the great earl was known to be opposed. The earl of Warrene was now the king's confidant. By his agency the countess of Lancaster¹ was enabled to elope from her husband; and it was believed that the scheme for her abduction was contrived in royal council at Clarendon. The earl immediately began to prepare his revenge by enlisting strong forces of retainers and by collecting the barons of his party and the numerous and powerful vassals of his own five earldoms. To counteract these machinations, and to draw his own force to the north, the king issued orders for the assembly of the council at Nottingham on the twenty-first of July, followed by a summons to muster at Newcastle on the morrow of S. Lawrence, August 11. Lancaster refused to attend the council. His letter in answer to the king's remonstrance is preserved by the Bridlington annalist,² and the Malmesbury historian furnishes the argument which his agents offered in the court. He would not attend the council because the business to be treated of was such as according to the Ordinances could only be treated in parliament. He would however obey the summons to Newcastle. In the meantime he collected his forces at Pomfret.³ Edward after holding the council at Nottingham took up his quarters at York on the 8th of September. For a fortnight the two rival powers watched one another; the earl refused the king's followers leave to cross the Aire at Castleford; the king did not feel strong enough to dislodge him; the bishops and barons interposed their good offices and a meeting was agreed on. The earl was told that if he attended the conference it was at the peril of life or liberty, and the

¹ The most circumstantial account of this business is, I think, given by Hall's Continuator of Trivet, pp. 20, 21, 22.

² Below, pp. 50, 51.

³ Mon. Malmesb., below, p. 230.

meeting did not take place.¹ But the autumn was wasted; on the 24th of September² it was determined that a parliament should be held in the following January at Lincoln where all complaints were to be satisfied, and the king marched southward, passing by Pomfret, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the earl of Pembroke, in full battle array.³

Neither party had taken much by the move; the private war between Lancaster and Warenne had really broken out in Yorkshire, where Lancaster had taken the castles of his rival, and some of his riotous followers had seized Knaresborough.⁴ On the 3rd of November the king issued stringent orders for peace. The parliament summoned for January was not held, being postponed by successive writs to March, and afterwards to June. The capture of Berwick by the Scots in April 1318 served for a warning of the necessity of reconciliation.

It is at this juncture that we come upon a very extraordinary document thoroughly illustrative of the state of political morality. On the 24th of November, that is just at the moment when both Edward and the earl had put themselves decidedly in the wrong, and each had shown that he was too weak to coerce the other, a new party is formed to grasp at the reins of power. The leaders of this confederation were Badlesmere and Pembroke. Badlesmere was the open enemy of the earl of Lancaster; Pembroke, who perhaps was the king's wisest and truest friend, had never forgiven the stain thrown on his honour by the seizure of Gaveston; but he probably saw through the designs of

The king goes to the south.

Order for peace.

Capture of Berwick.

Confederation between Pembroke and Badlesmere.

¹ Mon. Malmesb., below, p. 230.

² Parl. Writs, II. i. 171.

³ Below, p. 231; Cont. Trivet, pp. 23, 24.

⁴ It will be remembered that this important honour, which was afterwards and is still a considerable

member of the Duchy of Lancaster, was now in the king's hands, having fallen, with the rest of the possessions of the earldom of Cornwall, as an escheat on the death of Gaveston.

League
made by
indenture.

Lancaster, and had determined to head the opposition. In the curious indenture referred to, we find Roger D'Amory, the husband of one of the Gloucester heiresses, binding himself in a sum of 10,000*l.* sterling to give his whole diligence and legal influence with the king to induce him to let himself be guided and governed by the counsels of Pembroke and Badlesmere and to trust their counsels beyond all other people on earth, so far as they shall advise him to the honour and profit of himself, his crown, and his kingdom; he will himself act according to their counsels, and will not trespass against them in any point; nor will he agree to the king making grants beyond twenty pounds in land, or doing any other business of importance without their acquiescence.¹ It is possible that this agreement is one of a set by which others of the king's council formed themselves into an inner council to hold power and restrain the king's extravagance. But it is clear that the purpose of the league was hostile to Lancaster; and, although we do not know that it included the earl Warenne, and the other Gloucester claimants, we are told by the Malmesbury writer that Audley and Despensers as well as D'Amory were among the great earl's enemies.²

Postponement
of
Parliament.

The parliament called for January 27, 1318, was on the 4th of that month postponed to the 12th of March by the advice of the lords who were desirous of making terms with Lancaster. It was to have met at Lincoln, but the difficulties which led to the first postponement led to a second, and on the 3rd of March it was countermanded, to meet on the 19th of June at the same place. In the interval a council was held at Leicester,³ to which the Bridlington writer gives the name of parliament, but which was really a conference of repre-

¹ Parl. Writs, II. ii. 120.

² Below p. 235.

³ Mon. Malmesb., p. 233; Bridlington, p. 54; Parl. Writs, II. ii. 122.

representative members of both parties attended by the chancellor.

Berwick was taken by the Scots on the 2nd of April, and the council at Leicester, which sat on the 12th, was awed into harmony. The archbishop and five bishops, three earls, twenty-eight barons, and two judges swore to maintain the Ordinances; a new scheme for general reconciliation was set on foot, and one of the terms of pacification was that the two Despensers were to be retained by the earl of Lancaster with a service of two hundred horse; prisoners were to be released and charters of pardon issued.¹ The earl of Warrenne, however, was not to be pardoned for assisting in the countess of Lancaster's elopement. It was time that something should be done. The Scots had burned Northallerton and carried their devastations as far as Bolton. The king ordered the gentlemen of Yorkshire to collect the forces of the county, and prepared to go northwards himself. But the earl would not obey the summons to parliament, and on the 4th of June the king gave up the idea of holding one, recalled the summons to Lincoln, and issued writs for a military levy to meet at York on the 26th of July.² On the 8th of June at St. Paul's he declared himself ready to confirm the Ordinances.³ Early in July he came to Northampton, the earl being at Tutbury.⁴ The court was at Northampton from July 4th to the 4th of August, during which time the chancellor travelled backwards and forwards to negotiate a treaty of peace between the two.⁵ On the 31st of July a general pardon was issued to the Lancaster

Great
council at
Leicester.
April 1318.

Military
prepara-
tions.

¹ Bridlingt. below, p. 55.

² Parl. Writs, II. i. 501.

³ Annales Paulini, vol. i. p. 282; Parl. Writs, II. i. 181.

⁴ The conversations between the earl and the chancellor are recorded by Knighton, c. 2535, who says

that they took place at Tutbury, the head of the Derby earldom. The bishops of Norwich and Ely were the messengers, the latter being chancellor.

⁵ Parl. Writs, II. ii. 123, 124.

General
pacification
in August
1318.

partisans,¹ and on the 14th of August the cousins met at Hathern,² near Loughborough, and gave each other the kiss of peace. The terms had been sealed on the 9th at Leek, in Staffordshire, and were to be submitted to a parliament which was to meet on the 20th of October at York. Any plan of a campaign against the Scots was now impracticable. The parliament met at York and confirmed the terms of what was really a surrender on the part of the king.

Terms of
agreement.

Edward had been represented in the negotiations by Pembroke and Badlesmere, who may thus be understood to have made good their position in the council, with the earl of Arundel, four bishops and four barons, one of whom was Roger Mortimer.³ These agreed that the king should confirm the Ordinances and issue the requisite pardons; and that a standing committee of council should be appointed to reside constantly with the king. Two bishops, one earl, one baron, and one banneret nominated by Lancaster, were to attend for three months at a time; what could be done without parliament they were to do, and their administration was to be reviewed by parliament. The estates at York ratified the scheme, and continued the earl's nominees in their places. The younger Despenser was also appointed or confirmed as chamberlain.⁴

Operations
of 1319 and
1320.

I must pass over the two following years, during the greater part of which the king was employed in the north, the court being at York from October 1318 to January 1320, and the siege of Berwick being pressed with more ardour than vigilance. The rapid incursion

¹ Parl. Writs, II. ii. 125.

² Ann. Paul. vol. i. p. 283; Cont. Trivet, p. 27. Knighton, c. 2534, makes the place of meeting Sy-roches brigg; "quæ modo vocatur 'Soteebryge'" and the Bridlington writer below, p. 55, calls it

"Sortebrigge juxta Lughteburghe." Possibly it is the place called Zouch-bridge in the Ordnance map, where the Soar is crossed near Hathern.

³ Parl. Writs, II. i. 184, 185.

⁴ Statutes of the Realm, i. 181.

of the Scots in September 1319, during which the arch-^{Battle of Myton} bishop with the men of Yorkshire was defeated at Myton, and which carried devastation over Airedale and Wharfedale and to the gates of Pomfret, had the effect of raising the siege of Berwick, and rousing in their bitterest form the king's suspicions of earl Thomas. The earl did indeed offer to purge himself of the charges against him,¹ but he would not attend a council which was held without a parliament. His declaration that that parliament should not be held *in camera*² is perhaps the most distinct enunciation that we have of his constitutional policy. After the king's visit to France in the summer, and an uneasy parliament held in October at Westminster, the alarms of civil war began to be heard again.

As I am attempting in this sketch mainly to direct attention to the material additions to our knowledge contributed by the authorities before us, I will not repeat the story of the quarrel about Gower, which seems to have thrown the younger Despenser into permanent hostility to the party supported by Lancaster. The earl himself was not directly concerned in the Glamorganshire quarrel; but, as usual, was willing to contribute to any movement of disturbance. By this time also the influence of Badlesmere had waned, and the king had yielded himself entirely to the guidance of the Despensers. It may, however, be useful here again to mark the dates of the more important incidents.

As soon as Edward returned from France, in July 1320, he summoned on the 5th of August a meeting of the lords and commons in parliament, for the 6th of October. It was well attended, but Lancaster, as usual, absented himself, and sent Nicolas Segrave as his proxy.³ The

¹ Mon. Malmesh., below, p. 249.

² Mon. Malmesh., below, p. 230.

³ Ann. Paul., vol. i. p. 290.

Parliament
of 1320.

Disturbed
state of
Gower.

The king in
the west,
March 1321.

session was not a quiet one. Although we do not know that the question about Gower was mooted in it, the estates refused to confirm grants which the king had made to the pope's relations, and petitioned for a severe inquiry by the justices into the unlawful confederations for breach of the peace which were doing mischief in every county.¹ The session ended on the 25th of October, and on the 18th of December commissions of oyer and terminer were issued in compliance with the parliamentary petition. On the 14th of January 1321 the justices itinerant at the Tower were directed to examine into unlawful "colligations, confederations, and conventions by oaths" which were known to have been formed in the city.² The disturbed state of Glamorganshire was now known; on the 20th the king directed a special commission for the apprehension of malefactors in Gower,³ and on the 30th wrote to the earls of Hereford, Arundel, and Warenne, forbidding them to attend an illegal gathering which had been summoned to treat of matters touching the crown.⁴ The same day the sheriffs of the northern counties were ordered to warn all men against attending unlawful meetings. It is clear therefore that the king knew what the matter in contention was, who were the chief combatants, and from what quarter they looked for assistance. As the season advanced, and matters grew more threatening, Edward prepared to go westward. He reached Gloucester late in March, and on the 28th wrote to the lord Hastings, the earl of Hereford, the two Rogers of Mortimer, the younger Despenser, John Giffard of Brimfield, and Thomas and Maurice of Berkeley; all of them men whose names have an unhappy prominence in the later records of the reign. He has heard, he tells them, that

¹ *Fœdera*, ii. 438; *Rot. Parl.*, i. 871.

² *Fœdera*, ii. 441; *Ann. Paul.*

vol. i. pp. 290, 291; *Parl. Writs*, II. ii. 154, 155.

³ *Parl. Writs*, II. ii. 155.

⁴ *Parl. Writs*, II. ii. 155.

there is war on the March, they must come to council at Gloucester on the 5th of April.¹ Two days later the king seems to have fixed on Hugh of Audley as the chief delinquent; he was specially bound to the king by covenant; he had again and again refused to obey the royal summons. He was now peremptorily ordered to appear, and the earl Marshall and justice Spigurnel were to try him.² The other confederates, who had ventured to write to urge the king to dismiss Despenser, or place him in the hands of Lancaster, were Roger Damory, John Mowbray, Roger Clifford, and the earl of Hereford. On the 9th of April the sentence of forfeiture was issued against Audley,³ and about the same date the king seized the castle of S. Briavel, which belonged to Roger D'Amory, whom he had warned by a letter of the 27th March.⁴ On the 21st of April he was at Bristol, whence he again wrote to warn the Berkeleys and sixty-two other great lords; two days after this he set out on his return to London. He had failed to quiet the disturbance, and probably was unable to muster a force that could overawe the discontented. Before leaving Bristol, however, he wrote to the earl of Hereford, who was his brother-in-law, remonstrating with him for his disobedience in not attending the council, arguing that, as Hugh le Despenser was appointed chamberlain by the parliament, he could not properly dismiss him, and to commit him to custody would be contrary to the Great Charter, the common law of the kingdom, the Ordinances, and the coronation oath. The letter, which is sufficiently dignified, ended with a summons to council at Oxford on the 10th of May.⁵ When the king reached Wallingford he issued other letters; the

Proceedings
against
Hugh of
Audley and
Roger
D'Amory.

Edward fails
to make
peace and
return to
London.

¹ Parl. Writs, II. i. 231.

² Parl. Writs, II. ii. 158.

³ Parl. Writs, II. ii. 156.

⁴ Mon. Malmesb., p. 246; Federa, ii. 445.

⁵ Parl. Writs, II. ii. 160.

⁶ Parl. Writs, II. i. 231.

The lands
of the Des-
pensers
ravaged.

council was postponed to the 17th, and Hereford and Despensers were both forbidden to continue their private war.¹ As soon, in fact, as Edward had turned eastward the confederates had overrun all Despensers's estates in Wales.² Hugh himself was believed to be in attendance on the king. On the 15th of May the summons was issued for the meeting of parliament on the 15th of July.³

Lancaster
assembles
his allies at
Pomfret,
May 24.

The hand of Lancaster, the Malmesbury writer tells us,⁴ was in all this; but he had not stirred overtly. His enemy was the elder Hugh, not the younger. It is to the Bridlington annalist that we owe our most exact information about the part which the great earl was now about to take.⁵ On the 24th of May, as soon, that is, as the parliamentary summons was received, he called together at his castle of Pomfret the great lords of the north country, Multon of Gilsland, Furnivall of Sheffield, the baron of Greystoke, the Deyncourts, Fitzhugh of Middleham, Percy of Topcliffe, Marmion of Tanfield, Philip Darcy, William Fitz-William, Fauconberg, Meynell, Thwing, and Constable; all these, for themselves and their retainers, agreed on a league of defence; if any one attacked the earl or any of the league all would join to punish the aggressor and to secure the peace. The covenant, which was written in French, was sealed by each of the lords.

A confeder-
ation drawn
up and
sealed.

Legality of
this.

So far perhaps the earl had gone no further than the usage of the time, however illegal and unconstitutional, warranted; he had as much right to make an alliance offensive and defensive, as Badlesmere and D'Amory had had in 1317. The covenant which the king himself

¹ Parl. Writs, II. ii. 161.

² They began to ravage the estates of the son on the 6th of May; the attack on the father began in Wiltshire on June 11th, i.e., after Lancaster had declared himself. These dates are given in

the petition for the restoration of the Despensers in 1398, from the petition of 1322; Rot. Parl., III. 361, 362.

³ Parl. Writs, II. i. 234.

⁴ Below, p. 257.

⁵ Below, p. 61.

had made with Hugh of Audley was distinctly a party ^{other} or personal covenant superadded on the feudal relation, or ^{examples.} on the right of the king to the allegiance of his subject. Hugh le Despenser, as we learn from Dugdale, had a similar covenant with the earl of Louth, and it was by an attempt to draw in John Giffard to such a confederation that he laid himself open to the charge on which the first article of his condemnation was framed.² But the earl's next proceeding was very strange. He summoned the archbishop of York, the bishops of Durham and Carlisle, and the other prelates of the province to meet at Sherburn in Elmet, on the 28th of June;³ and at the same time invited the chief of the malcontent lords, who had been harrying the estates of the Despensers, to meet them. In a word he tried to bring together a parliament of his own, prelates, barons, bannerets, and knights.

Lancaster
assembles
the clergy at
Sherburn
in Elmet.
June 28.

At Sherburn then, which is a village about halfway between Pomfret and Tadcaster, dignified as being a ^{Lancaster's} very ancient residence of the archbishops, a very extra- ^{parliament} ordinary assembly met. There was archbishop Melton, who throughout his life was a faithful friend of the king, bishop Lewis of Durham, brother of Edward's favourite Henry Beaumont, and the old bishop Halton of Carlisle, who had lived in alarms from the Scots for thirty years. What could have induced Melton to attend, unless it was the hope of being able to mediate, it is impossible to say; perhaps he felt that he could not trust the king, and that it was not wise to disappoint the earl; he certainly came and brought a considerable quota of his clergy with him. With Lancaster appeared the earls of Hereford and Angus, and a goodly number of lay lords of north and south, who were prepared to cast in their lot with them. They met in the parish

¹ Baronage, p. 391.

² Statutes of the Realm, i. 182.

³ Bridlingt., below, p. 62.

Proceedings
at Sherburn.

Statement of
grievances.

Separate de-
liberation.

Indenture of
confedera-
tion.

church, and the proceedings opened as in parliament by the reading of articles at the earl's command. The articles were in French, and included the agreement concluded at Pomfret in the preceding month, with a statement of grievances to be discussed and if possible provided with remedies. The grievances were the bad ministers who were appointed contrary to the Ordinances; the banishments and forfeitures which had been decreed without assent of peers; the visitation of the special commissions for putting down conspiracies; the action of the justices itinerant at London on the writ *Quo warranto*; the abuses of the staple, and the imprudent treaties made with foreign nations. It was also declared that the king had too many lawyers about him, so many in fact that the persons whom the court wanted to implead had the greatest difficulty in finding advocates to undertake their causes.¹ This bill of articles having been read by Sir John de Bek, acting as chancellor to the almost sovereign earl, the earl himself requested the prelates to retire and consider their answers. They left the church and held their quasi-convocation at the house of the rector. Lancaster and the lords deliberated apart. The result of the consultation was, in the chamber of the lords, a determination to adhere to Lancaster and to maintain the quarrel of the earl of Hereford and his confederates against the Despensers. This was drawn in an indenture in which were inserted the names of the earls of Lancaster and Angus and thirty-three men of rank, including some of the confederates of Pomfret, and amongst them Sir Robert of Holland, the trusted friend of Lancaster, who afterwards betrayed the good cause, and Sir William Trussel, who took the leading part four years afterwards in the deposition of the king.² It was by the influence of

¹ Bridlingt., below, pp. 62-64.

² See the Indenture printed in Tyrrell, iii. 280.

Lancaster that the elder Hugh le Despenser was included in the accusations prosecuted against his son: and in all probability the act of condemnation which was passed a month after in the real parliament, may have been drawn up on this occasion. The elder
Despenser
accused.

After the lords had deliberated the clergy sent in their reply, addressed to the earl as "domine reverend." They expressed their sincere gratitude to the earl for the heartfelt anxiety he showed for the kingdom and country, and declared themselves willing to the utmost of their ability to join in the defence against the Scots. But further than that they were not disposed to go as to the "motions of late set on foot" that is the political quarrel, "they humbly and devoutly supplicate your reverend lordship and the others in company with you, that for reverence and honour of God and holy church, the salvation of the realm and the quiet of the people, there be a tolerance or forbearance of the said motions," that is a suspension of hostilities: and that in the next parliament concord and unity may be ordained between our lord the king and his lieges by peaceful considerations in Christ as to what is most expedient. And if this be done they trust that upon all the articles here exhibited by the favour of God, an opportune remedy will be ordained in the said parliament." The answer was a good one creditable to the religious spirit of the clergy and a clever one foiling the earl for a moment with his own weapon and recommending confidence in parliament. Nor is the freedom with which it is given less creditable to the earl, who evidently might have extorted stronger expressions and promises of support. This answer in writing having been read before the earl, he in right royal fashion returned special thanks to the prelate. Answer of
the clergy
after delib-
eration. Point of the
answer

"and clergy, and so having received licence to depart
"all retired."

Tyrrell's
account of
these pro-
ceedings.

It is to the Bridlington annalist that we owe the most striking of these details, but it is most probable that either in the public records, or in some of the episcopal registries, even a fuller account may be preserved. Tyrrell in his history of England has preserved a copy of the indenture, from the register of Christ Church, Canterbury, and some of the particulars are referred to in the proceedings for setting aside the exile of the Despensers. But Tyrrell placed Sherburn¹ in Dorsetshire, a mistake corrected by Carte, who, however, extracted his list of the confederates from Tyrrell's work.² It is curious that Walsingham, who knew of the Sherburn gathering, but did not know where Elmet was, wrote the name so that of his editors one read Clivedon, and the other Elmedon.³ In the popular histories of the epoch scarcely a word is found that shows any knowledge of this most curious and important episode of the struggle.

No material
addition to
our informa-
tion between
1322 and
1326.

Our authorities do not, I think, furnish us with any new details of the parliamentary proceedings against the Despensers or of the war which followed, over and above the anecdote of the younger Hugh which is preserved by the canon of Bridlington.⁴ Nor do the few particulars recorded of the king's flight from Byland to Bridlington in 1322,⁵ although interesting in themselves, add anything important to our knowledge of the period. The dreary years of the Despenser government from 1322 to 1326 are unbroken by any ray of political light or poetical incident. And even when we reach the great crisis at the end of the latter year, we have to contend with a dearth of such minute detail as would give life or reality to any picture we might attempt to draw. As

¹ Hist. of England, iii. 279.

² Carte, Hist. Engl. ii.

³ Walsingham, ed. Riley, i. 159.

⁴ Above, p. xxx.

⁵ Below, pp. 79 sq.

however, in the preface to the first volume¹ I undertook to devote a few pages to an attempt to arrange the chronology and determine some of the local features of the revolution, at least in London. I will endeavour with the aid of the Pauline Annals and such other materials as are within reach, to fulfil the promise.

Edward, it may be remembered, had been very much isolated since his tragic victory over earl Thomas. He had lost his faithful friend and cousin earl Aymer of Pembroke in 1324; he had sent the queen his brother the earl of Kent, and his son Edward to France in 1325; the earl Warenne, who had been for two years in command in Gascony, had only just returned and at the time had he shown himself a wise counsellor. Henry of Lancaster, now known as earl of Leicester, was a man of noble character, but Edward might well distrust him, as having his brother's wrongs to avenge and a claim as yet unsatisfied on his brother's inheritance. The earls of Hereford and Warwick were minors and so in a position in which the king could not obtain help from them as friends, nor strengthen himself by destroying them. The earl of Arundel was faithful but carried little weight; all the will and executive force of the government depended on the Despensers. The chancellor Baldock shared the unpopularity of the court and archbishop Melton the treasurer, who was faithful and not unpopular, had his means of usefulness curtailed by the watchful enmity of the weak and ungenerous priors at Canterbury.² The leading men of the episcopal body were men who had forced themselves upon the king by means of papal intrigue or usurpation and who attributed their loss of influence at court to the hostility of Baldock, whom they had supplanted in the way of preferment or to the Despensers who had kept them out of their temporalities on legal pretexts. With his kinsmen alienated

¹ Vol. i. p. lxxxv.

² *Mon. Mancos.*, below, p. 283.

Edward
unable to
grasp at
power when
he had a
chance.

The position
of Henry of
Leicester.

Helpless-
ness of the
Despensers.

his great nobles in minority or retirement, his bishops untrustworthy, and his ministers unpopular, a really able king could scarcely have failed to strengthen himself by alliance with such strong political elements as were to be found in the cities and in the country party which in the next reign showed itself so strong. There is indeed some evidence that Edward had tried to propitiate the Londoners,¹ and we can scarcely think that the Despensers had so entirely lost their heads as not to have attempted to create a party of personal adherents. But the result shows that if they had done so the attempt had failed. The earl of Leicester was son-in-law of the lady Despenser, and may have hoped by using the family connexion wisely to obtain recognition as his brother's successor; but in all these family ties at this period of history we find causes and occasions of enmity quite as often as of friendship; nor could Leicester be expected to forget that the father and son were really responsible for the death of his brother. He had a party in the great and mighty host of vassals which since the battle of Evesham had rallied round the banners of Leicester, Lancaster, Derby, and Lincoln. The new made earls of Winchester and Gloucester had none. Their sole source of strength seems to have been their hold on the person and will of their master, and their ability to use the little influence that still remained to him after he had lost his wife and son, sacrificed his relations to his revenge, and signally failed at Bannockburn, at Byland, and at Berwick to prove that he inherited his father's prowess. It was this helplessness and isolation that ruined him; for, though the queen's invasion was cleverly managed, and the boldness and promptitude with which her advisers acted might, so far as adroitness deserves success, have been fairly entitled to some great advantage, she had no great force nor any sound political cry. No one believed in

¹ Walsingham, i. 180.

her alleged wrongs, but she gained a following as the avenger of the earl who was more honoured in his death than in his life. She won a great victory, but it was over a foe that put in no appearance, without a battle, but not without wanton and cruel bloodshed, prolific of quarrels, vengeance, and further bloodshed, for long years to come.

Easy victory
of the
queen.

All through the summer there had been rumours of an invasion: the king had not been put off his guard by his knowledge of the very small resources that were at his wife's disposal. He had been nervously alive to the danger, all the more as it was for long altogether uncertain on what side it was likely to come. After spending the spring at Kenilworth, and June and July in London, he had gone in August to Clarendon¹ where he had in former years spent so much time in laying out his park and improving his forest domain, and had in September been at Porchester issuing writs of array and taking other precautions. In this month he was informed where the queen was likely to land, and on the 2nd² directed the march of forces to Orwell, where in fact she did land three weeks later. On the 23rd of September he was in London, and there the news that she had landed on the 24th reached him on the 27th.³ She had landed at noon near Harwich, at Colvasse, and lodged the first night at Walton.⁴ She had ten ships, and the disembarkation was so rapidly effected that nine of them were cleared before sunset, the tenth was brought by the king's sailors to London, and, with the news of his wife's arrival, presented to him at the Tower.⁵ He remained in London for a few days longer: was at Westminster on the 2nd of October, and on that day set out for the west.⁶

Alarm of
invasion.

Movements
of the king.

The queen
lands.

Flight of
Edward.

¹ Parl. Writs, II. Chronological Abstract, pp. 439-448.

² Parl. Writs, II. i. 758.

³ Parl. Writs, II. ii. 292.

⁴ Ann. Paul., vol. i. pp. 313, 314.

R 1681.

⁵ Ibid., p. 314.

⁶ Parl. Writs, II. ii. 294. Edward was at the Tower on the 28th of September.

PROGRESS OF
Isabella.

leaving in the Tower his son John of Eltham, a mere child, as nominal governor, with Sir John Weston the constable.¹ Isabella marched towards London, expecting to find her husband still there, and being joined by all classes as she proceeded. At Bury St. Edmund's she borrowed 800 marks of the king's money deposited in the abbey;² she went on to Cambridge and stayed a day or two at Barnwell,³ then to Baldock in Hertfordshire,⁴ where she enjoyed the pleasure of plundering the chancellor's property, and then to Dunstable.⁵ At Dunstable the earl of Leicester joined her.⁶ On the way she must have heard that Edward had left London. She then turned westward and passed on to Oxford, where she laid her cause before the University in a sermon preached by bishop Orleton, on the text "Caput meum doleo."⁷ From Oxford she went to Wallingford,⁸ where she was on the 15th of October, thence to Gloucester, where she was joined by Percy, Wake, and other northern lords,⁹ thence to Berkeley, where she secured the allegiance of the heir of the castle by restoring to him the estate which Hugh le Despenser had seized on the ground probably of his father's treason.¹⁰ From Berkeley she went on with a constantly increasing host of retainers to Bristol, where on the 26th of October the carnage of the revolution began.

She reaches
Bristol.

Retreat of
the king.

Helpless and unready the unhappy king, with his chancellor Baldock, the younger Despenser, and a few other followers, started from London on the 2nd of October. On the 10th he was at Gloucester,¹¹ still issuing letters of summons for the men of the districts nearest, especially those of South Wales. He had, if

¹ Walsingham, i. 183.

² Ann. Paul., vol. i. p. 314.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ann. Paul., vol. i. p. 315.

⁶ Knighton, c. 2546.

⁷ T. de la Moore, below, p. 310.

⁸ Federa, d. 645, 646; Twysden Scriptores, c. 2764.

⁹ Walsingham, i. 183.

¹⁰ Walsingham, i. 183.

¹¹ Parl. Writs, U. ii. 294, 295.

we may trust Sir Thomas de la Moore,¹ sent a quantity of supplies to Lundy island, which he regarded as a last refuge. But, although he may before the last extremity arrived have thought of Lundy as a place of security, we can hardly think that either despairing foresight, or simple cowardice was so strong in him as to suffer him to provide himself with such a resource long before. Anyhow he made for the Severn; on the 12th of October he was at Westbury,² on the 14th at Tintern,³ and from the 16th to the 21st at Stroguil or Chepstow,⁴ whence he sent the elder Despenser to take the command at Bristol. There the old counsellor of Edward I., the son of Simon de Montfort's justiciar, fell into the hands of his enemies and gave his life in expiation of the wrongs of Lancaster.⁵

The king's
movements
in his flight.

We lose sight of the king between October 21st when he was at Chepstow,⁶ and October 27th when we find him at Cardiff;⁷ and it is to the intervening days that we must assign the unsuccessful attempt to reach Lundy island. Unable to effect a landing he is said to have disembarked in Glamorganshire.⁸ From Cardiff on the 27th and 28th he sent out letters, for he still had the chancellor and the great seal with him, to bring in the men of the neighbouring lordships. At Caerphilly, where the third and youngest Despenser was in command, on the 29th and 30th he issued commissions of array for the same districts.⁹ Again we lose sight of him for nearly a week. He is found at Neath on the 5th of November

Attempt to
reach
Lundy.

The king at
Cardiff,
Caerphilly,
and Neath.

¹ Below, p. 309; Walsingham, i. 183.

² Parl. Writs, II. i. 760.

³ Parl. Writs, II. ii. 295.

⁴ Parl. Writs, II. i. 761; Walsingham, i. 181.

⁵ Compare Ann. Paul., vol. i. pp. 317, 318; Wals., i. 183;

Knighton, c. 2544; Bridlington, below, p. 87.

⁶ Parl. Writs, II. ii. 296.

⁷ Parl. Writs, II. i. 761.

⁸ T. de la Moore, below, p. 309; Walsingham, i. 183.

⁹ Fodera, ii. 646, 647; Parl. Writs, II. i. 760-762; Walsingham, i. 183, 184.

Negotiation
for the
king's sur-
render.

still entreating aid from the men of Gower.¹ The end was now very near. The queen knew where to find her husband, for, as he had made no secret of his residence at Neath, it is needless to suppose that treachery was at work. Which of the parties opened the negotiations that ended in surrender it is impossible to say. On the 10th of November however the abbot of Neath, Rhys ap Griffith, and Edward, Bohun, had letters of safe-conduct from the king as his messengers to his wife and son.² On the 16th he was taken at Llantrissaint,³ having apparently made no attempt to save his friends, a fact which may seem to prove that the whole party were taken by surprise. Henry of Lancaster and Rhys ap Howel made the capture, and the prisoners, with the great seal, were delivered to the queen at Hereford on the 20th. The earl of Arundel, who was taken at Shrewsbury by John Charlton, was beheaded on the 17th,⁴ and Hugh le Despenser on the 24th.

Capture of
Edward and
execution of
his friends.

State of
London.

We must, however, now turn back to London, which the king had quitted at the beginning of October, leaving his son John of Eltham and his niece the countess of Gloucester in the Tower. The city was, as usual, divided in opinion. Hamo of Chigwell had been maintained by royal influence in the mayoralty for three years in succession,⁵ but Nicolas of Farringdon, the head of the rival party, was nearly as strong, and much stronger when it was known that the tide had turned. Before Edward left London Hamo had failed to get from the citizens a promise to shut out the queen, although they would undertake to shut out the foreigners;⁶ as soon as it was known that the queen's cause was prevailing he lost his power altogether. The

Hamo of
Chigwell the
mayor.

¹ Parl. Writs, II, i. 763.

² Ffardra, ii. 647.

³ Lantrosin, Ann. Paul., vol. i. p. 319; Lantrosin, Wals. i. 184.

⁴ Bridlingt., below, p. 87.

See vol. i. pp. lxxxii sq. French Chronicle of London, pp. 42, 48, 49, 51.

Walsingham, i. 180.

queen had lost no time before asking the aid of the citizens. Her letters had been sent out on the 29th of September,¹ but so long as the king was in the neighbourhood the receipt of them was kept secret.² On the 9th of October, another letter was found at the dawn of day posted on the cross in Cheap,³ praying the faithful Londoners to join in destroying the enemies of the land, especially Hugh le Despenser. The city was troubled, but remained quiet for nearly a week. There was a strong force of bishops in the neighbourhood, and with their counsel the mayor was able to keep peace. On the 13th, the Monday after the letter was published,⁴ the poor foolish archbishop, who on the 30th of September had tried to delude the people by publishing at S. Paul's an old bull against the Scots, as if it had been directed against the queen,⁵ got together at Lambeth the bishop of London, Stephen of Gravesend, Hamo of Hythe, bishop of Rochester, and bishop Cobham of Worcester, who were all three pious learned men, but not statesmen: bishop Stapleton of Exeter, who had been treasurer when the queen's estates were seized, and who was only less unpopular than the chancellor; and bishop Stratford of Winchester, who was probably committed already to the queen, and who later on was the head of the Lancaster party in the new government.⁶ The archbishop proposed to hold a meeting at S. Paul's, preparatory to sending a mission of mediation; but the bishop of Rochester strongly advised him not to cross the river or attempt to enter the city. The more cautious counsels prevailed, and the debate was postponed to the Tuesday. Then again the prelates met at Lambeth. A mission

Commencement from the queen.

Conduct of archbishop Reynolds.

Assembly of bishops at Lambeth.

Proposed meeting at S. Paul's.

¹ French Chronicle, p. 31.

² Ibid.

³ French Chronicle, p. 31.

⁴ W. Dene, Ang. Sac. i. 266.

⁵ Ann. Paul., vol. i. p. 313.

Knighton, c. 2544, writes as if the bull so used had been duly applied for and was intended by the pope for this purpose.

⁶ W. Dene, Ang. Sac. i. 266.

Proposed
mission of
mediation.

should be sent, but who would go? Bishop Stratford was willing to go—he knew that he was safe—but only if he had a companion; all declined for themselves and pressed the bishop of Rochester to go. He resolutely excused himself. In fact it was now too late. He returned to Rochester Place, near the archbishop's palace; Stratford to his house in Southwark, and the bishops of London and Exeter to their respective lodgings; bishop Gravesend probably to his house by S. Paul's, and bishop Stapleton either to the mansion which he was building on the site of the Outer Temple or to the house in Old Dean's Lane close to where Stationers' Hall and Amen Court now stand, and not far from chancellor Baldock's house of canonical residence in Ivy Lane. The bishops of London and Exeter were to meet the next morning at Blackfriars with the judges, possibly to contrive means for securing the city.¹

Proposed
session at
Blackfriars.

Rising in
the city.

On the 15th of October the city broke into rebellion.² The mayor and aldermen had gone out early to Blackfriars to meet the bishops; they were recalled by a rising of the citizens, who forced them to the Guildhall, the mayor Hamo imploring mercy with clasped hands, and only able to save himself by granting to the "commune" all that they asked, and especially undertaking to drive out of the city all enemies of the queen.³ One unfortunate man, John le Marchal, a citizen who was regarded as a spy of the Despensers, was caught in his inn in Walbrook, dragged into Cheap, stripped and beheaded.⁴ Just at this time the unfortunate bishop Stapleton, who had been visiting his new house outside Temple Bar, came riding into the city with two of his squires, William Wall, who was his nephew,⁵ and John of Paddington, the latter being steward of the new man-

Murder of
John le
Marchal.

¹ W. Dene, *Angl. Sac.*, i. 366 :
cf. Leland, *Collectanea*, i. 467.

² *Ann. Paul.*, vol. i. p. 315.

³ *French Chronicle*, p. 52.

⁴ *Ann. Paul.*, vol. i. pp. 315, 316;
French Chronicle, p. 52.

⁵ Leland, *Coll.*, i. 463.

sion. The mob, which seems to have been disappointed not to find him at Blackfriars, was on the watch for him; and it was believed also that he intended to claim the charge of the city at the Guildhall. He entered the city by Newgate, and, on his way to the Tower, was to stay in Old Dean's Lane to take his noonday meal.¹ He had reached the church of S. Michael le Quern, which stood at the west end of Cheapside, near the cross. Hearing the cries of "Traitor! traitor!" he turned his horse and attempted to reach S. Paul's; but at the north door he was seized, dismounted, and dragged into the Cheap, through the middle of S. Paul's churchyard,² and there stripped and beheaded with a panade³ or butcher's knife which one of the bystanders offered, by a certain R. de Hatfield.⁴ The bishop's two squires perished with him. His body was left on the spot until evening; his head was set on the pillory⁵ and afterwards sent to the queen at Bristol.⁶ His house had been already plundered, and seems to have given the rioters their first taste of spoil as well as of violence; for before order was restored the chancellor's houses in Ivy Lane and Finsbury were destroyed;⁷ the treasure of the unfortunate earl of Arundel, deposited at Trinity, Aldgate, was seized;⁸ the chancellor's treasure at S. Paul's shared the same fate; and the banking house of the Bardi, where the Despensers' treasures were, was despoiled in the night. Other houses of rich citizens were likewise robbed.

Perilous
entry of
bishop
Stapleton.

He is mur-
dered in
S. Paul's
churchyard.

Plunder and
devastation
in London.

¹ Ann. Paul., vol. i. p. 316; W. Dene, Ang. Sac., i. 366; French Chronicle, p. 52.

² Ann. Paul., vol. i. p. 316.

³ Ann. Paul., vol. i. p. 350.

⁴ Ann. Paul., vol. i. p. 345.

⁵ W. Dene, Ang. Sac., i. 366.

⁶ It is said that the queen received the head from the mayor, Hamo of Chigwell, and

thanked him for it, adding that it was an excellent piece of justice. It is very improbable that Hamo did this, as he was very shortly removed from office. See Aungier's note, French Chronicle, p. 53.

⁷ French Chronicle, pp. 53, 54.

⁸ Ann. Paul., vol. i. p. 321.

Funeral
rites of
bishop
Stapleton.

Ignominious
treatment
of his body.

In the evening after vespers the minor canons and vicars choral of S. Paul's took courage and came with cross before them and took up the bishop's body. It remained in the church all night, and in the morning was carried to S. Clement Danes, a church standing near the bishop's new mansion, the advowson of which he had lately procured from the brethren of the Holy Sepulchre at Warwick by an exchange for Snitfield, in Warwickshire.¹ The tumult had not yet subsided; the bishop's treasurer was killed the same morning at Holywell, close to the church,² and the cowardly rector, John Mugg, refused to admit the mutilated corpse of his patron. The bearers were told that the bishop had died under sentence of excommunication,³ and they fled. There stood then near S. Clements an old deserted and half-ruined church of the Holy Innocents, with a cemetery that had once belonged to the Pied Friars, a small order of mendicants which had been suppressed in 1273. Stapleton, it was said, had applied some of the materials of this church to the building of his new house;⁴ if it were so, the treatment of his lifeless body was a fearful example of the punishment of sacrilege. Covered with a ragged cloth, it was deposited without service of priest or clerk, without the trouble of digging a grave, in a hole among the ruins;⁵ there it remained until on the 17th of February, when the court was becoming ashamed of the outrages of the revolution, it was disinterred and taken to Exeter.⁶

¹ Ann. Paul., vol. i. p. 316; French Chron., p. 52; Leland, Collectanea, i. 468.

² French Chron., p. 53, note.

³ French Chronicle, p. 52; cf. Walsingham, i. 182.

⁴ Leland, Collectanea, i. 468.

⁵ Ann. Paul., vol. i. p. 316; French Chronicle, p. 52.

⁶ The Annales Paulini (p. 317) give the date of the transfer; Dr. Oliver (Exeter Cathedral, pp. 63, 68) doubts whether it was really made, as the executors' accounts do not mention it. But if it was done in consequence of a royal command, the king may have paid for it. See Boase's Register of Exeter College,

The primate and his brethren may well be excused for taking timely measures to secure themselves. The noise in London on the morning of the 15th was so loud as to reach the bishop of Rochester as he sat at dinner in his house at Lambeth, and he immediately sent to his great neighbour to learn what had happened. Archbishop Reynolds had not only decamped, but had borrowed the bishop's horses and gone off to Kent without giving him warning. Poor bishop Hamo started off on foot to Lesnes, where he stayed all night; the next day he got some food at Stone, and went on to Halling. There he was told that the road to Rochester was unsafe, at all events for a bishop who was reckoned rich; he therefore took boat as far as Boxley. Next morning, having breakfasted at the abbot's grange, he got a horse and rode into Rochester, where he stayed a week, and on All Saints day entertained the bettermost folk of the neighbourhood at his table. After dinner he went to Halling, but the populace who had not been invited to the feast assembled at the church and were with difficulty prevented from plundering.¹ The trouble had by this time extended far beyond London, and the example set there of opening the prisons and releasing criminals had filled the country towns with malefactors.²

Flight of the other bishops.

Adventures of the bishop of Rochester.

Release of criminals.

It is not certain that until the king was captured the weaker party among the bishops sent in their submission to the queen. Some of them had sent her money, and some, like bishop Hamo, had sent excuses for non-appearance when she was at Gloucester.³ But it was not until the 7th of December that the archbishop at Maidstone made up his mind to desert his old pupil and indulgent lord. The bishop of Rochester tried to dis-

The archbishop joins the queen.

pref. pp. ii. 3, where March 28 is mentioned as the date of burial at Exeter.

¹ W. Dene, Ang. Sac., i. 366, 367.

² Walsingham, i. 183.

³ W. Dene, Ang. Sac., i. 367.

Progress of
the revolu-
tion:

suade him and refused to go with him; but he feared the queen more than the King of Heaven, and went to join her at Wallingford, where bishop Stratford was already framing the articles which would justify the deposition of the king.¹ The rest of the revolutionary programme was carried through in the parliament of January 1327. The archbishop of York, with the bishops of Rochester, Carlisle, and London attempted a slight obstruction, but it was of course in vain. The archbishop of Canterbury although now numbered in the victorious party, narrowly escaped ill-treatment at the Guildhall, the Londoners who flocked together "to see the bishops sacrifice to Mahomet"² apparently thinking that cowardice and ingratitude constituted no particular title to respect, although they accepted fifty casks of wine in token of reconciliation.³

Narrative of
Sir Thomas
de la Moore.

The details of the insults and tortures inflicted on the miserable king, from the day of his capture in November 1326 to his death in 1327 are known to us chiefly through the narrative of Sir Thomas de la Moore, and, being recorded full twenty years after the event, are susceptible of some criticism, if any conflicting statements can be brought against them. A conspiracy for a restoration was detected in June,⁴ which probably alarmed the queen and her advisers into more cruel proceedings. On these the other contemporary writers throw little light; they must indeed have been secrets at the time and as long as Mortimer lived. We learn from bishop Orlton's defence that when in the spring of 1327 he went to Avignon⁵ Edward was still at Kenilworth in the charge of the earl of Lancaster. The date of his

¹ W. Dene, Ang. Sac., i. 367; Knighton, c. 2764, 2765.

² W. Dene, Ang. Sac., i. 367.

³ French Chron., p. 58; W. Dene, Ang. Sac., i. 367; Ann. Paul., vol. i. p. 323.

⁴ Ann. Paul., vol. i. p. 337.

⁵ Twysden, Scriptores, c. 2766. Orlton had letters of credence to the pope on the 24th of March; Foedera, ii. 698, 699.

removal to Berkeley is given as the 3rd of April.¹ Sir Thomas mentions a period of imprisonment at Corfe Castle and at Bristol between his leaving Kenilworth and arriving at Berkeley, and tells of the miserable incident of the king being shaved with ditch water as having happened in the marshes of the Severn between Bristol and Berkeley.² Such at least was the story that William Bishop, who had been one of the escort, told him after the great plague of 1349, twenty-three years after it had happened.³ According to the Peterhouse Chronicle, as abridged by Leland, it was at Corfe that Gurney and Maltravers received the order to put the king to death. The exact mode of the murder is mentioned by the same writer, and appears in the Polychronicon, which must have been finished long before de la Moore wrote.⁴

Questions
as to Ed-
ward's im-
prisonment.

It is not to be wondered that, as the whole treatment of the king was secret, there should be a great mystery about his end. He was indeed buried at Gloucester with sufficient pomp, but there were suspicious, "marvellous" circumstances about the whole matter. In 1328 Edmund of Kent, his penitent half brother, was prevailed on to believe that he was living on the continent. Mortimer, it was inferred, had contrived the letters that induced him to take measures which were construed as treason. A few years ago there was discovered among the archives of the department of Herault a letter from Manuel Fieschi to Edward III. purporting to contain the confession of Edward II. after his escape from Berkeley and certain mysterious adventures which had ended in his finding a resting place in Italy. The letter is curiously accurate in the character of its details and contains no anachronism or inconsistent statements

Secrecy of
the king's
murder.

Curious
letter re-
cently dis-
covered.

¹ Walsingham, i. 188; Knighton, c. 2551; Mon. Malmesb., from the Polychronicon; below, p. 290.

² Below, p. 316.

³ Below, p. 317.

⁴ See Polychr. (ed. Lumby), vol. viii. p. 324; Knighton, c. 2552; Walsingham, i. 189.

⁵ Leland, Coll. i. 469.

Letter of
Freschi on
the king's
escape.

by which its falsehood could be distinctly proved. I am indebted for my acquaintance with it to two articles published by Mr. Bent in Macmillan's Magazine and in Notes and Queries for the year 1880. It is printed from the original in No. 37 of the Publications de la Société Archéologique de Montpellier, (December 1877,) with a translation and notes by M. A. Germain.

The retreat
to Chel-
ston.

" In nomine Domini Amen. Ea quæ audiui ex confes-
sione patris vestri, manu propria scripsi, et propterea
ad vestri dominationem intimari curavi. Primo di-
cit quod sentiens Angliam in subversione contra
ipsum, propterea monitu matris vestræ recessit a
familia sua in castro comitis Marescali supra mare
quod vocatur Gesosta. Postea timore ductus ascen-
dit barcham unam cum dominis Ugone Dispensario
et comiti Arundele et aliquibus aliis et aplicuit in

Landing in
Glamorgan.

" Glamorgam supra mare, et ibi fuit captus, una cum
domino dicto Ugone et magistro Roberto de Bal-

Surrender
and cap-
tivity.

" doli; et fuerunt capti per dominum Henricum de
Longo Castello; et duxerunt ipsum in castro Chilon-
gorda, et alii fuerunt alibi ad loca diversa; et ibi
perdidit coronam ad requisitionem multorum. Pos-
tea subsequenter fuistis coronatus in proximiori
festo Sanctæ Mariæ de la Candelor. Ultimum mi-
serunt eum ad castrum de Berchelle. Postea fa-
mulus qui custodiebat ipsum post aliqua tempora

Arrival of
Gormay
and Bertord
to murder
the king.

" dixit patri vestro: Domine, dominus Thomas de
Gormay et dominus Symon d'Esberfort milites ve-
nerunt causa interficiendi vos; si placet, dabo vobis
raubas meas ut melius evadere possitis. Tunc con-
dictis raubis hora quasi noctis exivit carcerem, et
dum pervenisset usque ad ultimum ostium sine re-
sistentia, quia non cognoscebatur, invenit ostiarium
dormientem, quem subito interfecit; et receptis cla-
vibus ostii, aperuit ostium, et exivit, et custos suus
qui eum custodiebat. Videntes dicti milites qui ve-
nerant ad interficiendum ipsum, quod sic recesserat,

" dubitantes indignationem reginae, ymo periculum
 " personarum, deliberarunt istum prædictum porterium, The king's
escape from
Berkeley,
and con-
sealment at
Corfe.
 " extracto sibi corde, ponere in una cassia, et cor et
 " corpus prædicti porterii, ut corpus patris vestri, ma-
 " liciosæ reginae præsentarunt, et ut corpus regis dictus
 " porterius in Glocestari fuit sepultus. Et postquam
 " exivit carceres castri antedicti fuit receptatus in
 " castro de Corf con socio suo, qui custodiebat ipsum, in
 " carceribus, per dominum Thomam castellanum dicti
 " castri ignorante domino, domino Johanne Maltraverse,
 " domino dicti Thome, in quo castro secrete fuit per
 " annum cum dimidio. Postea audito quod comes The earl of
Kent be-
headed.
 " Cancii, quia dixerat eum vivere, fuerat decapitatus,
 " ascendit unam navim cum dicto custode suo, et de
 " voluntate et consilio dicti Thomæ qui ipsum recep-
 " taverat, et transivit in Yrlandum ubi fuit per viii. The king
goes to
Ireland,
returns to
England,
and then
goes to
Sluys.
 " menses. Postea dubitans ne ibi cognosceretur, re-
 " cepto habitu unius heremite, rediit in Angliam, et
 " aplicuit ad portum de Sandvic, et in eodem ha-
 " bitu transivit mare apud Selisam. Postea direxit
 " gressus suos in Normandiam, et de Normandia ut in
 " pluribus transeundo per Linguam Occitanam, venit
 " Avinionem, ubi dato uno floreno uni servienti pape,
 " misit per dictum servientem unam cedula pape
 " Johanni; qui papa eum ad se vocari fecit, et ipsum
 " secrete tenuit honorifice ultra xv. dies. Finaliter,
 " post tractatus diversos, consideratis omnibus, recepta He goes by
Avignon to
Paris,
Cologne, and
Lombardy.
 " licentia, ivit Parisius, et de Parisius in Braybantiam,
 " de Braybantia in Coloniā ut videret iii. reges causa
 " devotionis, et recedendo de Colonia per Alimaniā
 " transivit, sive peresit Mediolanum in Lombardiam,
 " et de Mediolano intravit quoddam heremitorium
 " castri Milasci, in quo heremitorio stetit per duos
 " annos cum dimidio; et quia dicto castro guerra
 " supervenit, mutavit se in castro Cecinie, in alio
 " heremitorio diocesis Papiensis in Lombardiam; et
 " fuit in isto ultimo heremitorio per duos annos vel

He lives as
a hermit in
Lombardy.

"circa, semper inclusus, agendo penitentiam et Deum
"pro nobis et aliis peccatoribus orando. In quorum
"testimonium sigillum contemplatione vestre domina-
"tionis duxi apponendum. Vester Manuel de Flisco,
"domini pape notarius, devotus servitor vester." Car-
tul. de Mag. Reg. A. fol. 86 vo.

This letter was discovered by M. A. Germain on a
leaf of the Cartulary of the ancient bishopric of Mague-
lone, among the departmental archives of the Hérault.¹
The Cartulary in which it was found is one drawn up
in 1368 by order of Gaucelin de Deaux, bishop of
Maguelone and treasurer to pope Urban V.

Examina-
tion of the
letter.

The letter is extremely curious, and, whenever and
however written, must have been the work of some one
sufficiently well acquainted with the circumstances of the
king's imprisonment, to draw up the details without
giving an opening for ready refutation. It is certain,
as we have seen, that the king was at Chepstow, and
"Gesosta" is not an improbable form for the name to
take in Italian ears. The earl of Arundel is not in-
deed mentioned as a partner in the flight to Lundy, but
it is not impossible that he was one of the unlucky
company, and that he may have left them after they
landed; Henry of Lancaster was the person who cap-
tured Edward, and his companions; the king was im-
prisoned at Kenilworth and there deprived of his royal
character; he was, after the coronation of his son on
the day before Candlemas, removed to Berkeley. Thomas
de Gournai was believed to have murdered him, and in
1330 was condemned as a traitor, while in the same
parliament Simon of Berford was executed as an accom-
plice of Mortimer in his designs against the king. The
two may have been sent to Berkeley to expedite the
murder. Here the exact correspondence of the letter

Accuracy of
the facts
detailed up
to a certain
point.

¹ Publications de la Société Archéologique de Montpellier, No. 37,
(December 1877), pp. 118-120.

with recognised fact ceases, but the later details include no impossibilities. Edward is said to have changed dresses with his servant, to have killed the porter, and to have escaped to Corfe Castle, which was then under the command of John of Maltravers. John of Maltravers was warden of Corfe Castle on the 24th of September 1329, and for a year after. If the king lived there a year and a half, from September 1327, part of this time may have been spent under Maltravers' tenure of the office.¹ It was to Corfe Castle that the earl of Kent was induced to go in search of his brother, and there he was assured by Sir John Deverel that he was alive, part of Mortimer's scheme of alluring him to his death.² Thus far then the letter may be made to agree with the invented story. Supposing the king to have escaped from Corfe in the spring of 1329, and spent eight months in Ireland, to have returned to England and passed through Normandy by Languedoc to Avignon, he would find John XXII. still on the papal throne; the rest of the story is of course incapable of being subjected to a crucial test. The supposed writer, Manuel Fieschi, was a canon of York and had been archdeacon of Nottingham;³ he may be supposed to have been personally acquainted with Edward II. There is thus in the letter itself little that could justify a charge of forgery. Yet the improbabilities that forbid us to receive it as genuine are insuperable. It is impossible that John Deverell should have acknowledged that Edward II. was alive if he had really been at Corfe in 1329. It is impossible to suppose that by accident he told the real truth to the earl of Kent, himself being ignorant of it. Such a coincidence is incredible. It is impossible that John XXII., who what-

Possibility
of the latter
part of the
story.

Improb-
ability of
some of the
details.

¹ Hutchings' Dorset, i. 504.

² This part of the story is best

given in Barnes's Life of Edward III., pp. 39-41.

³ Hardy's Le Neve, iii. 150, 168.

Probability
that the
story is a
fabrication.

Can it be
accounted
for?

ever else he may have been, was a fearless and restless pope, would have kept silence as to the true character of his royal visitor. It is to the last degree improbable that Edward, especially after the report that he was alive had been in circulation, should have moved about England, France, and Italy undetected. It is by no means improbable that, like many other kings who have died mysteriously, he should become the hero of a tale of wonder; but this does not explain the existence of the letter. I can only suggest three theories to account for it: either it was part of a political trick devised in the French court at the beginning of the great war to throw discredit on Edward III. and possibly to create disaffection in England; or it was the pretended confession of some person well acquainted with the circumstances of Edward's death and probably implicated in it, who wished to secure his own safety and subsistence by counterfeiting the character; or it was the real confession of a madman. There is great difficulty in the last supposition, for there is too much true and consistent detail to have been arranged by a thoroughly disordered brain; if the first be accepted, the plan of which the letter was a part must have been so completely abortive as to be otherwise unknown, and the second supposition seems almost as improbable as the authenticity of the letter. There the fact remains, at present inexplicable.

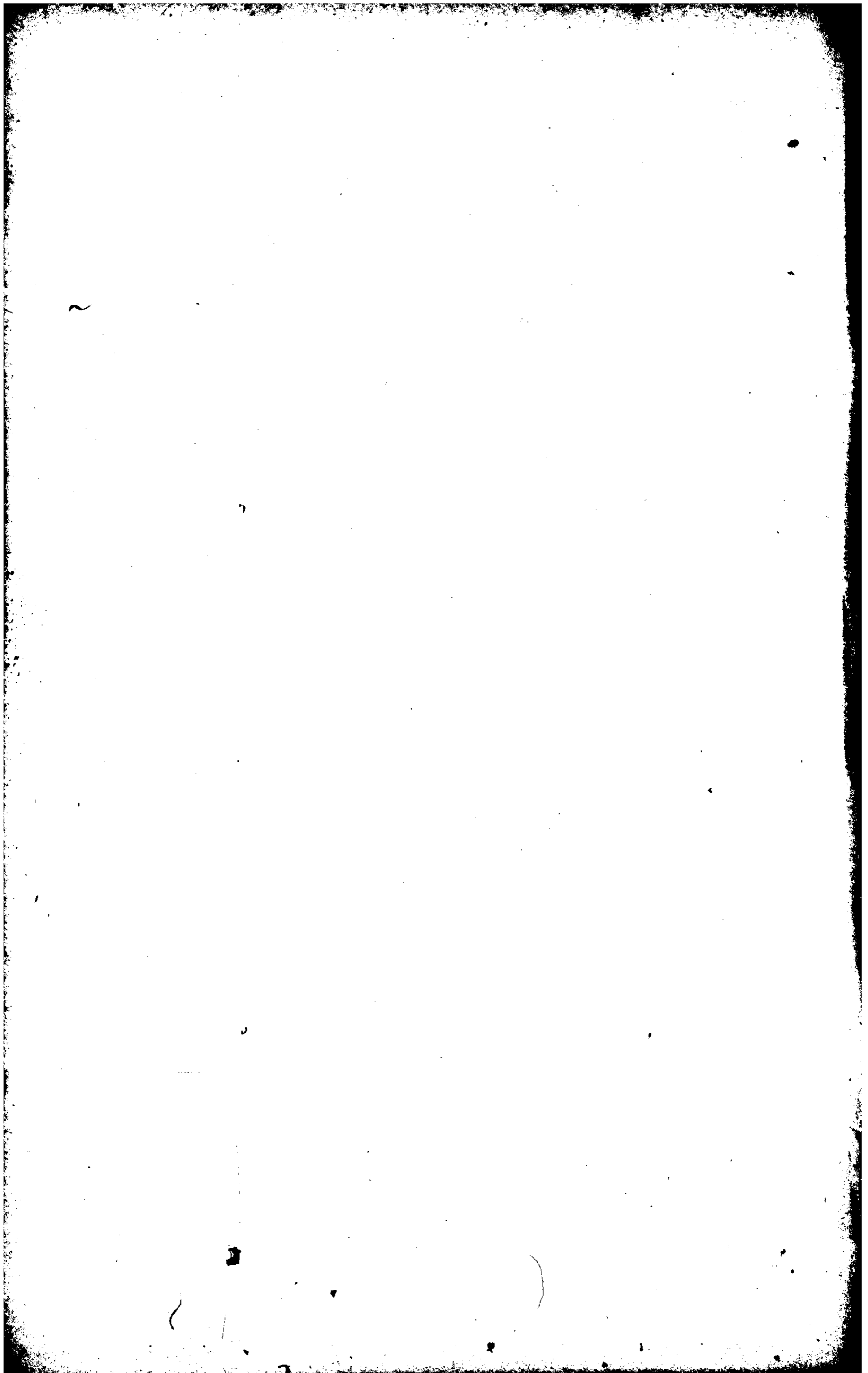
In the last few pages I have put together, perhaps, no more than the careful reader would make out for himself by the perusal of Carte, or Brady, or Tyrrell; but I have tried to point out the bearing of the comparatively new material on the old story. Perhaps a personal motive has induced me to dwell upon it longer than I need have done. To a fellow and cantarist of Oriel College the memory of the founder is a subject on which some prolixity may seem excusable; I have been treading too in the footsteps of one who five hundred

years ago was canon residentiary of St. Paul's, Adam of Murimuth, and who likewise, as farmer of the manor of Navestock,¹ must have been familiar with the scene in which many years of my life were spent, and who in all probability lived very near the place at which this introduction is dated.

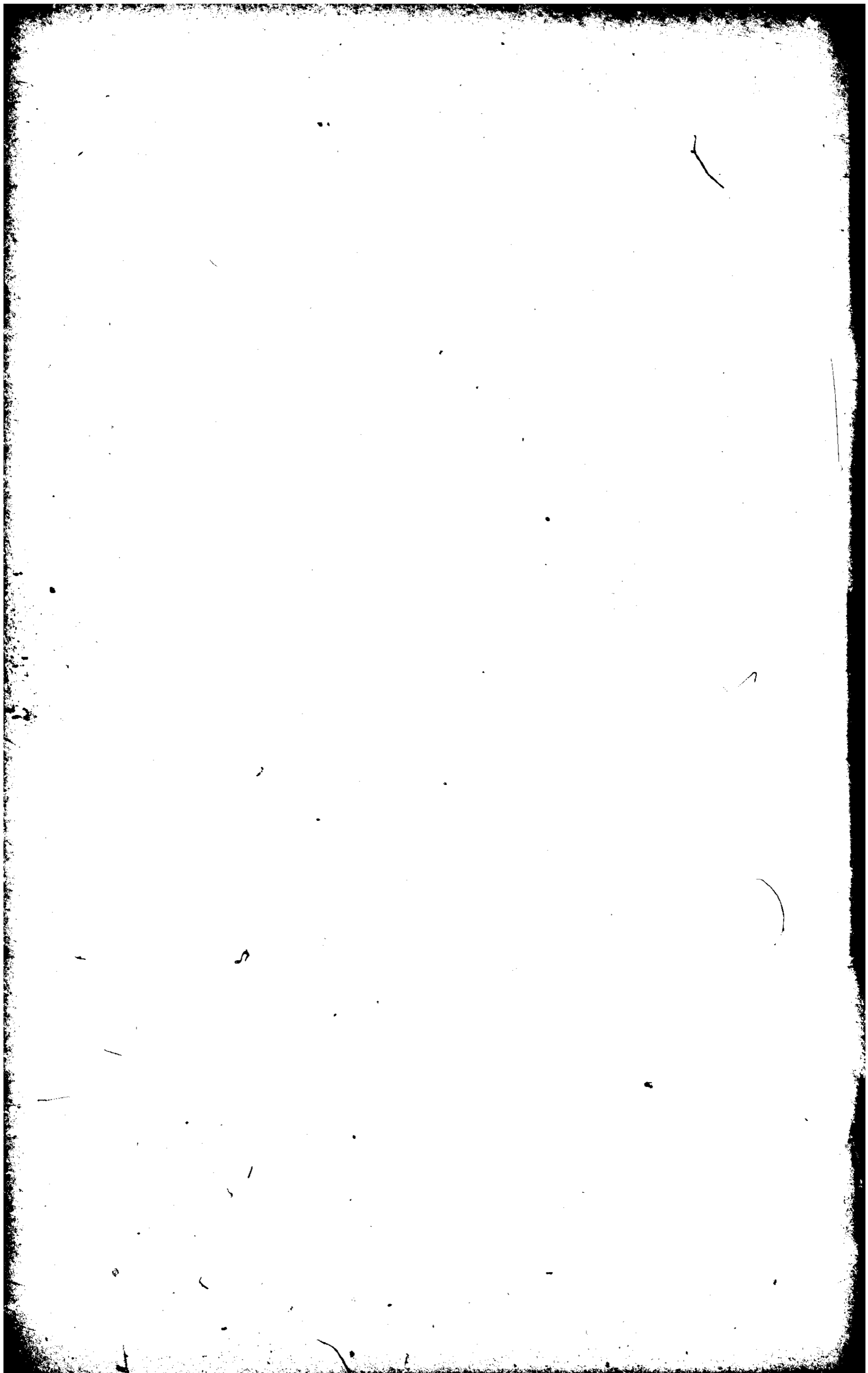
1, Amen Court, S. Paul's,
April 12th, 1883.

¹ This fact is an addition to our knowledge of Adam of Murimuth's life (see vol. i. pref. pp. lxi-lxvii) derived from the Archives of S. Paul's. Mr. Maxwell Lyte in his examination of the charters of the cathedral, for the Historical MSS. Commission, prints an abstract of a deed by which the Chapter demise

to Adam the manor of Navestock, on the ground of his residence at S. Paul's, dated Michaelmas 1335. His house and furniture there are described in the inventory, which mentions a chess board, and a "tabularium cum aleis." Charters of S. Paul's, No. 1,100.



APPENDIX TO THE INTRODUCTION.



APPENDIX TO THE INTRODUCTION.

I. EXTRACTS FROM THE BARLINGS CHRONICLE.

Anno regis Henrici quarti xxxvi^o orta est dissensio et motus A.D. 1232.
guerra inter dominum papam et Fredericum imperatorem quia
dominus imperator consuetudines et libertates quas antiquitus
Romana ecclesia pacifice possederat constabat adnichilare.

Anno regis Henrici quarti xxxvii^o Fredericus imperator a A.D. 1233
Deo visitatus corde compuncto accessit ad dominum papam,
veniam postulans de commissis et emendationem promittens,
penitentiam sibi injungi exorans. Papa vero considerans con-
tritionem cordis illius parvam, ut sibi videbatur, ei injunxit
penitentiam. Imperator vero penitentiam pro minimo re-
putans ait, "Domine, si placet, confirma penitentiam quam animo
" concepi;" et ait papa, "Quæ est illa?" "Domine, sustinebo
" degens in heremo per xxx. annos, sed oro ut potestas mea sit
" reddita, peracta penitentia." Qui concessit per litteras suas
bullatas.

Anno regis Henrici quarti xxxviii^o nichil. etc.

Anno regis Henrici quarti xxxix^o obiit Robertus Grosseteste A.D. 1234.
episcopus Lincolnensis; cui successit Henricus de Lewyng- Henry
tune, vi^o kalendas Aprilis. Decima dabatur domino regi ab Lexington,
omnibus viris ecclesiasticis isto anno et sequenti. bishop of
Lincoln.

Anno regis Henrici quarti xl. prior Hugo crucifixus a
Judæis apud Lincolniam kalendis Augusti, videlicet a Peyte-
vino venditore et Hagino crucifigente.

Anno regis Henrici quarti xli. Ricardus comes Cornubie, A.D. 1237.
frater ejusdem regis Henrici quarti, fuit coronatus in regem Richard
Alemania. Eodem anno obiit Willelmus Longespeye junior. crowned
king of the
Romans.

Anno regis Henrici quarti xlii^o nichil intitulatum est hoc
anno.

Anno regis Henrici quarti xliii. Pictavenæ ab Anglia
exularunt.

Anno regis Henrici quarti xliiii. obiit Henricus de Lexin- A.D. 1238.
tone episcopus Lincolnensis, cui successit magister Ricardus de Richard
Gravesende. Eodem anno magnates Anglia fecerunt quendam Gravesend.

A.D. 1258. nova statuta apud Oxoniam ad relevationem status Angliæ per justitios, vicecomites et alios ballivos miserabiliter depressæ, de concilio regis et cleri et populi, juramento communiter præstito de illis observandis.

Anno regis Henrici quarti xlvto idem rex pœnituit se de juramento præstito consuetudines observandas, qui destinavit nuncium ad dominum papam et obtinuit absolvi.

Anno regis Henrici quarti xlvto famos valida erat per totam Angliam et Scotiam, ita quod quarterium frumenti vendebatur pro xxiii. s. et amplius.

Anno regis Henrici quarti xlviiº multi obierunt præ inopia cibi ita ut corpora multorum quasi in acervum colligerentur.

A.D. 1264.
Capture of
Northampton.

Anno regis Henrici quarti xlviiiº incepit guerra inter ipsum regem et barones propter consuetudines Oxonienses non observatas, et capta fuit civitas Northamptoniæ per dominum regem et Edwardum filium ejus, et milites nobiliores inde abducti sunt usque ad lxxi. tanquam captivi: minores autem milites et liberi homines redemerunt semet ipsos per pecuniam. Judæi Londoniis interfecti sunt per cives Londonienses usque ad xxxvii. et x quia fecerunt ignem Græcum ad comburendam totam civitatem. Item commissum est bellum grave inter regem Henricum, Edwardum filium ejus, Ricardum comitem Cornubiæ, et quosdam alios magnates ex parte una, et Simonem de Monteforti comitem Leycestriæ, Gilbertum de Clare, comitem Gloverniæ, et quosdam alios magnates de baronibus ex altera parte, die videlicet Mercurii proximo ante festum Sancti Dunstani, apud Lewes, in quo maxima multitudo ex utraque parte occiditur, et capti sunt in bello prædicto rex Henricus et Edwardus filius ejus, comes Cornubiæ qui dicebatur rex Alemaniæ, et multi alii.

Battle of
Lewes.

A.D. 1265.
Surprise at
Kenilworth.

Anno regis Henrici quarti xlixº Baldewynus Wake, Willelmus de Moucheneseie, Adam de Novo Mercato et quidam alii magnates, venientes cum Simone de Monteforti juniore versus dominum Symonem de Monteforti comitem Leycestriæ ad succursum suum, capti sunt apud Kenilworthe per dominum Edwardum filium regis Henrici et suos, die sabbati in Ad Vincula Sancti Petri, Simone de Monteforti juniore cum quinque vel sex signiferis vix evadente in castrum de Kenilworthe. Item bellum grave commissum est apud Evesham die Martis proximo post festum Sancti Petri Ad Vincula, inter dominum regem et Edwardum filium ejus et alios ex parte una, et Simonem de Monteforti comitem Leycestriæ, Henricum filium ejus, Hugonem

le Despenser et plures alios ex parte altera. In quo bello interfecti sunt miserabiliter comites Leycestriae Simon de Monteforti, Henricus filius ejus, Hugo le Despenser, Petrus de Monteforti, Radulfus Bassett de Draytone, et plures alii barones et milites quorum non est numerus. Multi barones et milites et liberi homines exheredati, adinvicem se colligentes et circumdantes Angliam, pradia quorundam inimicorum suorum combusserunt, et omnia bona baronum, militum et scutariorum qui cum domino Henrico rege et Edwardo filio ejus tenerant diripuerunt.

A.D. 1265.
Battle of
Evesham

Anno regis Henrici quarti 1^o Octobonus cardinalis et legatus venit in Angliam cum regina Anglia. Legatus in Anglia Wallia, Hibernia fecit regi dari decimam beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum tam clericorum saecularium quam virorum religiosorum necnon et bonorum temporalium seu possessionum sanctorum religiosorum. Item bellum grave commissum est apud Cestrefend inter barones regis Henrici et barones et milites ex altera in vigilia Pentecostae, in quo multi interfecti sunt, et Robertus comes de Ferraris captus, Baldewynus Wake Johannes de Dei Villa et Johannes de Hain vix evaserunt. Item castrum de Kenilworthe obsessum per Henricum regem, Edwardum et Edmundum filios ejus et Gilbertum de Clara, comitem Gloverniae, a vigilia Sancti Johannis Baptistae usque ad vigiliam Sancti Thomae apostoli, Henrico de Hastings constabulario existente pro defectu cibi ipsum castrum domino regi die praedicto reddente. Multi magnates, comites et barones reddiderunt terras suas.

A.D. 1266.
Legation of
Octobon.

Battle of
Chesterfield

Siege of
Kenilworth.

Anno regis Henrici quarti 11^o idem rex profectus est in Walliam ad expugnandam eam, sed composuit cum Lewelino tunc principe Walliae per magnam summam pecuniae quam dedit praedictus Lewelinus eidem domino regi. Barones cum comite Gloverniae intraverunt civitatem Londoniarum et eam aliquamdiu contra regem tenuerunt. Tandem inter regem et eos exstitit pacificatio facta, et reddita fuit regi civitas. Insuper capta fuit insula Elyensis quam tenerant barones fere per annum per dominum Edwardum filium domini regis Henrici, qui strenue, caute, nobiliter et prudenter in omnibus suis agendis se habebat.

A.D. 1267.
Welsh ex-
pedition.

Occupation
of London.

Surrender
of Ely.

Anno regis Henrici quarti 11^o Ottobonus legatus venit Lincolniam, et ibi praedicavit iter Jerusalem in die Sancti Lucae Evangelistae, et in die Dominica sequenti cruce signavit decanum Lincolnensem, presbiteros, clericos, laicos, quia pra-

A.D. 1268.
Crusade
preached at
Lincoln.

A.D. 1203. cepit ut de universa ecclesia Lincolnensi cum cruce, vexillis et sacris vestibus induti ad monasterium ad audiendam prædicationem; et hii interpretes, videlicet decanus Lincolnensis, W. de Lessyngtone et quidam frater de ordine Prædicatorum, et quidam frater de ordine Minorum.

A.D. 1209. Quoerel
with Scot-
land. Anno regis Henrici quarti liii^o Edwardus filius ejus congregavit exercitum copiosum ad expugnandum regem Scotiae propter reginam Scotiae sororem domini Edwardi, quam rex Scotiae incarceravit, ut dictum fuit, et veneno interfecit. Rex vero se purgavit, et omnibus pacificatis dominus Edwardus reversus est in Angliam.

A.D. 1270. Departure
of Ottobon. Anno regis Henrici quarti liiii^o recessit Ottobonus legatus de Anglia.

A.D. 1271. Death of
the king of
the Romans.
Cruade of
Edward. Anno regis Henrici quarti lv^{to} obiit Ricardus rex Alemannie comes Cornubiae. Anno regis Henrici quarti lv^{to} dominus Edwardus filius suus, Johannes de Britannia, Wilhelmus Wallensis, Johannes de Vescy, Thomas de Clare, Reginaldus de Clifford, Bartholomæus Breton, Oto de Granson, Ricardus Pochel, Robertus de Bruys, Johannes de Verdono et multi alii principes et barones cum ingenti exercitu utriusque regni iter Jerosolimorum arripuerunt.

A.D. 1272. Anno regis Henrici quarti lvi^o: toto illo anno moratus est dominus Edwardus in Terram Sanctam.

Death of
Henry III. Anno regis Henrici quarti lvii^o idem rex obiit apud Londonias die Sancti Edmundi archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, et sepultus est in die Sancti Edmundi regis et martyris apud Westmonasterium, domino Edwardo primogenito suo in Terra Sancta existente.

Falty
sworn to
Edward I.
His escape
at Acre. Anno primo regis Edwardi, illo existente in Terra Sancta, comes Glovernie ex consilio magnatum totius Angliæ fecit totam Angliam jurare fidelitatem domino Edwardo. Item dominus Edwardus percussus est in Acon letali vulnere quodam cultello toxicato ab uno assassinio qui erat missus a Soldano; sed gratia Dei sanitati restitutus est: ibique natus est filius ejus qui vocatur Amphunsus.

Council of
Lyons. Celebratum est concilium a domino papa Gregorio decimo apud Lugdunum Galliarum; in quo fuerunt tres sessiones tantum; in quibus celebratum fuit quod bigami nec viduarum mariti non gauderent privilegio clericali. Item quod persone post concilium admissæ ad aliquam ecclesiam infra annum in presbiteros ordinarentur, alioquin beneficio privarentur. Item quod ordo fratrum Penitentiarum, id est Saccorum, om-

nino quassaretur, præter eos qui recepti sunt, remaneant dum A.D. 1272.
vivunt, aut ad alium ordinem quemcunque voluerint se trans-
ferant, nec aliquem clericum sive laicum recipiant.

Anno regis Edwardi secundo. Idem rediit de Terra Sancta A.D. 1272.
circa Pascha. Eodem anno coronatus est ipse et regina
Alianora apud Westmonasterium a fratre Roberto de Culwar-
deby de ordine Prædicatorum archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, ^{Coronation}
Dominica prima post Assumptionem beate Mariæ, xlii^o of Edward I.
kalendas Septembris. Qui statim coronam deposuit, dicens quod
nunquam capiti suo resideret donec terras in unum congre-
garet ad coronam pertinentes quas pater suus alienavit, dando
comitibus et baronibus et militibus Angliæ et alienigenis.
Concessit itaque novam cartam teneri, sed nichil profuit. Hoc
anno concessa est decima a papa Gregorio decimo, domino
regi Edwardo; bona tamen Templariorum, Hospitaliorum, or-
dinis Cisterciensis, Præmonstratensis et Sempringhamensis non
sunt taxata cum ceteris, sed quilibet per se finem fecit.
Ordo tamen Præmonstratensis per se dedit cc. libras.

Anno regis Edwardi tertio idem rex permisit per totam A.D. 1273.
Angliam ballivos inquirere sub juramento et in secreto de ^{Inquest into}
universis terris Angliæ, per Johannem de Kyrkebi thesau- ^{titles.}
rarium quis quid teneret et cujus feodi, et quantum, et cujus
regis tempore feoffati essent. Eodem anno ad festum Sancti ^{Oattle}
Michaelis venit primo sarpedo et porrigo agnorum et ovium ^{plague in}
in Lindeseye a Waldis prout aestimabatur. ^{Lindsey.}

Anno regis Edwardi quarto nichil intitalatum est, etc.

Anno regis Edwardi quinto erat communis morriana bi- A.D. 1277.
dentum per totam Angliam. Idem rex congregavit exerci- ^{Murrain.}
tum ad expugnandam Walliam, quam obtinuit, sed non sine
longa obsidione.

Anno regis Edwardi vi. Lewelinus princeps Walliæ despon-
savit filiam Simonis de Monteforti post festum Sancti Michaelis
die Sancti Edwardi regis.

Anno regis Edwardi vii^o tenuit concilium apud Westmo- A.D. 1279.
nasterium post festum Sancti Hillarii, in quo conquestum est ^{Jewish}
de tonsura monetas. Itaque ex consilio regis et magnatum ^{money-}
assensu factum est ut omnes Judæi totius Angliæ capti sunt ^{clippers}
et miserabiliter incarcerati, et domos eorum fecit scrutari per ^{punished.}
ballivos suos. Ex quibus idem rex Edwardus infinitam mul-
titudinem monete et ex tonsura monete invenit per suas
cistas et cofros et ollas plenas, quas omnes confiscatas sunt.

A.D. 1279. Tandem Judæi accusaverunt quam plurimos Christianos, et quot diffamati et attrinctorum dati sunt ad suspendendum.

A.D. 1280. Oliver Sutton, bishop of Lincoln. Anno regis Edwardi viii^o obiit Ricardus de Graveshenda episcopus Lincolnensis, xv^o kalendas Januarii; cui successit Oliverus de Sutton. Eodem anno convocavit concilium apud Londonias post Pascha, ibique exegit a tota Anglia certam summam pecuniæ, scilicet ab universa bovata terræ totius Angliæ iii^{or} denarios. In quo cum non consentirent magnates data est dilatio usque ad sequens concilium apud Oxoniam. Sed ibi concilium celebrare barones noluerunt habentes locum suspectum. Eodem anno translatus est beatus Hugo Lincolnensis episcopus in præsentia fratris Johannis de Pecham de ordine Minorum archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, domini Edwardi regis Angliæ et reginæ Alianoræ, Oliveri episcopi Lincolnensis et aliorum magnatum totius Angliæ, pridie nonas Octobres. Hoc anno mutatio monetæ.

Discontent of the barons.

Translation of S. Hugh.

A.D. 1281. Great frost.

A.D. 1282. Death of Matilda Longespee.

Anno regis Edwardi ix^o erat yemps gravissima; gelu et nix duravit per vii. ebdomadas continuas a die Sancti Pauli apostoli usque ad diem Sancti Gregorii absque recessu.

Anno regis Edwardi x^o natus est Edwardus filius ejus apud Karnarvan in Wallia die Sancti Marci Evangelistæ. Eodem anno Lewelinus princeps Walliæ occiditur. Obiit Matildis Longespeye vigilia Sancti Thomæ apostoli.

II. EXTRACTS FROM HEARNE'S TRANSCRIPT; MS. RAWLINSON, B. 414.

List of the abbots of Malmesbury.

Sanctus Aldelmus fuit primus abbas hujus monasterii, cui successorum Ethelardus, Cuthbertus, Daniel, Migidulphus, Fortherus, Cambrithus, Sygibrithus, Ethelardus, Kynbrithus, Ethelmodus, Ethelredus. Post istum Ethelredum monachis expulsis per regem Edwynum, clerici sæculares cœnobium pro tempore occupabant; sed Edgarus frater prædicti regis, factus rex Angliæ, expulsis sæcularibus monachos iterum instituit, quibus Alfricum monachum de Wyntoniam abbatem constituit anno Domini nongentesimo septuagesimo quarto. Post Alfricum in octingentis sex annis fuerunt abbates Ethelwardus, Kynewardus, Brithelmus, Brithwoldus, Edericus, Wolsinus, Brithwoldus, quem miserabiliter obiisse in codicibus reperimus;

post cujus obitum Hermannus Schirbouray episcopus monasterium sede sua implere cogitavit, sed prævenerunt ejus consensum monachi, qui consensu Sancti Edwardi tunc regis Angliæ præfecerunt Britricum in abbatem, qui septem annos consobio multum profuit. Sed Willhelmus conqueror factus rex Angliæ Turaldum Fiacanensem monachum vivente Britrico induxit, quo etiam de monasterio ejecto idem rex substituit Warinam de Lyra, qui tempore suo transtulit corpus Sancti Aldelmi. Warinus obiit tempore Willelmi Rufi, cui successit Godefridus Jemmecensis monachus, qui obiit tempore regis Henrici dicti Beaclere; cui successit Ewolfus; quo mortuo tempore prædicti regis Henrici, Rogerus Sarisberiensis episcopus vacantem abbatiam usurpavit. Sed Stephanus rex prædictum Rogerum episcopum abbatis et capellis privavit, et Johannem canonicum electum abbatem Malmesburie præfecit, qui Johannes electus . . . obiit tempore regis Stephani supradicti; cui successit Petrus Morant Cluniacensis monachus, qui obiit nonas Februarii anno Domini millesimo centesimo sexagesimo, et regni regis Henrici filii imperatricis septimo. Cui successerunt Gregorius, Robertus de Veneys, medicus regis Henrici, Osbertus, qui omnes similiter obierunt tempore prædicti regis Henrici. Deinde successit Nicholaus de Sancto Albano doctor Theologie.

List of the
abbots of
Malmes-
bury.

After follows the life of Edward II., which I have printed with Trolowes.

At the end of the said life of Edward II. is this old deed:—

Robertus Dei gratia abbas Malmesburiensis et conventus ejusdem, omnibus filiis sanctæ matris ecclesiæ, salutem. Notum sit vobis nos concessisse et hæc præsentī carta nostra confirmasse Wyberto filio Willelmi unam virgatam terræ in Cherlton quæ fuit Radulfi Francigense pro v. s. per annum, et dimidium virgatæ terræ quam Gerinus tenuit de la Blakecroft pro ii. s. in feodo, salvo regali servitio, et unam virgatam Cherlton quæ Gerinus tenuit de forestaria sicut ejus carta testatur, et dimid. hid. quam constabularius tenuit pro servitio unius servientis ad serviendum hospitibus in aula et dispensa et botularia, salvo ejus corrodio; et præterea unam virgatam terræ de tenent' de Brokenberthe juxta Kyngshey, dimid., videlicet, quæ Teodorico cognomento Bore et dimid. quæ fuit

Malmes-
bury char-
ter.

Notes from
Hearn's
transcript.

Alwini Mazonis, pro franco servitio tali quale ad virgatain
pertinet. Hæc omnia tenementa concedimus ei et heredibus
suis tenenda de ecclesia nostra in feodo et hereditate pro ser-
vitiis prædictis salvo regali servitio.¹

Upon the first page of the last parchment leaf—

G. Holles } 1648.
meis, mihi.

As I take it the history of Edward II. in this MS. was done
by a quite different author from the rest, which seems to be
extracts only from other writers. Yet both were done by some
hand or hands of Malmesbury. The writing of the first part
of the MS. is different for the most part from the writing of
the life of Edward II. I believe they were formerly bound in
two different volumes, notwithstanding bound together it may
be by Sir Gervase Holles now, for one blank leaf (so I
take it to have been) hath been cut out after the abbats'
names, and there is now one blank leaf after that remaining,
only a modern hand hath transcribed on the first page thereof
the names of the abbats. The life then begins of Edward II.,
an illuminated great E being the first letter, without any
other title than in a modern hand "Edwardus 2." I was once
thinking that this life of Edwardus II. had been Hemyingford's,
but Hemyingford's way of writing by chapters, putting the
contents before each chapter, was different.

¹ This charter is given in full in
the Reg. de Malmesb., ed. Brewer,
App. II. vol. II. p. 396, with the
addition: Hiis testibus, Gaufrido de

Brenkeworthe et Roberto fratre
ejus, Waltero Nywentone et Ricardo
ejus filio.

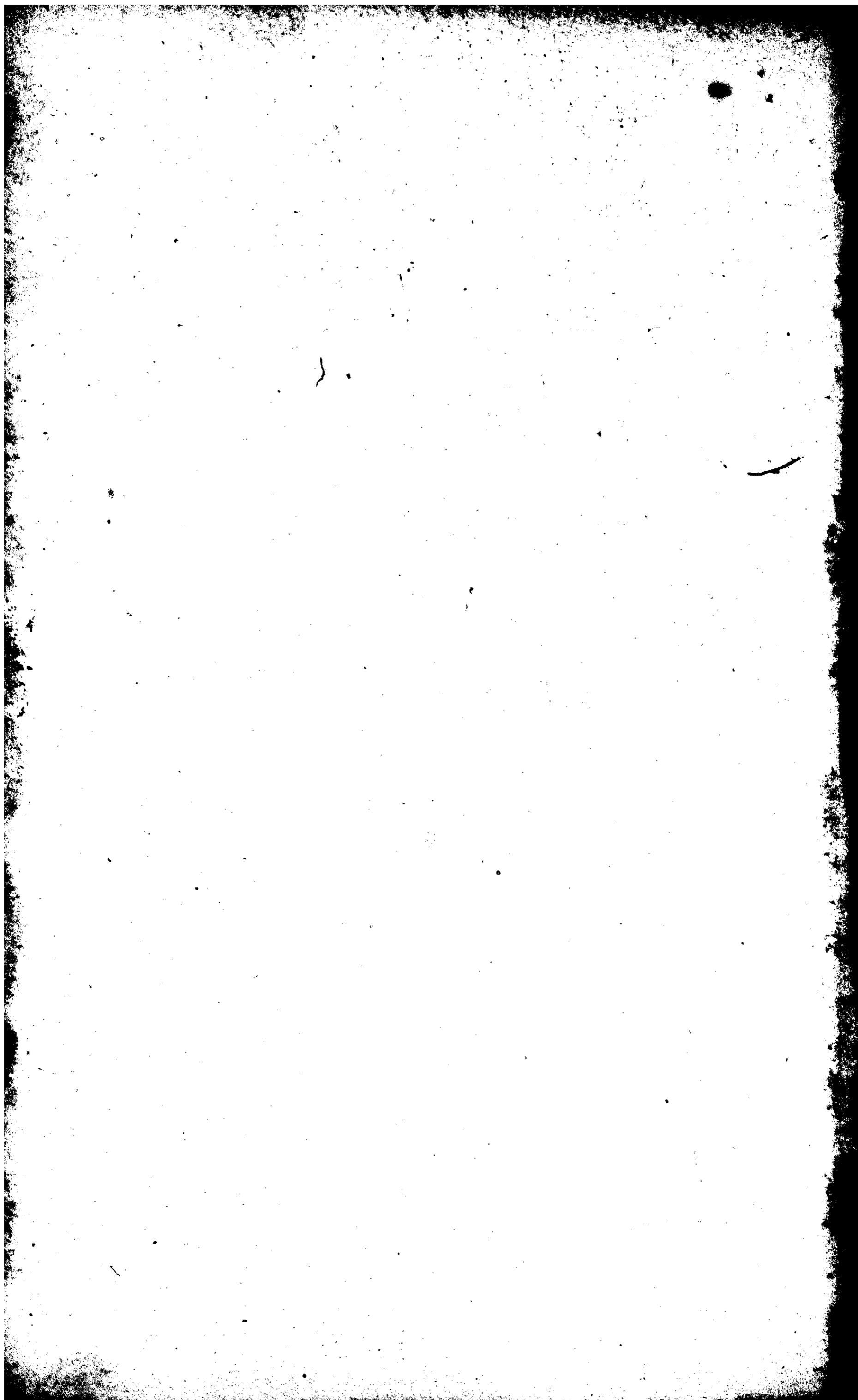
**CHRONICLES OF THE REIGNS OF
EDWARD I. AND EDWARD II.**

III.

**COMMENDATIO LAMENTABILIS IN
TRANSITU MAGNI REGIS EDWARDI.**

R 1681. Wt. 582.

58



COMMENDATIO LAMENTABILIS IN TRANSITU MAGNI REGIS EDWARDI.

*Commendatio Lamentabilis in transitu magni regis
Edwardi quarti secundum Johannem de Londonia.¹*

Et factum est verbum Domini ad me dicentis, Fili hominis, sume tibi librum grandem et scribe in eo lamentationes et carmen et vae, et reliqua. A.D. 1307
Lamentationes
from the
Edward I.

Propositio in presenti opusculo.²

Prohibemur, generosa matrona domina Margareta Dei gratia regina Angliæ,³ divina pagina laudare hominem in vita sua, quasi ammonemur, magnificare post mortem; et hoc duplici ex causa; quando scilicet nec laudantem nocet adulatio nec laudatum temptet elatio. Sane quam plurimorum id⁴ deposcit devotio, ut formam et mores magnanimi Edwardi, quondam regis Angliæ, sub certa descriptione depingam;⁵ quod quidem facultatem meam excedit; ad hoc enim sufficienter et dilucide exarandum oporteret magistrum Petrum Blesensem, quondam Bathoniensis archidiaconum, ex morte resurgere, qui de diversis materiis

¹ MS. Lambeth 419. [L.]
MS. Cotton, Nero, D. 2. [N.]
MS. Herald's Coll. 22. § 8.
[C.]
MS. Bodl. Land 572. ff. 217-
220. [B.]
MS. Bodl. Haden 25. [H.]

² From MS. C.
³ generosa [Angliæ] O abba
venerabilis Augustini, I. The
logue is wanting in MS. B.
⁴ id] ad, H.
⁵ depingam] deputatum, H.

A.D. 1307.
The writer
imitates
Peter of
Blois in his
description
of Henry II.

tribus dictare scriptoribus et uniuscujusque calamo
festinanti satisfacere, seque quod de solo Julio Cesare
scribitur quartam epistolam dictare et scribere pro-
batus est. Verumptamen "illud tantillum quod de
" forma et moribus ejus ad instantiam vestram bre-
" viter dolibo, meae temeritati a pluribus ascribetur;¹
" videbor² enim aut onus importabile praesumpsisse
" aut plurimum de magnificentia tanti viri per insi-
" pientiam omisisse. Ego tamen, vestrae sorviens cari-
" tati, quod possum facio et quod scio vestrae" devo-
" tionis " promptissima communico voluntate, atque³ inter
" ceteros magnos viros qui de laudibus domini mei
" scribunt, ego cum paupere vidua minutum devo-
" tionis in gazophilacium" pronus⁴ "mitto." Nec reor
absurdum nec a materia dissonum recitare dotes
animi quibus viguit olim illustris⁵ rex Anglorum
Henricus secundus, vel pauca de ipso scripta huic
paginae inserere, cum in paucis admodum discrepa-
verint et consimilibus effloruerint virtutibus proavus
et pronepos. Verum etiam per memoriale unius me-
moriale alterius in laude, nec scandalizaverim si
dixero et majori pronepotis⁶ a proavo perpetualiter
eternetur.

P. Blesau.
ep. 66.

Descriptio corporalis regis Edwardi.

Description
of Edward's
person.

Dominum autem Edwardum regem non rubeum,
non fulvum, sed ex albo nigroque colore permixtum,
quo colerica et longiturna denotatur complexio, no-
veritis extitisse; quem "colorem venerabilis senectus
" et superveniens canities aliquantulum alteravit.⁷

¹ ascribetur] ascribitur, H.

² videbor] videlicet, H.

³ atque] semper, H. This is a
quotation from Peter of Blois, ep.
66 (ed. Buzæus).

⁴ pronus] libens, L.

⁵ illustris] Here the copy in MS.
B. begins.

⁶ pronepotis] pronepos, C.

⁷ alteravit] alternavit, H.B. L.N.

P. Blacem.
cap. 61.

"Statura ejus" procera et decens singulis membris
ejus, ut incedendo cum populo facies ejus superemi-
nentius ceteris resplenderet, prout Saul quondam elec-
tus Domini animos insipientium¹ regem incedentem
gratius letificaret. "Caput ejus sphericum" erat "tan-
quam sapientie magnae sedes et alti consilii speciale
sacrum. Oculi ejus orbiculati" erant "dum pla-
cati" fuit "animi simplices et columbini, sed in ira
et turbatione cordis" leonini, "tanquam scintillantes
ignem" et impetum fulminantes. "Cresaries ejus"
nigra² et crista, quae in senecta et senio "dampna
calvitii minime" verebatur.³ "Eminentia nasi" longa
et aliquantulum medio elevata, "arcuati pedes, eque-
tres tibias" et longae, "thorax extensor, lacerti"
pugiles, virum fortem, audacem et agilem demon-
straverunt. A prima die coronationis suo nequaquam
deinceps corona redimiri passus est, librans ipsius onus
amplius quam honorem. Non purpura utebatur aut
cocco distincto,⁴ sed sicut unus⁵ ex plebeis roba et fur-
rato collobio et unicolori incescit. Unde quadam die af-
fatus simpliciter a⁶ quodam canobita, cur non uteretur
regalibus vestimentis, respondit "Deus hanc attendit"
et ridet. Quid amplius in illis valeo quam in istis!
Vehemens amator⁷ nemorum et ferarum,⁸ dum a
proliis cessaret, quandoque cum canibus et accipitre
animum⁹ oblectavit cum hiis qui in avibus coli-
ludunt.¹⁰ Caro ejus cum nulla mole pinguedinis on-
rata, neque oheus¹¹ carnibus extitit, sed ossibus et
nervis firmissimo compactus; et¹² ut palma erectus, "in

A.D. 1207.
Hic statuer.
hinc, apud
hunc, non
statuer, sed
statuer.

Hic non re-
ducitur in
dum.

Hic non re-
ducitur in
dum.

¹ insipientium] insipientium, H.

² nigra] niera, H.

³ verebatur] ferebatur, H.

⁴ lacerti] latera, H.

⁵ distincto] distincto, H.; bis-
cinto, B. MS. I. continet, "bisco,

"non pileum, non capota stantia-

"tam, non clamidem coccineum,

"que ad ornatum regium solum

"spectant, abhorrens fastum

"principum indutus est."

⁶ sicut unus] sed eximius, H. B.

⁷ simpliciter a] semper, H. B.

⁸ amator] amator, C.

⁹ ferarum] erat, ins. B.

¹⁰ animum] avium, H.

¹¹ cum . . . ludunt] cum, C.

¹² oheus] oheia, C.

¹³ et] cum, H.

A.D. 1307.
His given
old age.

His ready
eloquence.

His popular
qualities.

His piety
towards
the dead.

"ascendendo equum vel excurrente levitatem adole-
scentie" continuavit; ac per assiduos labores naturæ
superflua resecans rarissime ægrotavit. Non caligavit
oculus ejus præ senecta et senio, et dentes illius a
sedibus non sunt moti; neque ut aliqui reges delicati
in palatio suo incuriæ vel segnitiei deditus, sed regna
et "provincias" peragrans¹ "exploravit facta omnium;"
sed excæcatos a muneribus "judices potissimum judi-
cans, quos constituerat judices aliorum. Nemo illo
"argutior in consiliis, in eloquio torrentior, securior
"in periculis, in prosperis" cautior,² "constantior in
"adversis;" in difficilibus questionibus promptissi-
mum et solertissimum dabat responsum et responsale
decretum.³ In ambiguis judiciis et causis decidendis
spreta personarum acceptione, decretissimus legislator,
utpote qui pauperum et injuriam patientium piissi-
mus consolator. "Quem semel dilexit vix dedilexit,
"et quem semel exosum habuit raro in gratiam
"familiaritatis admisit." Nullus magnificentior in
donis, non deliberans cum Antigono quid fortunæ pos-
tulantis accipere conveniret, sed melius cum Alexandro
quantum deceret regalem munificentiam exhibere. In
effusione pecuniæ vel expensarum illud attendens,
"non est magni animi beneficium dare et perdere,⁴
"sed perdere et dare magni animi est." Rex iste
nunquam tristis, nisi in defunctione carorum, quorum
peccata perpetuis redimens elemosinis sepulchra eorum
artificiosius cunctis mortalibus decoravit, et curiosius
sculpi fecit. Et, ut multa paucis concludam, quicquid
regali gloriæ competeret aut honori, tam in artibus
quam in moribus, in ipso potuit reperiri, quippe quia
omnium justorum regum septiformis Spiritus Sancti⁵
gratia plenus fuit.⁶

¹ peragrans] om. C.
² cautior] Peter of Blois writing
of Henry II. uses the word timidior.
MSS. H. and B. read cautice.

³ decretum] directum, H.
⁴ perdere] prodere, C.
⁵ Sancti] om. C. N.
⁶ et . . . fuit] om. L.

Commendatio lamentabilis domini papae.¹

A.D. 1272.

Edwardus, rex magnificus, insuperabilis in bellis et in pace extitit gloriosus. Qui, etsi super omnia desiderabilia hujus mundi zelaret et procuraret pacem populi sui, inimicus tamen homo, sator discordiae, guerram movit;² nec invenit requiem, ut possit dicere cum propheta, "Expectavimus pacem et non venit, tempus curationis et ecce turbatio." Ad pacem populi Christiani pertinuit, quod contra Saracenos et Agarenos crucem Christi assumeret, et se in manus quarentium animam suam discrimini ultro dedit. Et nunc, filii, super mortuum lacrymas producite, et, quasi dira passi, incipite³ plorare, ac secundum meritum ejus multis diebus luctum facite et lamentum. Lex enim naturae maestuosos affectus in amissione carorum indicit. Nam et⁴ Job, audita suorum morte filiorum, vestimentorum scissione et aspersione pulveris vim doloris expressit: Abraham mortuam Sarram⁵ planxit; Joseph et fratres ejus patrem Jacob mortuum, et trans Jordanem delatum⁶ ac sepultum, multo tempore lamentarunt. Sed, Josia rege mortuo, scriptum est quia universus Juda et Jerusalem eum planxerunt. Christus etiam Jesus amicum Lazarum, quadriduanum mortuum, e monumento lacrymando vocavit. In defunctione itaque carorum amare fletur. Et quanto quis habebatur carior, tanto amarius est defensus. Aperiantur ergo⁷ cataractae⁸ capitis nostri, et cordis nostri dirumpantur abyssi, ut super faciem Anglicanae ecclesiae inundet diluvium aquarum multarum. En! vox iterum in Rama audita est, ploratus et ululatus in ecclesia, luctus multus in Anglia, magnus rex Edwardus mi-

The pope's intervention for him.

Examples of luctus given at the loss of friends.

2 Chron. xiv. 19.

2 Chron. xxxiv. 24.

Jerem. xlii. 13.

¹ domini papae] comitem et baronum, C. N.² movit] movet, H.³ incipite] incipiente, H. B.⁴ et] om. H. B.⁵ Sarram] Saran, C. N. L.⁶ delatum] dilatum, H. B.⁷ ergo] igitur, B. N.⁸ cataractae] caraceler, H. B. N.

A.D. 1507.
Grief of the
Roman
church for
him.

gravit a saeculo, vivens cum Christo, signifer Regis regum. Heu! Rachel mærens, regina mater ecclesia renuens consolari, respuit gloriari de pulchritudine, non Noemi¹ sed Mara, id est amara, vocari precatur, Ruth. i. 20. quia amaritudine amaricavit se Deus, et viduatam tali viro, gentilitatis et injustitiæ debellatore, felle et absinthio se potavit. Sed, et mellificante² Domino orbem terræ in tanti regis jocunda presentia, eo intimius murmurat inolita pululare super terram mæstificatus³ per ejus absentiam omnis homo.

Commendatio lamentabilis regum.

Lamenta-
tion of the
kings for
Edward.

O pugil ecclesiæ et splendor militiæ, O rigor justitiæ et lima nequitiae, capitaneus totius Christiani exercitus, invictissime rex Edwarde, tua prudentia cunctorum regnorum derides astutiam,⁴ tuaque sapientia omnium regnantium potentiam moderaris. Te ut hostem quondam inquietavimus, sed illa inquietatio destructio nostra fuit. Et sicut olim manus omnium contra Ysmaclem et manus ejus contra omnes, sic nos Gen. xvi. 12 reges terræ contra Edwardum, sed Edwardus valens præpotentius contra omnes. Et nunc reges, terræ principes, et omnes judices mundi, in evocatione regis Edwardi etiam cunctorum orthodoxorum tota lamentat conregnatio. Cujus et suorum frequens armatorum exercitatio, quid aliud nisi, post ejus exitum de Egypto, paganorum et infidelium expugnatio doctrinalis? Abavus autem suus et tritavus ejus, dilatantes imperia, subjecerunt sibi ducatus et comitatus. Edwardus vero paternarum magnificentiarum amplius æmulator existens, regaleque perornans solium, in clipeo et in hasta principatum Walliæ, truncatis ejus principibus, Leolino et David, potentissime acquisivit. Quinimmo

His royal
triumphs.

¹ non Noemi] non Emy, H. B.

² mellificante] mellificanti, H. B.

³ mæstificatus] fellificatus, L.

⁴ astutiam] justitiam, H. B.

dominium regni Scotiæ primo magni industria consilii, secundo potenti virtute bellorum, regnum illud victoriosissime est adeptus. Nihilominus comitatibus Cornubiæ et Northfolchiæ, disponens Eo cujus est orbis terræ et plenitudo ejus, ad manus Edwardi mirabiliter devolutis, suis successoribus amplissimam reliquit materiam gloriandi. Ubique igitur Christus habet nomen, inter præcellentissimos fidelium reges habeat et Edwardus honorem. Nam, ipso vivente, sicut lætantium omnium gentium habitatio liberalissima in se fuit. Quo quidem subtracto de medio, perhennis deploratio cunctarum nationum jocunditatem infaustissime abolevit.

A.D. 1297.
His conquests of Scotland, and acquisition of Norfolk and Cornwall.

Commendatio lamentabilis Margarete regine.

Audite insulæ et attendite populi de longe, si est ^{Laurentia} dolor similis dolori meo; nam cecidit corona capitis ^{1 sum of queen} mei, defecit gaudium cordis mei, et versa est in ^{Margaret.} luctum cythara mea, et organum meum in vocem flentium. Ha! bone Jesu, Quis mihi tribuat, ut pro te moriar, domine mi¹ rex? Mors in voto² mihi³ est, et vita in tædio. Et cum sic moriar, incessanter in desideriis habeo mori plenius, vivere compellor invita, ut vita sit mihi mortis pabulum⁴ et materia cruciatu⁵. Quoniam rumor quem nolebam evenit mihi, et accidit quod verebar. Audita est vox tribulationis et desolationis maximæ in terra nostra; magnanimus rex Edwardus obdormivit in Domino.⁶ Ha! Martha et Maria, cur abistis⁷ longius in Judeam, redite, quæso, ad monumentum et plorate. Vocate Raby, si forte excitet eum a sompno. Quoniam si fuisset hic non fuisset mortuus dominus meus et rex meus, rex

Lam. i. 12.

Joh. xxi. 31.

1 Kings x. 7.

8. John xi. 21.

¹ mi] vir, H. B.

² in voto] invoco, H. B.

³ mihi] modo, H. B.

⁴ pabulum] periculum, H. B.

⁵ in Domino] om. C. N.

⁷ abistis] ab ista, MSS.

A.D. 1307.
His love of
peace; his
parliaments
and ali-
ances.

quidem terribilis super omnes filios superbiam, et paca- Job xli. 23.
bilis omnibus mansuetis terræ; ad pacem namquo
commissi sibi gregis¹ pertinuit quicquid cogitaret,
loqueretur, aut ageret. Profecto ad pacem populi
spectare dinoscitur quod parliamenta uniret,² quod
firmaret federa, quod cum extraneis federaret, quod
prælia minaretur, et principibus terrores³ inmitteret.
Nolite ideo, quæso, nunciari⁴ hæc in triviis Gethæ, 2 Sam. i. 20.
neque in compitis Aschalonis, ne forte insultent filie
paganorum. Sed filie Syon et Jerusalem, filie regni⁵
et ecclesie, in vestitu deaurato, circumdatae varietate Ps. xlv. 10.
virtutum, flete Edwardum regem qui pascebat vos in
deliciis⁶ qui preparabat ornamenta cultui vestro, et
coronulas aureas et gemmatas vestris capitibus adap-
tavit. Ha! pie Jesu, quid fecisti nobis sic? Ecce
enim in morte Edwardi domini mei moritur omnis
homo. Revera in ea quodam compassionis⁷ tædio,
lamentationis confrixorio, et penitudinis gladio sauciasti
omnem hominem super terram.

Commendatio lamentabilis pontificum.

Lamenta-
tion of the
bishops.

Quis Edwardo rege isto mansuetior? quis compa-
tientiior miseris? quis importabilior fuit superbis?
Quadam enim divinitatis ymagine semper studuit
opprimere fastuosos, oppressis compati, et adversus
superbie tumorem⁸ continuas persecutiones et exitiales
molestias suscitare. Ipso autem regnante, omnes va-
cantes episcopatus, comitatus, abbacie, et baronie
sub ejus potentia fiscabantur; de quibus juxta con-
suetudinem regni debitam et assuetam portionem acci-
piens, manus tamen suas habuit restitutionis tempore

¹ gregis] a regina, H.

² uniret] viveret, H. B.

³ terrores] terrorem, H.

⁴ nunciari] nunciare, H. B.

⁵ regi] regem, H. B.

⁶ pascebat vos in deliciis] com.
H. B.

⁷ compassionis] passionis, H. B.

⁸ pontificum] presulum, C. L.

⁹ tumorem] rumorem, H. B.

ab omni venalitate innoxias et immunes. Et si facta
 ejus deducantur in medium, quæ per nos retexere
 atque expedire prout dignum est nequit verbum
 abbreviatum, providemus eum præcellere cunctos qui
 ante eum fuerant præclues¹ reges terre in gloria et
 honore. Quæ enim de illis præcluib² ascribuntur
 præcipua de Edwardo solo reperimus denuo adimpleta.
 De David, quondam Israelitica plebis rege, illud com-
 mendatissimum scribitur, quod in isto potissimum
 A. D. 1271. Hic curvi-
littera obore
ali terunt
littera.
 adimpletur. "Inveni," inquit Dominus, "virum secun-
 dum cor meum;" illo namque inuncto³ a Samuele
 propheta, isto a cardinale Ottone et legato fonte bap-
 tismatis renato, et a sancto Edmundo Cantuariensi
 archiepiscopo confirmato, in utroque directus est Spiri-
 tus Domini; a die illa in reliquum uterque prælia-
 batur bella Domini, ut est scriptum: "Porro trium-
 phator in Israel non pariet, et penitudo non flectetur."
 Saul quidem percussit mille, David vero decem milia,
 magnus autem Edwardus⁴ mille milia in milibus suis.
 Davit percussit Moabitas, Ammonitas, Philisteos, et
 etiam Ydumeos; et conterens⁵ mensus est eos funiculo
 corequans⁶ terræ, mensus est autem⁷ duos funiculos,
 unum ad occidendum, et alium ad vivificandum. Porro
 Edwardus expugnavit Sarracenos, Francos, Scotos, Wa-
 lences,⁸ perfidos Christianos. Mensus est autem per
 duos funiculos misericordie et iudicii, corequans eos
 terre, sublimis Scotie et Wallie rebelles fastigiali
 privans nomine, primitus vitæ donans, postea pace
 data, lege lata, iterum in arcem pravam conversos,⁹
 hostes publicos morte plectit. Uterque misericordie
 visceribus affluabat. Nam David æmulum suum Sau-

¹ præclues] præclaros, H.; præ-
 clues, B. C.

² præcluib²] præcellitus, H. C.
 I. N.

³ inuncto] inuncto, H.

⁴ magnus autem Edwardus] ma-
 gnus autem Edwardi, C.

⁵ corequans] quarequans, C. N.

⁶ autem] ad, H.

⁷ Walences] et, add. H. B. N.

⁸ conterens] in, ins. H.

1 Sam. xv.
22

2 Sam. viii.
2

Ps. lxxviii.
57

Compared
with David
as a con-
queror.

A.D. 1307.
Edward
compared
with David.

lem in manibus suis a Deo datum sine interneccione¹ permisit abire. Edwardus vero Johannem regem et omnes comites et proceres Scotiæ, captos in bello et diu incarceratos in Angliâ, viros sanguinum et dolosos, dimisit ad propria. Edwardo huic quondam pro defensione salutis nostræ cum immineret capitis nostri periculum, nec pugnare nobis liceret, decimas nostras contulimus,² ac utinam nunc omnia corpora nostra et possessa resolverentur in lacrimas et in censum, ad redimendam et rehabendam ejus præsentiam; quam gazæ Mediæ Crescæ,³ quam opes mundi hoc nobis amplius profuisset. Quanto igitur jocundius letabatur ecclesia de tam gloriosi patroni præsentia, tanto amarius se doleat⁴ in illius absentia dira pati.

Commendatio lamentabilis comitum et baronum.

Lamenta-
tion of earls
and barons.

Edwardus rex magnificus, in libertatibus ecclesiarum defendendis, et sanctorum feretris aureis jocalibus venustandis, ante guerrarum fremitus tota ejus fragrabat intentio. Cujus etiam elemosinas enarrat omnis saltem ecclesia Anglicana; et ad pacem regni profuit immensitas illa pecuniarum quam recepit, congregaverat aut donarat; in castellis quidem construendis, in⁵ turribus infortiandis, in muris, in propugnaculis, in munitionibus, in fossatis, in clausuris ferarum et piscium nullus⁶ subtilior, nullus magnificentior reperitur. Erat autem rex Edwardus vir bellator ab ad-
holescentia sua egregius, in hastiludiis validissimus, quo nunquam lancea ejus in cassum⁷ abiit vel retrorsum, in torneamentis audacissimus, nec ibi reversus est

Edward's
prowess in
tourna-
ments.

¹ *interneccione*] *interjectione*, H. B.

² *contulimus*] *conensimus*, C. L.

³ *Crescæ*] *crescere*, H.: *Cre-ee*.

MS. Laud.; *Criscr.* N.

⁴ *doleat*] *dolebat*, C.

⁵ *in*] *om.* C.

⁶ *nullus*] *nullo*, H. B.

⁷ *in cassum*] *in casum*, H. B.

2 Sam. i. 23. gladius ejus inanis, illic ut putaretur aquila¹ velocior, A.D. 1257.
 istis leone robustior; occurrentes milites a dextra leva- ^{It is story}
 que deicena, ipse a nemine est prostratus. In bello ^{war.}
 pugnacissimus, in procinctu sagacissimus, in eventu
 fortunatissimus. In exitu belli Marte² felicior conso-
 batur. Quocumque enim se videret in omnibus viis
 suis prudenter agebat. Fuitque Dominus cum eo, per
 quem³ erat vir in cunctis prospere agens. Sed cui ^{Compared}
 comparabimus et aemulabimus te, gloriosissime prin- ^{with Sal-}
 ceps regum terre? Si regi⁴ Salomoni, in faciendo judi-
 cium et justitiam aequipolles. In optando cor docile⁵ ad
 discernendum inter bonum et malum, et non eodem de
 hostibus vel dies multos, eodem gratia in benedictioni-
 bus praeveniri. Ecce enim, quod optabas et quod
 non potisti praestitit tibi Deus. In divitiis prepolles
 quodammodo. Nam Salomon in quo mensit pater
 ejus introit, et de aliorum laboribus jocundatur. Ed-
 wardus vero de propriis in gladio et arcu adeptis ad
 horam exultans, quanto differentius triumphator, nunci-
 acem et possidens, quam successor subitaneus et super-
 bicus, tanto gloriosius poterit commendari. Salomon
 parabolas dictavit et carmina quibus jam florent ec-
 clesiae. Edwardus autem leges edidit et statuta ut suo
 in ordine stent sol et luna, pacifice regnum
 atque regnum. Et quod de Salomone legitur famo-
 sum eulogium, de isto Edwardo verisimiliter recitatur:
 1 Kings i. 23. 24. "Magnificatus est rex gloriosus in diebus suis super
 " omnes reges terre, divitiis et sapientia, et universa
 " terra desiderabat videre vultum ejus ut audiret sapi-
 " entiam quam Dominus dederat in corde suo." Omnes
 igitur populi, tribus et linguae in occursum tanti regis
 dederunt lacrimas per diem et noctem; et non taceant

¹ aquila] alio, B.; the writer
 having apparently read aliquo for
 aquila.

² Marte] major, H. B.

³ quem] quam, H. B.

⁴ regi] om. C.

⁵ docile] dehele, H. B.

⁶ recitatur] recitatur, H. B.

A.D. 1307. quia virum tantis redimitum præconiis non habet ut redimat totus mundus.

Commendatio lamentabilis militum.

Lamenta-
tion of the
knights.

Comparison
with Alex-
ander.

Roscoe of
Henry III.

Comparison
with Brutus.

O magnanime rex Edwarde, tu primicerius noster in bello, tu dux in castris et bravium cursus nostri,¹ ut Moyses fide grandis,² dum manus expandis ad sydera, a populo Israhelitico³ Amalech devincitur, a Josue Jericho subvertitur, et ab Edwardo villa Berewici super Twede una hora diei acquiritur. Necnon cum exercitu Pharaonis Neustrie plebs tota nautica pelago uno die submergitur, atque perfida multitudo Judæorum et incredula ab Anglia et a dominio regis⁴ uno die in exilium relegatur. Olim cum Alexandro rege Macedonum⁵ reges Persarum et Medorum devicimus,⁶ et provincias orientales subegimus, nunc in fine temporum⁷ cum magno rege Edwardo contra illustrem regem Francie Philippum guerram decennalem suscepimus; Vasconiam in dolo præpossessam recuperavimus vi et armis, Walliam hostili cade comparavimus.⁸ Scotiam truncatis ejus tyrannis in ore gladii invasimus.⁹ Quinimmo regnum Angliæ de ore leonis eruiimus, cum Danielelem, regem Henricum tertium, de manu bestię, Symonis de Monteforti, in bello Eveshamie liberavimus. Et ita in regale solium tam virtute belli quam successione hereditaria exaltavimus magnum Edwardum. Olim Brutus, vir pollens viribus, deletis¹⁰ quibusdam monstruosis gigantum et terrigenarum corporibus, inanem¹¹ et supervacuum se jactitat¹²

¹ nostri] om. H.
² grandis] magnus, C.
³ a populo Israhelitico] ab Israel, C. B. N.
⁴ dominio regis] domino rege, C.
⁵ Macedonum] Macedo, C. N.
⁶ devicimus] dūcantes, H. B.

⁷ temporum] temporis, C.
⁸ et . . . comparavimus] om. C.
⁹ invasimus] isimus, C. N.
¹⁰ deletis] acutis, H. : debitis, B.
¹¹ inanem] impanem, H.
¹² jactitat] jactat, H.

insulam adquisisse; sed plusquam Brutus Edwardus, ^{A.D. 1066.}
 ut infra patebit. Patricius Arthurus rex Orcadae, ^{Compositum}
 Norwagicas, Aquitannicas, Scotticas et Hybernicas insu- ^{et Edwardus}
 las populis¹ semiplenas constituit² sub tributo. Porro ^{Arthur}
 tribum Saxonum quem subdole Britanniam³ intrarat
 omnino delere non potuit, a quibus denique per Mo-
 dredum cognatum suum salva pace Britonum evanuit
 sauciatus. Non sic succubuit Edwardus rex noster.
 Non sic Edgarus⁴ rex felix Anglorum in navi quon- ^{non natus}
 dam⁵ residens, dum reges Scottorum, Combrorum et
 alios quinque subregulos per flumen Deche⁶ remigari
 fecisset, protestatur successores suos gloriari se fore⁷
 reges Anglorum, cum tanta honorum prerogativa frue-
 rentur,⁸ ut subjectam haberent tot regum potentiam.
 Et ecce plusquam Edgarus Edwardus. Nam pre-
 dicta insularum gubernacula virtute calens propria,
 plura prioribus in unius possessionem⁹ redigens, per
 monarchie titulum successores suos reges Anglie
 multo magnificentius predictis omnibus insignivit. In- ^{non}
 clitus autem rex¹⁰ Anglie Ricardus quondam bellator
 fortis, qui quasi leo rugiens plures transmarinas
 insulas debellavit, plurima laudum memoria dignus¹¹
 exstat. Veruntamen notam¹² dedecoris in pre-
 sumptione audacie sue captus a duce Austrie, pro ^{et Ricardus}
 nephas, passus est, non dimidiana dies suos sicut nec ^{et Ricardus}
 magnus Alexander. Nam ille annos regnans duodecim
 veneno hausto vita defungitur; iste baliste spiculo
 letaliter vulneratus obiit decimo regni sui anno. Non
 sic Edwardus rex noster. Non sic, sed major maximis

¹ populis] om. C. N.

² constituit] construit, H. B.

³ Britanniam] Bruto iuvamen.

II.

⁴ Edgarus] Edwardus, H. B.

⁵ quondam] quidam, C. L. N.

⁶ Deche] Dache, C.

⁷ gloriari se fore] om. H. B.

⁸ fruerentur] faverentur, H.

⁹ possessionem] possessionum, H.

B.

¹⁰ rex] om. H. B.

¹¹ dignus] om. H.

¹² Veruntamen notam] probatum, notatum, H.: H. N. and L. omit probatum.

A.D. 1307.
His coram
from the
assassins.

His bounty
to his
knights.

regibus rex Edwardus. Qui, cum in Terra Sancta crucis causam ageret, a quodam assassino quinque mortaliter confossus, nec interiit; a multis sagittatus jaculis, ut apud Strivelyn, inermis nec carne læditur. Hic rex Edwardus super omnes reges adauxit¹ gloriam militarem,² edicto³ lato in Francia, in Flandria, in Aquitannia, in Anglia, in Scotia, in Hybernia et in Wallia, ut quotquot militare vellent armis sæcularibus ad regem venirent de sua garderoba cuncta militaria ornamenta effluentissime admissuri. Et quis audivit talia? Quanta igitur recolit orbis Anglicus se in ejus ductu⁴ nactum⁵ fuisse magnalia, eo uberius ingemiscens se plangit tanta demeruisse in illius⁶ absentia. Eya commilitones optimi, intuemini quid accidit nobis, attendite et videte⁷ obprobrium nostrum. Gladii nostri conflabuntur in vomeres, et in falces bellatrices⁸ lanceæ redigentur; emarcuit enim flos mundanæ militiæ, sub quo militare erat regnare, proficisci proficere, denique configere triumphare.

Commendatio lamentabilis clericorum.

Lamenta-
tion of the
clergy.

O felix Anglia et vere beata terra cujus rex est nobilis. Quæ profecto⁹ regnante magnifico Edwardo terrore concutit omnia regna mundi. Quo proficiscente in regione viventium et ejus regnante vocabulo pax vigescit, æmulus obmutescit, et tranquillitate ecclesia reflorescit. Et si recolimus scripturas, Josephus hystoriographus Saulem quondam Israhelitarum regem omnibus præfert regibus et commendat. Provocat namque sapientes et reges et principes dare virtutem universæ

¹ *adaurit*] audaxit, H. B.; adduxit, N.

² *militarem*] inclitarem, H. B.

³ *edicto*] edito, H. B.

⁴ *ductu*] dictu, H.

⁵ *nactum*] natum, C.

⁶ *illius*] ejus, H.

⁷ *et videte*] om. H.

⁸ *bellatrices*, bellantes, H. B.

⁹ *profecto*] profecit, H.

gloriæ, in imitando Saulem pro salute patriæ ad pericula mortis libenter ire, et universa quæ videntur gravia edocet esse tempesta. Ait enim sic: "rex Saul
 " licet futura jam nosset et mortem sibi imminere propheta prædicente agnosceret, nec amore vitæ suæ
 " exercitum prodidit inimicis, nec regiæ contumeliam
 " intulit dignitati, sed potius, semetipsum cum omni
 " domo sua tradens, optimum judicavit cum eis magis
 " cadere pro subjectis¹ pugnando et filiis, et una perire
 " quam eos in incerto² relinquere, quæ regni successionem et generis habituros. Is autem³ et justus et
 " castus et fortissimus mihi videtur esse. Et, si quis
 " fuit talis aut fuerit, est cunctorum⁴ testimonio virtutis
 " adeptione⁵ dignissimus. Nam eos qui sub spe victoriæ proficiuntur ad bellum et incolumes se redire
 " confidunt, quid gesserint clarum? Non mihi videntur
 " bene facere qui eos fortes voluerint appellare. Magnanimes autem et grandia præsumentes et rerum terribilium contemptores soli⁶ dicendi sunt omnes qui
 " imitantur Saulem. Illi namque qui nescientes quid
 " in bello futurum est nequaquam animo⁷ deficiunt, sed
 " in incertum semetipsos emittunt, licet aliquid grande faciant, non tamen admodum mirandi sunt. Cum
 " vero nihil utile venturum animo cogitatur, sed mors
 " futura præscitur, et hoc solummodo, dimicant aliqui
 " neque terrentur neque pro mortis periculis obstupescunt, hujusmodi perfectæ fortitudinis esse decerno." Hæc Josephus.⁸ Et ecce plusquam Saul hic et⁹ multo
 " beatior rex Edwardus, qui, cum diem mortis suæ revelante spiritu sentiret imminere suique impotens equitare
 " nihilominus lecticam parat, ad bellum properat, san-

A.D. 1297.
 Comparison
 of Edward
 with Saul.

Jon. Antt.
 Jud. vi. 18.

¹ pro subjectis] om. H. B.

² in incerto] in certo, H. B.

³ Is autem] ideo ergo, C.

⁴ cunctorum] cunctorum, H. B.

⁵ adeptione] adoptione, C.

⁶ soli] solo, H. B.

B 1681.

⁷ animo] omnino, H. B.

⁸ cum vero . . . Josephus] om. H. B. The words are inserted in H. B. at the end of the section.

⁹ et] om. H. B.

A.D. 1307.
Edward's
superiority
to Saul.

guinem in ecclesia fusum dampnat, dum parricidas decapitat et incendiarios flamma incinerat, deridentesque decrepitum deliros mortificat moriturus. Et ecce rex Edwardus præsciens mori in bello ad bellum cum Saul vadit, et in bello cum Saul non gladio ignaviter sed fato excedit. Non corrui ante Philistiim ut Saul a Domino reprobatus, nec dyadema ejus abripuit Amalechites, neque in occasu hujus sideris ruinam vel eclipsim patitur exercitus, sicut Saul, sed victoriam; moriens quippe sicut Sampson, viventes mortificat, nec potuit exanimis sepeliri, antequam omnis ejus proditor¹ præter unum ad nihilum redigeretur; beatificante illum Domino quodammodo et dicente, "sic eum volo manere donec ponam inimicos ejus scabellum pedum suorum." Omnes autem populus, tribus et linguas, ad quos fragraverit fama Edwardi, ad exequias ejus,² non dictas funeris sed³ triumphi hostias placationum, aromata affectionum, et thimiamata precum offerant, cum lacrimis exultantes et lacrimantes in gaudio devotionis, Edwardi memoriam tanto dignius sollempnizent præconiis et attollant, quanto reverentius regem, sincerius dominum, devotius legislatorem, et securius vitæ defensorem momentaneo sæculi intervallo amabiliter recolunt habuisse.⁴

Commendatio lamentabilis laicorum.⁵

Lamenta-
tion of the
laity.

Et quid dicemus nos tantilli? quid referemus litteratura pusilli? cum quicquid dixerimus minor laus est quam dignitas Edwardi meretur.⁶ Ipse est quem Dominus, sicut apostolum Paulum a multis periculis eripuit, et salvavit a plagis, a mortibus frequenter, a lapidantibus, a sagittantibus, a periculis latronum, gen-

¹ proditor] productor, H. B.

² ejus] om. H.

³ ecd] om. H. B.

⁴ habuisse] om. H. B.

⁵ laicorum] vulgi, L.

⁶ meretur] meretur, H. B.

tium, civitatum, solitudinum, fluminum, ignium, et etiam proditorum. Quae omnia et singula si fidei scribarum serie, ut dignum est, in libro stilo ferroo exararentur, vel ecce sculperentur in silice, post dictum apostolus non reperimus hominem a tot periculis tam miraculose salvatum. Quem non ter vel quater sed multotiens naufragantem et naufragum¹ nec mare absorbuit. Persaepe tectis obrutis cum suppellectili² ejus³ et combustis, illaesus, illibatus evasit, verum in supremo utriusque positus discrimine nullatenus pavescibat, sed vultu hylari deridebat. Quamobrem nauticlerici et remiges⁴ sedule loquebantur, "Quis est hic cui quasi mare et venti obediunt?"⁵ Alii responderunt, "Edwardus christus Domini; de isto credimus esse scriptum, Cum navigaveris per aquas flumina non te operient; cum transieris per ignem flamma non nocebit te, et odor ignis non erit in te." Si quando proficisceretur rex iste longius a regno, sanctis Dei in Anglia translatis se prius devotissime commendaret, et specialius sancto Edwardo confessori. Si vero periclitans nocitus⁶ non fuisset, vel triumphus sibi de hostibus proveniret, ipsorum meritis ascribebat; quorum feretra aureis jocalibus in testimonium rediens adornabat. Hic est ille magnanimus⁷ rex Edwardus, qui, etsi toto tempore vitae suae crebris guerrarum pulsaretur fragoribus, e contra ipse, ut fortis athleta, indefesse agonizavit. Quinimmo semetipsum exinavit usque ad mortem ut habitaret gens Anglica confidenter, unusquisque de vite sua et fieu⁸ sua secure⁹ edens et bibens; in diebus suis non sensit populus ejus cladem, pestilentiam, sive famem. Cujus etiam

A.D. 1297.

Edward's
perils and
preserva-
tions.

Job xii. 24.

S. Mark iv.
26.

Isa. xlii. 2.

His devo-
tion to the
saints.Peace in his
time.¹ naufragum] naufragium, H. B.² suppellectili] super lectulum, H.³ ejus] om. H.⁴ remiges] remige, H. B.⁵ obediunt] ei, ins. H.⁶ nocitus] et vocatus, H.⁷ magnanimus] magnificus, H. B.⁸ vite sua et fieu] vita sua et situ
H.⁹ secure] securitate, H.; securus,
B.

A.D. 1307.
Edward's
true sym-
pathy with
his people.

beatitudini adeo rugientis inimici invidens insanivit¹
versutia, ut non solum contra eum populum forinse-
cum sed quandoque domesticum concitaret. Edwardus
vero, dextera Domini faciente virtutem, illos in poten-
tia superavit bellica, istos rex longanimis et multum
misericors in patientia² tranquillavit. Vere Edwardus
dolores nostros portavit et languores nostros ipse³ Isa. lili.
sanavit. Quo ponente animam suam in manibus suis
a morte liberati sumus. Alioquin nisi Dominus exer-
cituum dedisset nobis eum regem, et reliquisset de illo Isa. i. 9.
nobis semen,⁴ sicut Jerusalem semel posita in pom-
orum essemus custodia, aut tanquam signum ad sagit-
tam, vel regnum datum in exterminium,⁵ similes fuisse-
mus. Denique rex iste grandævus cum beato Martino
expansis ad cælum manibus sæpissime peroravit, "Do-
mine si adhuc populo tuo sum necessarius non
recuso pro eis subire laborem; ac si parcis rotati
bonum est mihi; en ego inutilis servus tuus, paulo
minus septuagenarius et in laboribus a juventute
mea, tibi me totum devovi. Et ecce novus tyran-
nus Scotiæ populum tuum invadit. Proinde hos
quibus timeo ipse custodias; fiat voluntas tua." O
regem ineffabilem, nec labore victum nec morte vin-
cendum, qui nec mori timuit nec vivere recusavit.
Eapropter,⁶ advertite in prædictis martirem, qui pro
Christi nomine ejus causa ejusque terra⁷ sanguinem
suum fudit; et, si dici fas sit, plusquam martir, quem
venenum⁸ non extinxit,⁹ quemadmodum nec evange-
listam Johannem; quemque ferrum non transfodit,
sicuti nec Martinum;¹⁰ plaudens igitur¹¹ plangit de

Compared
with S.
Martin.

(Ed. Clun.
Ant. de S.
Martino. 4.)

¹ insanivit] insaniens, H.

² patientia] potentia, H. B.

³ ipse] ille, H. B. N.

⁴ semen] memoriam, H.

⁵ exterminium] exercitum, H. B.

⁶ Eapropter] Eja populi, C.

⁷ ejus causa, ejusque terra] om.
H.

⁸ venenum] neminem, H.; nemi-
nium, B.

⁹ extinxit] extinguit, H.

¹⁰ Martinum] martirium, H. B.

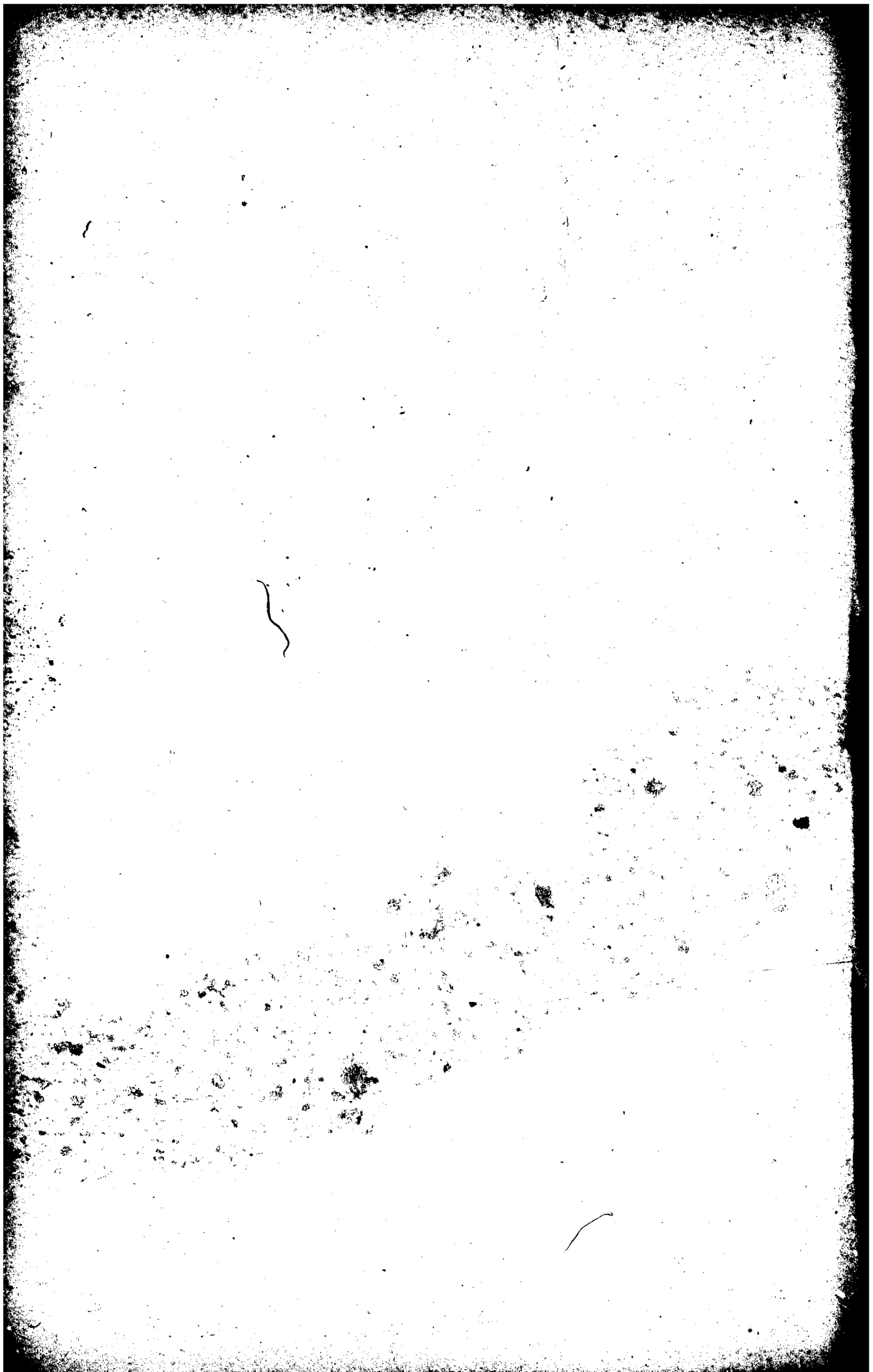
¹¹ igitur] autem, B.

triumphantis regis exilio mater ecclesia; tympanizans
 ejulat hunc præmeruisse nunc ablatum quam felix An-
 glia; organizans flet et dolet vincentem mundum amodo
 non posse sequi sua victrix militia; quem sabbatizans
 deplorat ejus perdidisse patrocinia orbis totus. O quam
 lætus dolor in tristi gaudio! O quantus luctus et
 meror omnium monachorum, prædicatorum et pius
 virginum chorus, vox plangentium, vox psallentium
 quam pium est gaudere Edwardum et pium est flere
 Edwardum.¹ A nobis enim ablatum Deo Sabaoth est
 donatum. Amodo jam dicet Spiritus ut requiescat a
 laboribus suis; et Zabulo frustra cogitante de suppli-
 cio benigne disponit de præmio pius Deus. Non nobis,
 Domine, sed nomini Tuo da gloriam, et Johanni de
 Londonia peccatorum veniam.²

A.D. 1297.
 (General
 grief of all
 England.)

¹ et pium . . . Edwardum] om. C.

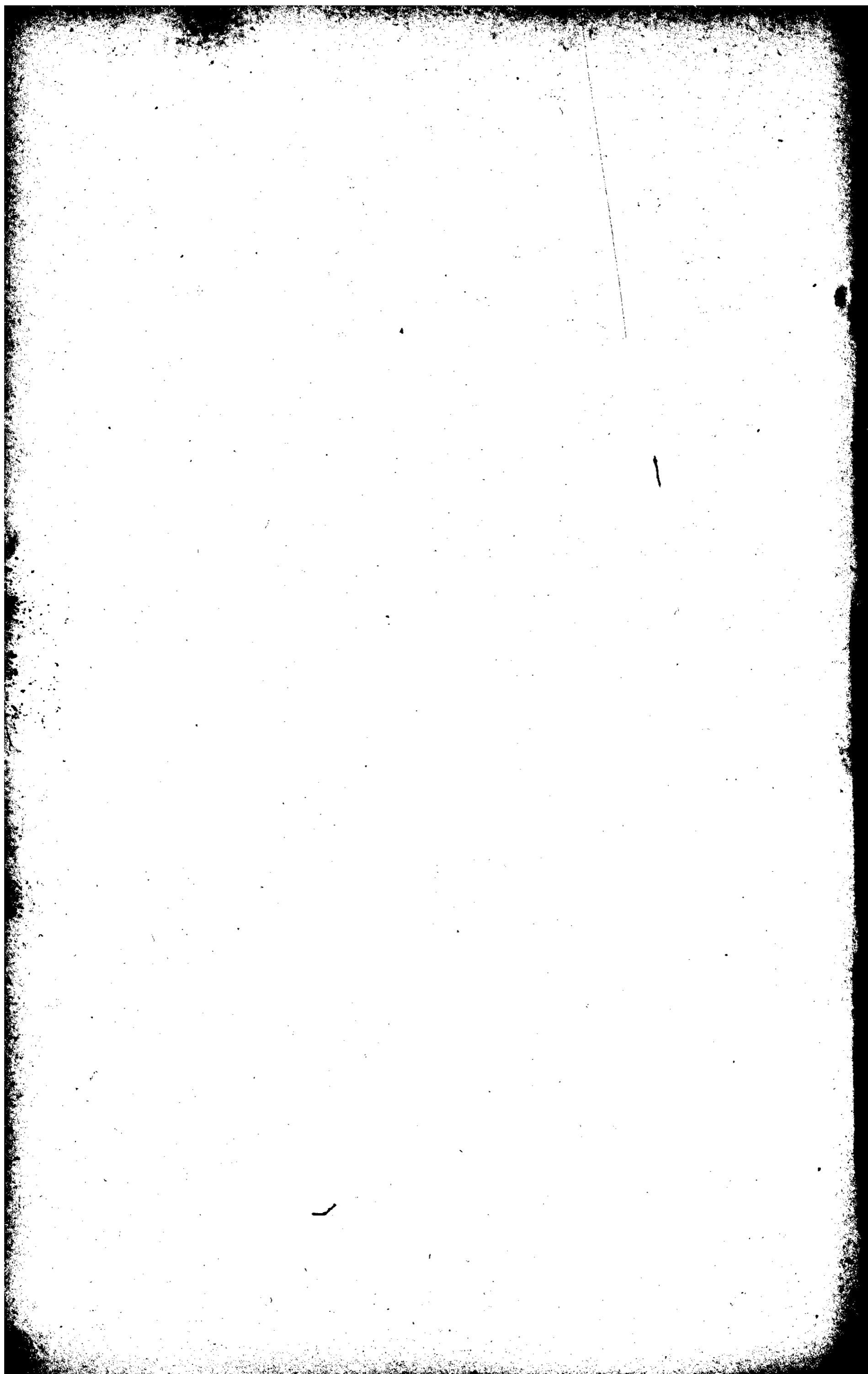
² Non nobis . . . veniam] om. H.
 B. L. N.



**CHRONICLES OF THE REIGNS OF
EDWARD I. AND EDWARD II.**

IV.

**GESTA EDWARDI DE CARNARVAN,
AUCTORE CANONICO BRIDLINGTONIENSI,
CUM CONTINUATIONE AD A.D. 1377.**



**GESTA EDWARDI DE CARNARVAN,
AUCTORE CANONICO BRIDLINGTONIENSI,
CUM CONTINUATIONE AD A.D. 1377.**

*Incipit Prologus in librum gestorum Edwardi regis
Angliae dicti de Carnarvan.¹*

Auctoritatis et industriae magnae fuit, qui primo in- Mark of
modern his-
torians.
stituit antiquorum opera juxta temporum variationes²
in scriptis redigere, et in codicibus compilare; felix
siquidem et fidelis antiquitas quae talium³ usum suis
posteris dereliquit; aliter namque propter memoriae
labilitatem et rerum transeuntium mutabilem succes-
sionem, recordatio gestorum veterum ab humana noti-
tia deperiret. Unde libenter

Scriberem dictanda⁴ varia,
De miris actibus sumpta materia,
Sed duo navigent per mundi maria
Quae sunt scriptoribus semper contraria.
Horum invidia primo proponitur,
Tunc avaritia sequens apponitur,
Quorum caliditas quando componitur
Cum multis cordibus Christo praepositur.
Si quis quid congruum dictet vel sapiat
Aut supra ceteros primatum capiat,

Discourage-
ments of
modern fol-
lowers.

¹ The MSS. are Bodl. 161 (B.),
Harleian 689 (H.), and Trin. Coll.
Camb. O. 5. 37 (C.). The pro-
logue is not found in the Trinity
MS.

² *variationes*] *varietates*, H.

³ *talium*] *talem*, H.

⁴ *dictanda*] *dictando*, H.

Discourage-
ments to
attempts at
literary dis-
tinction.

Obstitit invidus hunc ut diripiat,
Aut laudis titulum sibi surripiat,
Dicens, "Non studuit sic in grammatica,
" Neque sic floruit in Dialectica,¹
" Ut dictet talia, vel scribet metrica,
" Nam nunquam didicit hæc ex Rhetorica."
Sic latet invidus sub agni vellere,
Amorem simulans, abundat scelere,
Conatur viribus totis expellere
Quem cernit moribus ipsum præcellere.
Sic omnes judicat ac si notitiam
Haberet omnium, cum nec scientiam
Novit aut negligit aut per malitiam
Odit alterius hinc sapientiam.
Avarus itaque dicit, "Quid proderit
" Si quis in studio multum expenderit
" Propter scientiam aut desudaverit;
" Nulli post obitum doctrina deerit;
" Licet hic laici homines fuerimus
" Illic docibiles et docti erimus.
" Post carnis terminum quam modo gerimus
" Nullam scientiam nobiscum ferimus."
Sed crede firmiter, qui non hic sapuit
Periclitabitur quia desipuit.
Illic recipiet quisque quod meruit,
Salvum accipiet² qui sanum servit.
Est malum aliud quod cogor dicere,
Nam plures novimus qui jam negligere
Malunt salubria sibi quam discere
A sibi paribus, arte vel opere
Si sis inferior, et plus sapueris
Aut in scientia sibi par fueris
Quandocunque scripseris sive dictaveris
Depravat, reprobat tanquam erraveris.

¹ *Dialectica*] *Dioletica*, MS. B. | ² *accipiet*] *aperiet*, B. H.

Quae fert extraneus sunt placabilia
 Si dictat proximus contemptibilia,
 Propheta siquidem per evangelia
 Nullus accipitur in sua patria.
 Hinc propter invidos non praetermittitur
 Nec propter cupidos verum quid scribitur,
 Luge quod reperis quia conficitor
 De nostris ducibus sermo qui sequitur.

Perhaps in
 these things.

Quaeso igitur, O lector, non imiteris illos qui, cum
 aliis¹ detrahunt, semetipsos doctos arbitrantur; sed
 parcas, si placet, scribenti, subtiliter corrigendo si quid
 in sequentibus fuerit oberratum. Et ideo

The reader
 is not to be
 hypocriti-
 cal.

Invidus inspector noli consistere, lector,
 Sed sis corrector et in isto carmine rector.

INCIPIUNT GESTA EDWARDI REGIS ANGLIE DICTI DE
 CARNERVAN² FILII EDWARDI BONI REGIS.

Quamvis in hac vita nihil certum³ reperimus nisi
 mortem, quam quidem evadere nemo potest, legimus
 tamen patres nostros saepe planxisse funera defun-
 torum; et hoc est quia naturalis doloris anxietas nec-
 cit tunc tempore admittere rationem; unde ex la-
 mentabili decessu nobilissimi principis Edwardi, regis
 Angliae illustris, Anglia plurimum desolata, per pre-
 sentiam novi regis hereditario in regni regimine
 succedentis, debet, ut convenit, respirare et per consola-
 tiones varias doloris stimulum temperare. Defuncto
 igitur strenuissimo principe supradicto apud Burgum
 super sabulum in confinio regni sui, vii^o die mensis
 Julii, videlicet in festo translationis beati Thomae mar-
 tyris, anno Domini m^occc^ovii^o et regni sui Angliae
 xxxv^o, filius ejus Edwardus dictus de Carnervan
 regnavit pro eo; qui circa festum Beatae⁴ Mariae

A.D. 1307.
 General
 sorrow for
 the death of
 Edward I.
 July 7.

Succession
 of Edward
 of Carnervan.

¹ aliis] om. H.

² Carnervan] Carnervan, C.

³ certum] sit, ms. B.

⁴ Beata] om. H.

A.D. 1297.
July.
He receives
the homa-
ges.

Promotion
of Peter
Gaveston.

Bishop
Langton im-
prisoned at
Walling-
ford.

Magdalena cum comitibus, baronibus, et aliis regni nobilibus, tunc in partibus aquilonis existentibus usque Karliolum¹ est profectus, quorum fidelitates et homagia recepit ibidem debita suo regi; diebusque² paucis postmodum evolutis, omnes proceres regni Scotiæ, excepto Roberto de Bruys, eidem domino regi Angliæ tanquam regi et superiori domino regni Scotiæ, fidelitates et homagia sic fecerunt. Nec multum post dominus rex dedit comitatum Cornubiæ domino Petro de Gavestone Vasconiensi, et ipsum inde feofavit simul cum omnibus aliis terris quæ fuerunt domini Edmundi quondam comitis Cornubiæ; deditque sibi neptem suam filiam domini Gilberti de Clare, comitis Gloucestriæ, in uxorem. Item dominus Walterus de Langetone, Coventrensis et Lichefeldensis episcopus, qui temporibus regis Edwardi ultimo defuncti cancellarii et thesaurarii officia strenue gessit, in castro de Walynforde³ strictæ custodiæ deputatur, et secundum priorem gloriam suam subsecuta est ignominia finem quem sibi fortuna tradere voluerit expectandum.

De captione Templariorum in Francia.

A.D. 1308.
Measures
taken
against the
Templars.

Item eodem anno fratres Militiæ Templi, de hæresi et aliis facinoribus notati, et per inquisitores hæreticæ pravitatis in regno Franciæ diffamati et convicti, per totum regnum Franciæ capiebantur in die Sancti Edwardi Confessoris, advocato in adjutorium brachio sæculari, eo quod⁴ magister, præceptores et alii fratres dictæ Militiæ Templi, et etiam ipse ordo, qui ad defensionem patrimonii ipsius Domini nostri Jesu Christi fuerant in partibus transmarinis deputati, contra ipsum Dominum in scelus apostaciæ nephandum, detestabilis ydolatriæ vitium, execrabile faci-

¹ *Karliolum*] Karnolum, H. C.

² *que*] om. H.; etiam, C.

³ *Walynforde*] Wallingford, H.

⁴ *quod*] The matter that follows

is extracted from the letter of Clement V., summoning the Council of Vienne, Aug. 12, 1308, printed in Wilkins, Concilia, ii. 304 sq.

nas Sodomorum, ut dicebatur, et haerese variis erant lapsi. A.D. 1208.
 Sed quia non erat verisimile nec credibile videbatur, quod viri ^{Precedentes}
 tam religiosi, qui principes pro Christi nomine suum sanguine ^{ignem the}
 sanguinem offundere, ac personas suas mortis periculis fre-
 quenter exponere credebantur, quique multa et magna, tum in
 divinis officiis quam in jejuniis et aliis observantiis, devotionis
 signa frequentius ostendebant, eas sic essent salutis in-
 memores, quod tanta perpetrarent; hujusmodi insinuationi ad
 delationem eorum, ejusdem Domini nostri Jesu Christi exemplis
 et canonicis scripturae doctrinis edoctus, Clemens papa
 vix ausus noluit inclinare; deinde Philippus Francorum
 rex, qui eadem facinora fuerant nuntiata, ipsam papam
 quantum potuit informavit, et super his multis et magnas
 informationes per suos nuncios et litteras destinavit. Infamia
 vero contra Templarios istos etiam¹ crescente validius
 super sceleribus antea dictis, et quia etiam quidam miles
 ejusdem ordinis magnae nobilitatis, et qui non levis opinionis
 in dicto ordine habebatur, coram papa secreto juratus de-
 posuit, quod in receptione fratrum praefati ordinis haec con-
 suetudo vel verius corruptela servatur, quod, ad recipientis
 vel ab eo deputati suggestionem, qui recipitur Jesum Christum
 negat et super crucem sibi ostensam spuit in vituperium
 crucifixi, et quaedam alia faciunt recipientes et receptus quae non
 sunt licita nec humane conveniunt honestati, prout ipse tunc
 confessus extitit coram papa; qui vitare non potuit, argente
 officii sui debito, quin tot et talibus clamoribus accommodaret
 auditum. Unde papa de praemissis dedit ratione praevia
 procedendum, multoque de praceptoribus, praebiteris, militi-
 bus, et aliis fratribus dicti ordinis, reputationis² non modico;
 in sua praesentia constitutos, praestito ab eis juramento quod
 super praemissis meram et plenam dicerent veritatem, super
 praedictis interrogavit, et usque ad numerum septuaginta
 duorum examinavit, multis ex cardinalibus sibi assistenti-
 bus diligenter, eorumque confessiones per publicas manus
 in authenticam scripturam redactas, illico in sua et dictorum
 cardinalium praesentia, ac deinde interposito aliquo dierum
 spatio in consistorio legi fecit coram ipsis, et illas in suo
 vulgari cuilibet eorum exponi; qui perseverantes in illis, eas
 expresse et sponte prout recitatae fuerant approbarunt. Post
 quae cum magistro et praceptoribus praecipuis praefati ordinis

¹ etiam] em. C.

² reputationis] representationis, H. C.

A.D. 1308.
Proceedings
against the
Templars.

intendens papa super præmissis inquirere per seipsum magistrum Franciscum, et terras ultramarinas, Normanniam, Aquitaniam, et Pictaviæ præceptores majores, ipso papa Pictaviæ existente, sibi mandavit præsentari. Qui magister et præceptores præfati, coram tribus cardinalibus et quatuor tabellionibus publicis, et multis aliis bonis viris tunc ibidem præsentibus, ad sancta Dei Evangelia ab eis corporaliter tacta, præstito juramento quod super præmissis omnibus meram et plenam dicerent veritatem, coram ipsis singulariter, libere ac sponte, absque coactione qualibet et¹ terrore, deposuerunt; et confessi fuerunt inter cetera Christi abnegationem et super crucem spuitionem, cum in ordine Templi recepti fuerunt, et quidam ex eis se sub eadem forma, scilicet cum abnegatione Christi et spuitione super crucem fratres multos recepisse. Sunt etiam quidam ex eis quedam horribilia et inhonesta confessi, quas ut eorum ad præsens parcamus vorecundias subticemus.

Their confessions.

Unam etiam hæresim et blasphemiam in Deo irrogatam omnes et singuli sunt confessi, videlicet, quod magister ordinis, nullis sacris ordinibus insignitus, a pena et a culpa in suis capitulis debeat absolvere suos fratres, cum constat Dominum Jesum suis discipulis et non laicis claves ecclesiæ commendasse; unde, Lazaro resuscitato, eisdem dixit, "Solvite eum² et sinite abire;" et similiter leprosis mundatis dixit, "Ite et ostendite vos sacerdotibus;" unde liquide apparet quod sacerdotibus ligandi atque solvendi Dominus tradidit potestatem. Item notoria sunt omnia quæ dicta sunt de illis tam juris præsumptione quam facti; nam juris præsumptione quod omnes catholici faciunt facta et consilia sua in die et in luce, ipsi vero de nocte faciunt capitula sua, ubi nullus apparet. De quibus in evangelio, "omnis³ qui male agit odit lucem." Dixerunt præterea et confessi sunt esse veræ quæ in eorum confessionibus et depositionibus continentur, quas dudum fecerant coram inquisitore hæreticæ pravitatis; quas confessiones et depositiones dictorum magistri et præceptorum, in scripturam publicam per quatuor tabelliones publicos redactæ, in ipsorum magistri præceptorum

8. John, xi.
44.

8. Luke,
xvii. 14.

8. John, iii.
20.

¹ et) vel, II.

et quorundam aliorum virorum bonorum presentia, ac deinde, ^{1 A.D. 1252.} interposito aliquorum dierum spatio, coram ipsis eisdem lectis fuerunt de mandato et in presentia cardinalium praedictorum, ^{Legi praedictam apud illam.} et in suo vulgari expositis ouilibet eorundem, qui perseverantes in illis eas expresse ac sponte prout recitatae fuerant approbarunt. Et post confessiones et depositiones huiusmodi ab ipsis cardinalibus ab excommunicatione quam pro praemissis incurrerant absolutionem flexis genibus manibusque complois humiliter et devoto, ac cum lacrymarum effusione non modica, petierunt. Ipsi vero cardinales, quia ecclesia non claudit gremium redeunti, ab ipsis magistro et praceptoribus haeresi abjurata expresse, ipsis secundum formam ecclesiae, auctoritate sibi commissa, absolutionis beneficium impenderunt; ac deinde, ad papae praesentiam redeuntes, confessiones et depositiones praedictorum magistri et praceptorum in scripturam publicam per manus publicas, ut supra ¹ dictam, redactas, ipsi papae praesentaverunt; et quae cum dictis magistro et praceptoribus fecerant retulerunt; ex quibus confessionibus et depositionibus relatione invenit papa suspectos magistrum et fratres in praemissis et circa ² praemissa, licet quosdam ex eis in pluribus et alios in paucioribus, graviter deliquisse; attendens igitur papa quod scelera tam horrida absque Dei omnipotentis et omnium catholicorum injuria transiri non poterant nec debebant incorrecta, decrevit de fratrum suorum consilio universale consilium, a tunc proximis kalendis Octobris ad duos annos immediate sequentes, congregandum, ut in eo tam circa ³ dictam ordinem et personas singulares ac bona ejusdem et reparationem, ordinationem et stabilitatem ecclesiarum et ecclesiasticarum personarum et libertatum earum, Deo auspice, communi consilio debite procedatur, quam circa re[ca]parationem et subsidium Terre Sanctae. Et qui voluerit plus de ista materia perscrutari, in alio libro qui vocatur "Incidentia Croniconum," inveniet totum processum contra Templarios factum contentum, cum citatione facta Wilhelmo de Greufelde archiepiscopo Eboracensi ad consilium supradictum praefixo termino Viennae celebrandum.

More is to be found in another book.

¹ supra] est, C.

² circa] tunc, C.

³ circa] contra, C.

A.D. 1308.
Seizure of
the Tem-
plars in
England.

Item anno Domini supradicto, postquam capiebantur Templarii in regno Franciæ, dominus rex Angliæ ad mandatum domini papæ xii^o die Januarii omnes Templarios infra regnum Angliæ uno die capi et incarcerari fecit; quorum bona et prædia confiscantur, tantummodo singulis dictorum Templariorum ad sustentationem iiii^{or} denariis diebus singulis liberatis, prout metricè dicitur;

"Templis exilium dat ovis¹ et lilium;"

et postea mittebantur diversis domibus religiosorum possessionatorum² commorandos decretum consilii expectantes.

Marriage of
Edward III.
Jan. 24.

Item eodem anno, xxiiii^o die Januarii, Edwardus rex Angliæ filiam regis Franciæ Philippi dicti Pulcri apud Bononiam super mare duxit in uxorem, sub spe pacis et recuperationis terrarum in partibus transmarinis, per prædictum regem Francorum occupatarum, prout inter ipsum et regem Angliæ ultimo fuerat prælocutum; sed, completo matrimonio, terras in Gasconia et alibi, ut prædicitur, injustè primitus occupatas, detinuit sicut prius. Item anno eodem, xxiii^o die Februarii, idem dominus rex cum regina Londoniis coronatur astantibus magnatibus Angliæ et Franciæ, domino Rogero de Wodolok³ episcopo Wyn-toniensi solempnia celebrante, eo quod Robertus de Wynchelse archiepiscopus Cantuariensis tunc temporis exulavit. Ibidem orta⁴ est discordia inter proceres Angliæ et dominum Petrum de Gavastone, cui dominus rex prius dedit comitatum Cornubiæ, per quem alienigenæ domus regis officia secreta et pingua occupabant, cui etiam rex nimis adhæsit Anglicos parvipendens: attractus⁵ siquidem alienigenarum et

His coronas
ton, Feb. 24.

Hatred of
Piers Gaveston.

¹ *ovis*] C. bis, MS. C.

² *possessionatorum*] possessionum.
H. C.

³ *Rogero de Wodolok*] Wodestok.

MS. B. Henry Woodlock, bishop of Winchester.

⁴ *orta*] facta, H.

⁵ *attractus*] acturitus, C.

retentio, frequens cum eisdem communicatio, necnon A.D. 1298.
inconsultis regni proceribus honorum et beneficiorum
indiscreta distributio, a domino suo rege corda mag-
natum distrahebant, ac inter ipsos et comitem Cornubiæ
invidiæ et odii materiam ministrabant. Item xxiii^{to} die Martii dominus Robertus de Wynchelse archiepi-
scopus Cantuariensis cum honore magno applicuit in
Anglia, restitutis sibi temporalibus et spiritualibus que
episcopatu suo fuerunt antiquitus assignata.¹

Return of
archbishop
Winchelsea,
Mar. 24.

Anno Domini m^occcxviii^o, et regni regis Edwardi
post conquestum secundi² primo, in parlamento in
quindena Paschæ Londoniis edito, ipse rex ad pacem
regni confirmandam consensit quod magnates Angliæ
consulerent et diffinirent super statu domini Petri de
Gavastone supradicti; unde omnes et singuli tam de
consilio regis quam magnatum terrore, ratiocinantes
et deliberantes, in hac forma finaliter proponerant:³

April.
The king
allows the
magnates
to deter-
mine about
Piers
Gaveston.

" homagium et sacramentum ligantia potius sunt et vehe-
" mentius ligant ratione coronæ quam personæ regis, quod
" inde⁴ liquet quia, antequam status coronæ descendatur, nulla
" ligancia respicit personam nec debetur; unde, si rex aliquo
" casu erga statum coronæ rationabiliter non se gerit, ligii sui
" per sacramentum factum coronæ regem reducere et coronæ
" statum emendare iuste obligantur, alioquin sacramentum
" præstitum violatur. Præterea quærendum est quomodo in
" tali casu rex reducendus est, an per formam legis vel aspe-
" ritatis; per sectam legis dirigi non potest eo quod iudices
" non habentur nisi per regem, in quo casu, si regia voluntas
" rationi dissonaret nihil aliud eveniret nisi error fortune
" confirmatus. Quocirca propter sacramentum observandum,
" quando rex errorem corrigere vel amovere non curat, quod

Their deter-
mination
as to com-
pelling the
king to do
his duty.

¹ etc., add. B. See Ann. de
Melsa, ii, 280.

² post conquestum secundi] om.
B. MS. C. has a note in the mar-
gin, "5th vide librum MS. in corio
" nigro de Statutis Antiquis."

³ This doctrine, here alleged by
the barons against Piers Gaveston,
R 1681.

is made one of the articles against
the Despensers in 1321, and is
printed in French in the statute
passed against them in that year.
See vol. I. p. 153 and p. 65 be-
low.

⁴ inde] om. C.

A.D. 1293.
April.

"coronæ dampnosum et populo nocivum est, judicatum est
"quod error per asperitatem amoveatur, eo quod per sacra-
"mentum præstitum se [obligavit] regere populum, et ligii
"sui populum protegere secundum legem cum regis auxilio
"sunt astricti."

The deci-
sion of the
lords
against
Piers
Gaveston.

He is con-
demned,
but his
punishment
is mitigated
to exile.

He is to
leave Eng-
land on
June 25.

Item quantum ad personam domini Petri de Gava-
stone, in eodem parlamento fuit ostensum et pro-
nuntiatum, quod dominus Petrus coronam exheredavit,
et suo incitamento regem a concilio procerum regni
sui amovit, et sibi ligiantiam quorundam tanquam regi
per sacramentum attraxit, et alia multa in coronæ
debilitamentum, et ligii domini sui et regni seditio-
nem multipliciter perpetravit; propositum fuit insuper per
commune consilium quod, quia dominus rex prædictum
Petrum contra omnes in omnibus articulis manutenere
vult, non habendo respectum ad cujuscunque rationem,
cujus contrarium convenit bene regi, nec ille indictari
seu convinci per sectam in lege liberatam poterit, co-
mites præfatum Petrum, tanquam ligii domini sui et
regni seductorem, convictum et dampnatum pronuntia-
rent, domino nostro regi supplicando, desicut ipse leges
observare populum regere, per sacramentum coronationis
sue astringitur, quod considerationem populi acceptet,
et judicium quod inde competit dignetur similiter adim-
plere. Tandem comites et proceres dominum¹ regem
judicium vitæ et membrorum cum præfato domino
Petro mitigare juxta libitum suum et reverentiam
comitis Gloucestriæ, cujus filiam duxerat, permiserunt;
et dominus rex consensit et scripto roboravit, quod
dictus Petrus in crastino Nativitatis Sancti Johannis
Baptistæ tunc proxime futuro, ab Anglia corporaliter
recederet, nunquam ad eandem ex quavis causa, sub
pœna quæ competit, reversurus; et dominus Robertus
de Wynchelse archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, ex consensu
vel saltem permissione domini regis, cleri et magnatum
terre, sententiam excommunicationis in omnes et sin-
gulos qui dictum Petrum post prædictum diem in

¹ dominum] dictum, C.

Anglia receptarent, consulerent, iuvarent, vel cibum et potum ei ministrarent seu procurarent, nulla persona excepta, publice fulminavit, rege, regina, eorumque liberis semper salva. Pronunciata fuit dicta sententia in eodem parlamento super exilio prefati Petri, et contra ipsius revocationem, quam qui voluerit videre, in alio libro ubi scribuntur incidentia croniconum reperiet; ne, si hic scripta fuerit, propter ipsius prolixitatem legentibus fastidium generaret.¹ Unde nonis Julii recessit ab Anglia asportatus dominus Petrus de Gavastone, juxta conductum inter regem² et magnates Angliæ; sed contra eorum beneplacitum in Hybernia est receptus. Item quarto idus Augusti rex et proceres regni sunt mutuo concordati.

A.D. 1292.
Sentences against his parliament.

He goes to Ireland July 7.

Anno Domini millesimo CCC^o IX^o, dominus Petrus de Gavastone, uno anno exilii sui peracto, circa translationem beati Thomæ Martyris de Hybernia rediit in Angliam non vocatus; et in crastino Sancti Jacobi apostoli, in parlamento apud Stamforde edito, ex assensu comitum et baronum et quorundam aliorum, confirmati sunt eidem Petro comitatus Cornubiæ et omnes aliæ terræ et redditus quas prius habuerat de dono domini regis, ut prefatur, sub spe quod erga regni proceres bene in posterum se haberet; et hoc factum alii proceres regni, qui præsentibus tunc temporis non fuerunt, valde moleste sustulerunt, et ab illo die contra prædictum Petrum totis viribus exarserunt. Item eodem anno obiit Henricus de Lascy comes Lincolnensis, et Londonias traditur sepulture.³

A.D. 1292.
Gavastone returns in July, and is rewarded with the barony of Glamorgan, July 22.

Death of the earl of Lincoln.

Ecce! nunc qualiter seculum ejus amatoribus est speculum circumspice volentibus intueri; sed raro videmus quempiam velle per alium castigari; considerantes itaque regni proceres dominum suum regem Angliæ alienigenas et quosdam Anglicos indiscrete sibi

Renewal of quarrels.

¹ generaret] gravaret, C.

² regem] reges, C.

³ sepulture] etc., add B.

A.D. 1310.
March.
Complaints
of the
oppression
of the king's
servants.

The king
agrees to
the appoint-
ment of
Ordnainers.

Term of
office and
power of
Ordnainers
fixed.

facere familiares, quos etiam præposuit in officiis hospitii sui præcipuis, qui, se super hoc extollentes, victualia, res, et alia bona diversa ceperunt per patrias, valorem vel pretium non solventes; unde comites vehementer condolentes, clamoribus oppressorum remedium apponere statuerunt. Et adeuntes regem injustas et onerosas bonorum populi captiones eidem retulerunt, humiliter supplicantes ut super huiusmodi injuriis et oppressionibus populi prænotati remedium faceret optimum et vociferanti populo misericorditer subveniret. Tandem dominus rex, magnatum precibus acquiescens, concessit,¹ eis "ut ipsi de prælatiis, comitibus, et baronibus, certas personas eligerent, et discretas, qui ad honorem Dei, ecclesiæ sanctæ, et regis profectum, regni et populi commodum et quietem, statuerent et ordinarent, ac in scriptis redigerent quicquid juri competeret et esset consonum rationi." Deinde præfixum est tempus, et prædictis ordinatoribus electis præcise determinatum, a xvi^o die Martii, anno Domini supradicto, et regni regis iii^{to}, usque ad festum Sancti Michaelis tunc proxime sequens, et ab isto festo usque ad idem festum anno proximo revoluta, ad statuendum, ordinandum et diffiniendum omnia et singula quæ ad laudem Dei, ecclesiæ sanctæ, regis, hospitii sui, regni et populi, ut prædicitur, statui poterunt commodum et honorem; et quod ordinatores electi teneant et observent ac per se et suos teneri et observari faciant ordinationes faciendas cum perfectæ fuerint in omnibus suis articulis in eisdem expressis plenius et contentis; et si contingat quempiam ordinatorum, morte præveniente, quod absit, aut aliqua alia causa, legitime præpediri ne in ordinationibus faciendis libere procedere valeat, ut præfertur, liceat eisdem loco sui alium sub-

¹ concessit] The letters patent, in French, from which the following lines are translated, were issued on

the 16th of March 1310: *Fœdera*, ii. 105.

rogare, qui cum ceteris¹ ordinatoribus procedere et tractare poterit in premissis; liceat etiam eisdem ordinatoribus se ipsos inter se asscurare, ligare, mutuo jurare, ad faciendum, ordinandum, ac etiam ad observandum, et observari faciendum omnia et singula supradicta, absque calumpnia regis aut sui consilii in futurum. Ista regis concessio cum conditionibus prenotatis contenta sunt in quadam litera patente sub sigillo regis penes prelatos et comites remanente, cujus copia scribitur in alio libro inter incidentia chronicorum; ibidemque sequitur copia alterius patentis sub sigillis prelatorum, comitum et baronum, penes regem residentis, in quo continentur nomina properum terre, qui petitionem prefatam a domino rege postulabant; de quibus electi sunt sex episcopi, scilicet Londoniensis, Sarisberiensis, Cicestrensis, Norwicensis, Landavensis, et Menovenais; viii^o comites, videlicet Gloucestris, Lincolnis, Lancastrie, Penbrokie, Herfordis, Riche-mundia, Warewyk, Arundelli; et vi. barones, videlicet Hugo de Veer, Willelmus Mareschall, Robertus filius Rogeri, Hugo de Curtensy, Willelmus Martip, Johannes de Grey, qui supradictas ordinationes componere debeant et tractare.² In quo etiam patente inseritur una clausula, continens quod ista concessio, per regem facta, et potestas per eundem prefatis ordinatoribus commissa, non trahantur iterum in consuetudinem aut prejudicium domini regis vel heredum suorum quovismodo calumpniam aut gravamen, sed tantummodo de mera regis gratia et sua spontanea et libera voluntate.

Item eodem anno, in consilio Viennensi celebrato, Clemente papa v^{to} presidente, lectis Templariorum depositionibus prenotatis, unanimi consensu consilii ordo fratrum Militie Templi deletur et in perpetuum annullatur; et qui habitum aut ordinem in posterum

A.D. 1264.
March.
Powers of
the Or-
dinators.

Names of
the Or-
dinators
elected.

The king's
consent is
not to be
made a
precedent.

Abolition of
the order
of the
Temple

¹ ceteris] certis, H. C.

² See vol. I. pp. 169-172.

A.D. 1310. suscitabit excommunicationis sententiæ et anathemati perpetue subiacebit.

Papal grant
of a tenth
to the king.

Anno Domini m^occc^ox^o, et regni regis iiii^{to}, decima triennalis ecclesiæ sanctæ, per dominum¹ papam regi Angliæ in subsidium guerræ suæ concessa, infra annum et dimidium integraliter est soluta. Item eodem anno, ii^o nonas Martii, Antonius de Bek, episcopus Donelmensis et patriarcha Jerusalem, apud Eltham juxta Londonias obiit, et Dunelmisæ sepelitur. Raro legimus Anglicum tantam habuisse dignitatem ut patriarcha diceretur; de quo etiam opinatur quod si vixisset dis-

Death of
Antony Bek,
March 6,
1311.

His conduct
during the
quarrel of
Edward I.
and the
carls.

His speech
to the king.

His address
to the carls.

sensionem quæ sequitur inter regem et comites optime terminaret; et sic fecit temporibus nobilissimi regis Edwardi ultimo jam defuncti. Tanta namque discordia inter ipsum regem et comites habebatur, nec modicum interfuit quin una pars vi et armis alteram expugnaret. Sed discretus et providus antistes supradictus reipublicæ destructionem et regni subversionem perpendebat, si inter se rex et comites conflixissent; regem adiit et ipsius animi ferocitatem verbis ponderosis et pacificis temperabat, dicens, "Domine mi² rex, intendis tuos ligios expugnare? avertatur, queso, furor tuus, et ira tua, et memorare quantas civitates et regna bella civilia subverterunt. Quid valet rex cum sua gens contraria sibi fuerit, et repugnans? Quia juxta philosophum omnis virtus unita fortior est se dispersa; et in Evangelio omne regnum in se divisum desolabitur. Condescendat ergo, rogo, potestas et excellentia regalis, assitque mansuetudo et temperantia paternalis." Et statim ad comites se convertit, quorum corda verbis asperis et comminatoriis dissolvebat, dicens: "Quid arrogantes et de vestris viribus præsumentes, degeneres et ingrati, domino vestro regi calcaneum erigitis indiscrete? Pensate, rogo, quod membrorum et vitæ punitio in manibus

¹ dominum] dictum, C.

| ² mi] noster, C.

"regis semper manet. Cur etiam non recolitis quod
 "si omnes¹ contra regem vestrum ferro vestiti fueritis,
 "exheredati eritis et proscripti? Humiliamini ergo
 "sub manu potenti regis vestri, et sic vobis regiam
 "inclinabitis majestatem. Scribitur namque, 'superbis
 "'resistit Deus, humilibus vero dat gratiam.'" Hiis
 et hujusmodi rationibus hinc et inde propositis, dis-
 sensiones inter regem et comites suscitatas compescuit
 saepius et sedavit: unde supponitur a plerisque quod, si
 talis mediator episcopus adhuc esset, inter regem et
 comites discordia non duraret.

Electis nobilibus viris supradictis circa² praefatas
 ordinationes laborantibus, poenituit dominum regem
 tantam potestatem eis contulisse, et quod³ patentes
 super hoc illis tradidit consignatas. Unde comites
 Gloucestriae, Warenniae,⁴ et Cornubiae, necnon alii regis
 familiares, praefatis ordinationibus indies reclamabant,
 quod omnes sibi timebant ex hoc praesidium suscitari,⁵
 ordinatores nihilominus in suis operibus processerunt.
 Quibus peractis et in scriptis compilatis, in parla-
 mento Londoniis ultimo kalendas Octobris, publicantur,
 et quinto die mensis ejusdem dominus rex dictas ordi-
 nationes acceptavit et approbavit, praecipiens eas in
 singulis comitatibus recitari, et in perpetuum firmiter
 observari; aestimans quod cum comite Cornubiae, sicut
 prius, de vita et membris poterit dispensare. Postea
 dominus rex familiarium suorum ductus consiliis, per
 sua brevia praefatas ordinationes revocavit, et in qui-
 busdam comitatibus illa revocatio nunquam extitit
 publicata.

Anno Domini m^occc^oxr^o, regni regis v^{to}, in fine
 mensis Aprilis dominus Willelmus de Grenefelde, archi-
 episcopus Eboracensis, visitavit maximam partem epi-

¹ omnes] simul or semel? B.

² circa] tunc, C.

³ et quod . . . et] om. C.

⁴ Warenniae] Carnervia, B.

⁵ suscitari] suscitatur, MSS.

A.D. 1311.
 Speech of
 Antony Bek
 in the
 preceding
 reign.

Proceedings
 of the
 Ordinance.

Opposition
 of the
 king's
 friends.

Ordinances
 published,
 Sept. 22.

The king
 revokes
 them.

Visitation
 of Durham.

A.D. 1311.
May.

Gaveston
banished
by the 20th
ordinance.

Banish-
ment of his
relations.

Other per-
sons re-
moved from
the king's
service.

Restitution
to Bishop
Langton.

scopatus Dunelmensis; et iiii^{to} die Maii priorem et capitulum ejusdem, et residuum episcopatus continue diebus sequentibus visitavit.

Et qui voluerit causam exilii domini Petri de Gavastone comitis Cornubiæ scire plenius vel audire, legat capitulum vicesimum ordinationum quæ continentur in alio libro inter incidentia Cronicorum; in quo capitulo præponuntur causæ, et postea exilium ab omnibus terris domino regi Angliæ subjectis, ita quod nunquam redeat nec in regia comitiva moram trahat; et præfixus est sibi dies Omnium Sanctorum, citra quem exire debeat apud Doveriam et non alibi, sub poena quæ competit transgressori.¹ Puplicato igitur exilio comitis Cornubiæ supradicti, supplicaverunt ordinatores domino regi per comites Gloucestris, Penbrokiæ, Herfordiæ, et alios clericos et barones, quod omnes parentes et propinqui Petri de Gavastone amoveantur a comitiva domini regis, nunquam sibi in alio officio servituri; et similiter omnes alienigenæ tam de Vasconia quam alii, qui fuerunt de familia sæpediti domini Petri de Gavastone, amoveantur de officiis in hospitio domini regis et reginæ; et quia nonnulli Anglici in suis officiis indebite se gesserunt, videlicet domini de Charletone, Johannes de Bek, Johannes de Sapy, Willelmus de Vallibus, Johannes de Hothome, Gerardus Salvayn, milites, amoveantur ab officiis et balliviis omnibus domini regis, nunquam ipsius officia iterum recepturi, neque domino regi in amministrationibus aliquammodo sint propinqui; et quod jus et rectitudo fiat episcopo Cestrensi, juxta tenorem magnæ cartæ et ordinationum, de terris et aliis bonis suis hostiliter deprædatis; et quod domini Ingelardus de Warlee et Rogerus de Welworthe a regis presentia perpetuo sint remoti. Ista petiti magnatum facta domino regi, ut prædicatur, scribitur post ordinationes in alio libro

¹ See the Ordinances, cap. 20; Statutes of the Realm, i. 162.

consequenter.¹ Item quia dominus Henricus de Beaumont post tempus ordinationum recepit de domino rege terram de Man, et alios redditus, amministrationes, terras et libertates, aliis donari procuravit, contra ordinationes supradictas, nec non pluries male consiluit domino regi, ordinatum est quod a consilio regis pro suo perpetuo sit expulsus, nec unquam regi adhaereat, nisi in parlamento vel guerra, et non nisi legitime fuerit evocatus. Et omnes terrae dicti Henrici infra regnum Angliae capiantur in manum regis quousque satisfecerit regi de vero valore terrae de Man, et exituum, libertatum et aliorum reddituum, quos recepit post ordinationes saepedictas; et, si in aliquo contra istam ordinationem venire praesumpserit quoviamodo, sit exheredatus ab omnibus terris per dominum regem infra regnum Angliae sibi datis.² Item ibidem: quia compertum est per examinationem praelatorum, comitum et baronum, quod per procuracionem et instigationem domine de Veschi³ dominus rex dedit Henrico de Beaumont fratri suo et aliis diversis personis terras, redditus, libertates et ballivas in dampnum et dedecus regis et manifestam exheredationem coronae, ordinatum est quod a curia et hospitio domini regis et reginae recedat et domi resideat, nunquam iterum reditura inibi ad morandum.

A.D. 1211.
Ordinances
against
Henry de
Beaumont.

and the
lady de
Vessey.

Petrus rediit in Angliam.

Item, secundum vim et virtutem ordinationum praedictarum Petrus de Gavestone saepedictus exilium admisit et modicum exulavit, quia ante Nativitatem

Gaveston
return.

¹ This is the document printed in the *Annales Londonienses*, above, vol. i. pp. 198, sq.

² This is from the 22nd chapter

of the *Ordinances: Statutes of the Realm*, i. 163.

³ *Ordinances*, cap. 23, *ibid.*

A.D. 1212.
January.
Gaveston
at York.

Domini in Angliam est reversus, domino regi sicut prius adhesit, ipsiusque secretarius est effectus; nec multum post Epiphaniam Domini in comitiva regis venit Eboracum, ubi comitissa conjux sua filiam peperit; ob quam causam ibidem per tempus aliquot morabatur.

Indignation
of the
barons.

The king
comes with
Gaveston
to New-
castle.
April 10.

Flight to
Scar-
borough.
May 16.

Edward
goes to
York.

Scar-
borough
besieged.

Anno Domini MCCXXII^o, perpendentes regni proceres ab eis regis animum elongatum, nec curantem leges et regni consuetudines, prout per sacramentum in coronationis sue sollemnitate prestitum tenetur, inviolabiliter observare, sed personam demeritis suis exigentibus proscriptam secum familiariter retinere, mores regis indiscretos et incompositos, per legum et ordinationum rigores, compescere disponebant. Nichilominus dominus rex non sano ductus consilio, regni regimen parvipendens, iiii^{to} idus Aprilis cum prefato Petro de Gavestone usque Novum Castrum super Tynam est profectus, habens secum quosdam Anglicos in comitiva qui per ordinationes a regis presentia [debuerunt] separari; quos Thomas comes Lancastrie statuit insequi vehementer, volens illos secundum ordinationes de regis expellere comitiva. Hoc comperto dissolutum est cor eorum, et cum omni festinatione rex cum sepedicto Petro, Henrico de Bellomonte et Ead-mundo de Malolacu, et alii secretarii cum eisdem de Novo Castro fugientes, vi^{to} idus Maii usque Schardeburghe navigio pervenerunt, dimissis ibidem suis equis cum reliquo apparatu timore perterriti persequentis. Paucis diebus evolutis, prefatoque Petro in castro de Scardeburghe dimisso, victualibus et armis munito, rex recessit et abiit Eboracum. Hoc igitur comiti Lancastrie nuntiato, misit statim comites de Pembroke et Garennie, adjuncto sibi Henrico de Percy, cum non modica manu armatorum; qui castrum obsederunt inclusosque per crebros insultus in dies infestabant; nec multum post miserunt prefati domini obsesso comiti prenotato, ut sub spe pacis egrederetur,

et in ecclesia fratrum Prædicatorum ejusdem villæ cum
eisdem locuturus accederet, si forsan inter ipsos ali-
quam viam rationabilem poterint invenire; quod et
factum est, et illis ibidem convenientibus, præfati duo
comites et dominus de Percy in præsentia Corporis
Christi tactis sacrosanctis evangeliiis juraverunt quod, si
dictus dominus Petrus vellet cum eis domum proficisci,
ipsum et regni proceres concordarent, vel, si non, ipsum
reducerent, et salvum et sanum in castro reponerent,
ut tunc erat, finem expectaturum quem sibi fortuna
voluerit ministrare. Hiis igitur gestis præfatus comes
Cornubiæ seipsum et castrum de Scardeburghe præ-
fatis dominis commendavit sub spe promissionis et
juramenti sibi facti. Quibus igitur versus partes
australes itinerantibus, quadam die inter Bannebery et
Davyngtre, in quadam villa vocata Dadyngtone hos-
pitati sunt; ubi de custodia comitis de Pembroke vi
et armis, vel saltem ex præmissione,¹ ut dicebatur, et
ex proposito, per comitem de Warwyk, sæpeditus
Petrus de Gavastone eripitur et apud Warwyk car-
cerali custodiæ mancipatur.

Item quia paulo superius tetigimus qualiter [rex]
ordinationes supradictas acceptavit, præcipiens ut per
totum regnum publicarentur, et in omnibus suis arti-
culis servarentur, ac postea quorundam ductus consilio
dictas ordinationes² revocavit, quæ quidem revocatio
non omnibus innotuit, quibus ipsarum publicatio fuerat
nuntiata; modo superest ut dicamus qualiter juxta
præfatas ordinationes circa transgressoris punitionem
sit processum. Circa idem tempus Willelmus Inge et
Henricus Sprigonelle, justiciarii per breve deputati, ut
gaiolam de Warwik judicialiter liberarent, officium

A.D. 1212.
May.
Gaveston
is persuaded
to put him-
self in the
power of
the earl of
Pembroke.

He is
carried off
and im-
prisoned at
Warwick.

How the
ordinance
against
Gaveston
was en-
forced.

¹ *præmissione*] *permissione*, C. H.
² " His ordinationes extant in co-
dice Cottoniano Clæd. D. Pub-
licate sunt ad S. Paulum, præ-
sente rege, per episcopum Saris-

beriensem, jubente archiepiscopo
" Roberto Winchelsey, anno v^{to} regis,
" anno Domini mccc. undecimo."
MS. C. in marg.

A.D. 1312.
June.

He is
brought
before the
justices
Hugo and
Spigurnel;
beheaded
June 19;
and buried
later at
Langley.

sibi impositum juxta regni consuetudinem perfecerunt; ultimo coram eis saepedictus Petrus est praesentatus; qui auctoritate ordinationum praedictarum, de quarum revocatione illi comitatui non constabat, suis demeritis in eisdem ordinationibus contentis coram ipso recitatis, judicatus est tanquam regis et regni proditor decollari; et sic xiii^o kalendas Julii inter Gaversyk et Blakelawe abscissione capitis est peremptus.¹ Ista siquidem comitis decapitatio, paribus terrae nec praesentibus nec vocatis, odium perpetuum inter regem et comites suscitavit, unde nobilium virorum interitus est subsequutus. Corpus vero cum capite comitis decollati Oxoniam delatum, et inter fratres Praedicatores conservatum, quousque per dominum regem apud Langelay fuerat cenobium ordinatum, quod per Praedicatores statuit inhabitari, ac ibidem inter eosdem corpus comitis sepeliri.

Death of
the emperor
Henry VII.

Item circa idem tempus innotuit nobis quod Henricus de Lustynghbourghe inperator Romanorum in partibus Italiae veneno interiit per confessorem suum, ut dicebatur, ordinis Praedicatorum, qui ipsum communicando per calicem interfecit, et justo Deo disponente, licet tantae nequitiae non condignam, acerbam tamen mortem pro demeritis subiit et horrendam.

Pacification,
October 21.

Item xii^o kalendas Novembris rex et magnates terrae concordati sunt, qui bus etiam subitam invasionem² apud Novum Castrum, ac etiam rerum suarum, equorum et

¹ *peremptus*] punitus, C. H. Compare Ann. de Melsa, ii. 328.

² *interfecit*] Cf. Ann. de Melsa, ii. 320.

³ *invasionem*] mansionem, C. H.

" Hujus concordationis exemplar

" servat codex Cottonianus Claudius D. 2; ubi inter cetera sic:

" "accordes que les lettres de sum-

" mondre son parlement a tenir a

" Westmoster solent totes dune

" "fourme, solom ceo que ad este
" "use en touz temps;" deinde
" l'iteris salvi conductus datus pro-
" cures ad parlamentum veniunt et
" obedientiam regi faciunt. Sequi-
" tur ibidem statutum de pretio
" victualium (1) Westm. xiiii. die
" Martii, anno regni octavo, (2)
" ibidem die xx^o Febr. ejusdem
" anni." C. in marg. Compare
Ann. de Melsa, ii. 328.

thesauri surreptionem sibi factam, necnon obsidionem A.D. 1312
castri de Scardeburghe, mortemque saepedicti Petri
perdonavit totaliter et remisit.

Item eodem anno circa mediam horam noctis præ- Birth of Ed-
cedentis festum Sancti Bricii episcopi et confessoris, ward III,
natus est Edwardus tertius post conquestum, et sextus Nov. 13
post Brutum; unde scribitur versus:—

" Hunc natum cura, virgo vincens nocitura,
" Casta creatura, quæ salvasti peritura,
" De puero pura specialis sit tibi cura,
" Ut permansura sibi semper sint sua jura."

Anno Domini M^oCCC^oXLIII^o, a XIX^o die mensis Febru- A.D. 1312.
arii usque ad XXIII^{um} diem Martii, capta sunt castra de Demolition
Rokesbourghe et Edyngburghe,¹ in terramque diruta of the
et prostrata per Robertum de Bruys se gerentem pro castles of
rege Scotiæ; ne forte, si bellum ingruerit contra ipsum, Scotland
magnates Scotiæ ibi refugium quærerent latitantes, nec by Robert
sibi dum necesse fuerit subvenirent. Posteaque plurima Bruce.
castella aliasque munitiones propter eandem causam
solotenus dissipavit.

Item eodem anno vacante sede ecclesiæ Cantuariensis Thomas
per mortem Roberti de Wynchelse, v^o idus Maii in fata Cobham
decedentis, et in vigilia Ascensionis Domini apud Can- elected to
tuariam sepulti; magister Thomas de Cobham theologus Canterbury.
in archiepiscopum Cantuariensem est electus, sed per
summum pontificem Clementem v^o ad regis instan-
tiam non admissus; intervenientibus mille marcis,
Waltherus Raginaldi: præfectus ecclesiæ supradictæ. Walter
Reynolds
preferred.

Anno Domini M^oCCC^oXLIII^o, nono die Aprilis, Clemens A.D. 1314.
papa v^o via universæ carnis est ingressus, qui con- Death of
stitutiones edidit quæ Clementinæ vocantur; quas Clement V.
Johannes papa XXII^{us} publicavit,² et librum vii^{um} John XXII.
Decretalium nominavit; qui etiam in consilio Viennæ successit.
celebrato, ut inferius est expressum, Templariorum

¹ et Edyngburghe] om. C.

² Raginaldi] Regenaldi, B. Cf.
Ann. de Melis, ii. 329.

³ publicavit] Cf. Annales de
Melis, ii. 315; Knighton, c. 2333.

A.D. 1314.
Scandal in
France.

June 24.
Battle of
Bannock-
burn.

Slaughter
and flight
of the
English
lords.

The king
at Stirling
refused
submittance.

ordinem delevit et in perpetuum annullavit. Item eodem anno duo milites regni¹ Francie, accusati super illicita commixtione carnali cum regina Navarrie et sorore sua, capiebantur, postea vivi² decorati, et tandem in patibulo sunt suspensi.³ Item eodem anno, die Dominica quae fuit vigilia Sancti Johannis Baptistae, et in crastino, commissum est praelium apud Bannokburne juxta Strivelyn inter regem Angliae et Robertum Bruys regem Scotiae; utrisque diebus pugnaverunt, sed et Scoti prevaluerunt, arrogantiam namque et invidiam Anglicorum per Scotorum nequitiam corripuit Dominus et punivit; unde factum quod non uniformiter sed sparim Anglici sunt congressi, ita⁴ quod nullus alteri valuit subvenire; et ceciderunt illo die comes Gloucestriae Robertus de Clifford, Paganus Typtoft, Egidius de Argenton, Willelmus Marscallus, Johannes de Grey, Eadmundus de Malo Lacu et plures alii barones, banneretti et milites, quorum nomina longum esset numerare, vitam pariter finierunt. Dominus Willelmus Deyncourt, et Reginaldus frater ejus ibidem miles factus, similiter obierunt; capiebantur etiam ibidem comites de Herford et Anegos, alique proceres et milites numero sexies viginti, praeter clericos et armigeros, qui postea sub diversis pretiis redimuntur. Insuper comes de Pembroke, Henricus de Bello Monte, et multi magnates cordetenus Pharisei, a certamine recesserunt, plures etiam milites et scutarii projectis armis fugierunt. Itaque rex Angliae perpendens fortunam sibi totaliter repugnare, castrum de Strivelyn adiit, ibique refugium requisivit; sed Alexander de Moubray miles, qui castri custodiam de domino rege Angliae tunc habebat; et tamen feliciter sic evenit. Praefatus namque custos, sciens victualia sua sibi et suis non posse sufficere, ac etiam timens sibi quod

¹ regni] reginae, B.

² vivi] per vim, C.

³ suspensi] Cf. Ann. de Melan, ii. 318.

⁴ ita] juxta, C.

Robertus de Bruys potita victoria castrum peteret et expugnaret, noluit dominum suum regem Angliæ tanto periculo, quin potius confusio¹ perpetuæ, subiacere, et propter hoc castrum regis renuit reserare. Nec multum post custodis contigit conjectura. Nam Robertus de Bruys prædictam munitionem petiit et obsedit, ac illi deintus¹ non habentes unde obsidionis incommoda sustinerent, castrum reddere compelluntur, mobilibus suis et vita obsessis singulis tunc concessa. Quod et factum est. Scoti igitur, propter ardentem sibi fortunam, in superbiam eriguntur, nec de concessa sibi triumpho sunt contenti, quin cum non modico exercitu fines Angliæ boriales usque Rychemundiam depredarent, et per incendium patrias devastantes reversi sunt, secum captivos plurimos ablucentes.

A.D. 1211.
June.
He then
corrupted
capture.

The Scots
ravaged
as far as
Richmond.

Item eodem anno in parlamento Londoniis edito, in quadragesima tunc sequente, confirmavit dominus rex iterum ordinationes præfatas, ut ex hoc corda comitum sibi poterit melius coaptare: sed ista concordia, sicut pristina, similis est apostemati superficialiter sanato, quod quidem peior est plaga recente, et difficilior ad sanandum. In eodem igitur parlamento fuit ordinatum quod melior bos vivus venalis crassus de grano non pastus vendatur de cetero pro xvi. solidis et non supra: si vero de grano sit pastus et crassus² pro xxiii. solidis vendatur, et melior vacca viva crassa pro xii. solidis: porcus vero duorum annorum crassus pro iii. s. et iii. d.; multo lanutus crassus pro xx. denariis. M¹ tonsus crassus pro xiiii.¹; auea crassa pro ii.^d ob.; cap¹ bonus et crassus pro ii.^d. Gallina crassa pro i.^d et xxiii. ova pro i.^d, et amodo sic vendantur. Ecce mirabilis ordinatio et dissona rationi, videlicet quod homo de rebus venalibus debeat statuere, vel certum pretium assignare, cum certissime constat quod fecunditas et sterilitas telluris et omnium virentum, nec non et aliorum fœtantium

A.D. 1212.
The ordi-
nances con-
firmed in
Parliament.

Ordinance
about
pence.

Absurdity
of such
legislation

¹ deintus] demptus, B.

² de grano . . . crassus] om. C.

A.D. 1315. singulorum, in sola divinitatis potentia permanet et consistit; sequitur ergo necessario quod non secundum arbitrium hominum sed juxta fertilitatem fructuum sequetur pretium singulorum.¹

Roger Mortival, bishop of Salisbury.

Dearth and high prices, for six years.

Anno Domini m^occc^oxv^o magister Rogerus Mortivax, decanus ecclesie Linconie, in episcopum Sarisberiensem est electus. Item eodem anno fuit magna caristia bladi² circa festum Sancte Margarete virginis et in autumpno sequente, ita quod quarterium frumenti vendebatur communiter per Angliam pro xxx. solidis et quandoque pro xxxii. solidis, et ad minus pro xxiiii. solidis vendebatur; et ad idem pretium quarterium salis albi; similiter ordium, fabe et pise pro xiiii. solidis,³ et brasium pro xvi. s.; avena pro x. s. vendebatur. Et memorandum quod terre sterilitas et omnium fructuum raritas siye defectus, ac etiam omnium cibarium venalium caristia, quamvis non ad eadem pretia, duravit continuo per sex annos; similiter mortalitas hominum et morina armentorum tanta, talis et continua fuit, quanta et qualis a seculo non est visa. Nec poterant mortuorum corpora propter foetorem diutius reservari quin ante prandium et post cotidie sunt humata.

The Scots plunder Hurtlepool.

Fate of Adam Banastre.

Case of abduction.

Item eodem anno Scoti villam de Hertipoole depravederunt, et cum captivis et spoliis ad Scotiam redierunt. Item eodem anno, circa festum Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistae, Scoti Karleolum obsederunt, et nihil proficientes obsidionem dimiserunt. Item eodem anno circa festum Omnium Sanctorum Adam Banastre miles surrexit⁴ contra dominum suum Lancastrie, sed cito post capitur et per comitem decollatur. Item infra octavas Sancti Martini Jacobus Treys, custos castri Bernardi per regem deputatus, relictam homini Roberti de Clifford prope castrum iter agentem rapuit, et tan-

¹ singulorum] etc., add. B.

² bladi] om. C.

³ et ad idem . . . solidis] om. C.

⁴ surrexit] om. C.

quam propriam retinuit, sed per dominos comitem de Penbrok, Bartholomæum de Badesmere et Henricum filium Hugonis, milites, ab ipso eripitur et ad propria dimittitur remeare. Item dominus Willelmus de Grenfelde, archiepiscopus Eboracensis, die Sancti Nicholai viam carnis generalem est ingressus, et in majori ecclesia beati Petri Eboraci die Sanctæ Lucie virginis est sepultus. Item die Sanctæ Agnetis virginis Willelmus de Melton, tunc præpositus Beverlaci, in archiepiscopum Eboraci est electus, dominoque regi præsentatus et acceptus traxit moram in curia fere per duos annos antequam fuerat consecratus; qui anno Domini M^oCC^oCVII^o reliit de curia circa festum Omnium Sanctorum.

A.D. 1211.
Restoration
of the body.

Death of
archbishop
Greenfeld.

William de
Melton
elected
sent to the
Roman
court.

Item anno eodem, in quindena Sancti Hillarii, in parlamento apud Lincolniam concordati sunt rex et comes Lancastrie, qui etiam juratus fuit de consilio regis, ad addendum et subtrahendum de ordinationibus prius factis, prout regi et regno melius viderit expedire.

A.D. 1216.
Parliament
at Lincoln.
Jan. 2.

Item anno Domini M^oCC^oCVII^o, octavo die mensis Augusti, dominus Jacobus natione Bituricensis, episcopus Portuensis, electus est in papam, vocatus Johannes papa xxiii^{us}:¹ qui sedit post Clementem. Hic septimum librum decretalium innovavit et publicavit quæ constitutiones Clementino primitus vocabantur. Hic etiam litteratos promovit, disciplinam triplicis linguae, scilicet Græcæ, Ebraicæ et Latine apud studia catholici orbis instituit, ac dum in primis acceptiones munerum omne aurum et argentum abhorre videretur, dampnavit primo pluralitates beneficiorum ita ut, unico beneficio per curatum rectorem acceptato, ipse papa reliquorum fructus vacantium per aliquot annos optineret; insuper et aliorum beneficiorum per mortem non resignationem vacantium primos fructus reservavit, ita ut rector institutus taxationem beneficii sui ac residuum acceptaret; ex quo quidem negotio innumeri thesauri ad papam

John XXIII.
elected
pope.

His seven
first
books.

Harden,
Pictorial
History, vii. 48.

¹ This is in Knighton, c. 232, from Harden, No. 7, cap. 42.
R 1651.

A.D. 1316. ^{Hyden. Polychron. vii. 42.} cameram devenerunt. Bella tamen a duce Bavaris, qui pseudo fecerat imperatorem, jugiter sustinuit et constanter.

Floods and dearth.

Vacancies at Ely and Winchester.

Item eodem anno ex inundatione ymbrium aestivalium et autumnalium tanta provenit caristia ut quarterium frumenti per totum annum pro xxx. solidis vendebatur. Item eodem anno episcopatus Eliensis vacavit, cui praefectus¹ Johannes de Hothome, et Wyntoniensis similiter, cui Johannes de Sandale ad regis instantiam est admissus.

A.D. 1317. July.

The king remonstrates with Lancaster for holding meetings of armed men.

The earl's answer.

Anno Domini m^occc^oxviii^o, rex Angliæ circa festum beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ, per suas litteras comiti Lancastriæ directas, propter convocationes privatas magnatum et populi indebite factas, ac etiam retentiones² armatorum stipendiis insolitis et excessivis, unde metu non modico populus est concussus, ipsum comitem arguebat, et propter alia quæ per ipsius responsiones proxime³ subsequentes poterunt apparere; de litteris namque responsoriis comitis Gallice scriptis propter illarum prolixitatem rationes collegimus subsequentes: præmissisque verbis saluatoriis ita dicit;

" scire velit dominatio vestra reverenda, quod nullas fecimus
 " convocationes propter quas moveri debeat populus aut ter-
 " reri, neque gentes aliquas propter regni perturbationem aut
 " pacis impedimentum retinemus, sed propter quietem populi
 " et pacis stabilimentum, ac etiam coronæ vestræ commodam
 " et honorem specialiter et integre reservandum; et non sine
 " causa nec modicum admiramur quod de retinentia nos argui-
 " tis in præsentem; cum nuper scripsistis nobis quod cum nostro
 " servitio, necnon meliori ac fortiori modo quo poterimus, ad
 " vos apud Novum Castrum in crastino Sancti Laurentii per-
 " sonaliter accedere deberemus; propter quod in quantum pos-
 " sumus cum armatis quocunque volueritis parati erimus vobis
 " eum procedere, vita comitis et Domino disponente; et quoad
 " alias litteras vestras per quas nobis insinuastis ad vos acce-
 " dere xxi^o die Julii apud Nottingham, ad tractandum vobis-
 " cum et aliis de consilio vestro ibidem reperiendis, super
 " adventu hostium vestrorum Scotiæ, qui regnum Angliæ sunt

¹ praefectus] praefatus, C.

² retentiones] retroeuntes, B.

³ proxime] xxi., C. H.

ingressi hostiliter invadendo; ad quem diem nostram habere
 velitis absentiam excusatam eo quod non vigemus nec vale-
 mus aequaliter laborare; ad hoc, domine reverende, recolere
 debetis quod in parlamento ultimo tento Lincolnie, eo quod
 regnum vestrum per insufficientes et minus ydoneas personas
 regi videbatur, libere concessistis quod dominus Cantuarien-
 sis cum aliis episcopis et comitibus una nobiscum et domino
 Bartholomaeo de Badelesmere, deberet, per providam et cir-
 cumspectam discretionem aliorum procerum de vestro con-
 silio juratorum, dirigere et melius ordinare regimen regni
 vestri, ita quod improbi et incompoti ministri, legum pro-
 varicatores, non salubria sed placentia praedicantes, de vestro
 sint latere separati, nunquam in aliquibus officiis vobis
 ulterius servituri; et quod ista ordinatio vestra semper sta-
 bilis sit et firma; et super hoc Londonias adivimus sapien-
 tiores et magis providos vestri consilii, cum quibus super
 hospitio vestro et regimine regni vestri ordinavimus praecise
 quod necessarium videbatur, et in scriptis per dominos Bar-
 tholomaeum de Badelesmere et Willelmum Inge vestra
 reverentiae mittebamus, quae quidem adhuc nullatenus ob-
 servantur. Praeterea, domine reverende, in ordinationibus
 bonae memoriae domini Roberti Cantuariensis archiepiscopi
 factis, conscriptum fuit quod plures personas in vestris secre-
 tariis et aliis obsequiis privatis et publicis commorantes
 fuerunt, personarum et munerum acceptores, veritatis et
 iustitiae corruptores, ac etiam insufficientes et minus ydonei
 in regis officiis ministrare; ordinatum fuit quod deberetis
 omnes tales a vobis et vestris obsequiis totaliter amovere,
 quod quidem facere renuistis, sed eo ipso cariores habuistis,
 et alios ejusdem conditionis, peiores illis, familiarius attrax-
 istis, non obstante quod praefatas ordinationes vestris potenti-
 bus confirmastis, et etiam praelatos, comites et barones et
 alios ministros regis ad illas in omnibus suis articulis
 observandas per juramenti vinculum atrinxistis, prout per
 litteras vestras inde confectas penes nos et alios regni pro-
 ceres residentes oportuerit apparere, cum tamen in opere
 nil effectualiter adimpletur. Et super eo quod praefixo die
 ad vos non accedimus, nolite quassumus admirari, quia
 negotia super quibus nostrum consilium requiritis et assen-
 sum, juxta litterarum vestrarum tenorem, in parlamento
 paribus terris praesentibus deberent ostendi veraciter et
 tractari; ad hoc quidem servandum omnes juravimus, ipsi

A.D. 1317.
 July.
 Argument
 of the earl
 of Lan-
 caster ad-
 dressed to
 the king
 and excuses.

He accuses
 the king of
 contaminating
 the ordi-
 nances.

The busi-
 ness for
 which the
 king has
 summoned
 him ought
 to be treated
 in parla-
 ment.

A.D. 1317.
July.
Lancaster's
letter to the
king.

"scitis, nec deberetis extra parlamentum velle statuere vel tractare quod in parlamento debeat diffiniri. Ad hæc; super eo quod in litteris vestris nobis ultimo directis significastis, quod inimici vestri Scotie regnum Angliæ de novo sunt ingressi hostiliter invadendo, super quo assensum nostrum et consilium postulatis; credimus consilium vestrum captum et diffinitum ulterius ex quo nobis et ceteris regni proceribus per brevia præcepiatis, quod ad certum diem quilibet nostrum cum servitio suo vobiscum sit apud Norwicum Castrum et ulterius, si necesse fuerit, valeat proficisci, ad quem diem, si vos ipsi sitis, congregationi vestre per Dei gratiam volumus interesse."

Two cardinals
robbed on
their way to
Durham.

Gilbert
Middleton
punished
for the out-
rage.

Papal
sentence
against
Robert
Bruce.

Item eodem anno, circa festum beatæ Mariæ Virginis, domini Gaucelinus tituli Sanctorum Martii, Marcellini et Petri presbiter, et Lucas de Flisco tituli Sancti Mariæ in Via Lata diaconus, cardinales, itinerantes versus Dunelmum pro consecratione domini Lodewyci de Bellomonte in episcopum dicti loci, spoliati fuerunt per prædones, tam de vectura sua quam de auro, pecunia et jocalibus preciosis. Electus vero, et dominus Henricus de Bellomonte frater ejus, capti et in castro de Mitteford¹ ad tempus custodie mancipati. Dominus itaque Gilbertus, hujus sceleris capitaneus et magister, circa festum Purificationis beatæ Mariæ Londoniis tractus fuit et suspensus ac membratim postea pro prædicto facinore est divisus. Eodem tempore solvebamus de singulis marcis iiii.^d de temporalibus et spiritualibus pro expensis cardinalium prædictorum. Item quia papa Jôhannes xx^{us} i^{us} circa treugam inter, regna Angliæ et Scotiæ se sæpius intromisit, pro qua etiam præfatos cardinales de suo latere destinavit, quorum monita Robertus de Bruys noluit acceptare, sed tanquam pacis impeditor guerræ dilationem admittere renuit; sed et regem Angliæ conatus est totia viribus debellare; prædicti cardinales sedis apostolici nuncii auctoritate domini papæ supra-

¹ I have not met with the original of this important letter.

² Mitteford] See Ann. de Melan, ii. 334.

dicti præfatum Robertum de Bruys pro rege Scotorum se gerentem, necnon et omnes et singulos fautores, complices, adjutores, valitores, consiliarios et sequaces ejusdem, ac sibi adhaerentes in inobedientiis, rebellionibus, et aliis excessibus, in processibus dictorum cardinalium et utriusque eorum contentis, clericos et personas ecclesiasticas ac laicos cujuscunque sint dignitatis, gradus, ordinis, auctoritatis, conditionis aut status, etiam si personæ ipse ecclesiasticæ archiepiscopali, primatiz, legationis, vel episcopali, aut alia quavis præfulgeant dignitate, excommunicatos denunciarunt, regnumque Scotiæ, necnon terras alias ipsius Roberti, aliorumque suorum quorumcunque fautorum, complicum, adjutorum, valitorum, consiliariorum, et sequacium, ac eidem quomodolibet adhaerentium in præmissis, ecclesias cathedrales et alias quascunque infra regnum Scotiæ et terras dictorum adhaerentium consistentes, ac monasteria, ceteraque loca ecclesiastica, necnon et aliorum famulorum, interdicto ecclesiastico subiacere denuntiarunt, et vitari præceperunt, tam diu denuntiari et vitari donec de prædictis inobedientiis, rebellionibus, excessibus, invasionibus, congressionibus, ac occupationibus, satisfecerint competenter ac mandatis apostolicis et dictorum hominum cardinalium venerint humiliter parituri. Totus iste processus, et alia plura istam materiam tangentia, in alio libro reperies inter incidentia chronorum.¹ Item eodem anno habuimus copiam bullæ per quam papa tunc dampnavit pluralitates beneficiorum, quæ incipit "Execrabilis"; cujus paulo ante meminimus, quæ etiam cum suis declarationibus scribitur in alio libro, ne forte illarum prolixitas legentibus

A.D. 1317.
Papal sentences, published by the two cardinals.

Account of the bull Execrabilis.

¹ The bull, of which an abstract is here given, is printed in the *Foedera*, ii. 362, from a transcript in the Record Office. It is dated at Avignon, June 20, 1316, and was delivered to the king at York on the

11th of November. The cardinals were, however, empowered to excommunicate the king's enemies by an earlier bull, dated Dec. 20, 1317, which possibly our author has confounded with the other; *Foed. R.* 370.

A.D. 1317.
Elopement
of the
countess of
Lancaster.

Inthronement
of the
archbishop
of York.

A.D. 1318.
Parliament
at Leicester,
April 12.

Arrangements
made
for complete
pacification.

fastidium generaret.¹ Item eodem anno uxor Thomæ Lancastriæ, videlicet filia Henrici de Lascy comitis Lincolnis, recessit de comitiva et potestate domini sui supradicti, et comes de Warennæ eam in suam custodiam tunc recepit. Item eodem anno, circa festum Omnium Sanctorum, dominus Willelmus de Meletone in archiepiscopum Eboracensem de curia rediit confirmatus; et, die Dominica proxima ante festum Sancti Mathæi apostoli et evangelistæ, in majori ecclesia beati Petri Eboraci fuit solemniter intronisatus.²

Anno Domini m^occc^oxviii^o apud Leycestriam, die Mercurii proxima ante Pascha floridum, in parlamento ibidem indicto, dominus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, Norwicensis, Cicestrensis, Wyntoniensis, Landavensis, et Herefordensis episcopi, ac etiam Lancastriæ, Penbrokiæ, et Herfordensis comites, xxviii. barones, Willelmus de Bereforde et Walterus de Norwico, ibidem tunc præsentis, ad sancta Dei evangelia juraverunt quod ordinationes prius factas in omnibus suis articulis observabunt et facient observari, et quod mali, improbi et non ydonei regis consilarii, sint amoti, et quod omnes terræ contra ordinationes per regem datæ in manum regis capiantur festinanter, et quod omnes illi qui terras de dono domini regis receperunt, attachentur ad computandum in scaccario de exitibus earundem, quæ regi pertinent et coronæ, et ad hoc inveniunt securitatem interessendi proximo parlamento ad expectandum et recipiendum iudicium et considerationem parium terræ, de terris et aliis rebus post ordinationes de dono domini regis habitis et receptis. Item omnes transgressionis per comitem Lancastriæ et suos factas, videlicet ad ducendum regem per viam asperitatis ut melius regat populum quam ante hæc tempora consuevit, tam de captione castrorum quam

¹ The bull "Execrabilis" is dated at Avignon, Dec. 1, 1317:

it is a part of the Canon Law, as Extrav. Joh. xxiii. lib. 3, cap. 4.

² intronisatus] etc., etc., B.

bonorum mobilium quorumcunque, relaxentur et penitus remittantur. Pax Hugonis patris et Hugonis filii Dispensatorum talis est, quod ambo morabuntur de retinentis comitis Lancastriae cum ceteris¹ equitibus, sumptibus suis propriis ad terminum vitae suae; item omnes homines comitis et suorum, capti per ministros regis et incarcerati, orunt continuo liberati; et volentes cartas regias habere super transgressionibus praelibatis, cum petere voluerint optinebunt. Ecce legum mirabiles conditores; nam dominum suum regem, ut praedicatur, per asperitatem debent ad bonum regni regimen coartare; sed pacis corruptores per approbatas leges regni nolunt permittere castigari; maxillis regiis habenas imponunt, et qui pro demeritis patibulum meruit absolvunt. Haec et hiis similia perseverantis odii fomitem ministrabant.

Item eodem anno, non multum post Pascha, Scoti villam de Alvertone, ecclesiam et adjacentem patriam incendio consumpserunt, ac deinde undique vastantes et spoliantes usque abathiam de Boulton perrexerunt et illam hostiliter depredaverunt. Item eodem anno, die Sanctae Margaretae virginis, apud Nothingham quidam literatus, qui apud Oxoniam scriptor erat, et Johannes vocabatur, debilitate capitis ut credebatur, vel instinctu diaboli ductus, immo seductus, dicebat se esse filium et heredem nobilissimi regis Edwardi proximo defuncti et in cunabulis pro alio nescio quo per obstetrices mutatum; convictus et equorum sequens calcanea est distractus.² Item eodem anno, die Lunae proxima post festum Sancti Laurentii, apud Sortebrigge³ juxta Lughteburghe osculati sunt mutuo dominus rex et comes Lancastriae, et, sicut astantibus apparuit, concordati sunt. Item iii^o idus Septembris domini cardinales praedicti de Londoniis

A.D. 1316.
Terms for
the reconcil-
iation of the Dis-
pensers
with the
earl of Lan-
caster.

May.
Northaller-
ton burned
by the Scots,
who ad-
vance to
Bolton.

July 20.
An impostor
punished at
Notting-
ham.

Personal
reconcilia-
tion of the
king with
Lancaster.
August.

¹ ceteris] certis, C.

² See Knighton, c. 2535.

³ Knighton, c. 2538.

A.D. 1318.
October.
News from
Ireland.

Parliament
at York in
November.

Charters of
pardon.

Change of
ministry.

Statute of
York.

A.D. 1319.
March.
Parliament
York.

Grants for
the Scottish
war.

Robert
Neville slain
at Berwick.

versus curiam redierunt. Item ii^o idus Octobris innotuit nobis quod dominus Robertus de Bruys, Johannes de Soules seneschallus Scotiæ, et majores ejusdem, ad numerum xviii., cum quinque milibus peditum et amplius, sunt in Hibernia interfecti. Item statim post festum Omnium Sanctorum, in parlamento apud Eboracum, concessit dominus rex comiti Lancastriæ et suis omnibus cartam pardonationis omnium querelarum et calumpniarum quas habere poterit versus eosdem, tam pro morte Petri de Gavastone et Adæ Banastre, quam de quibuscunque aliis transgressionibus supradictis. Et in eodem parlamento amoti erant ab officiis suis seneschallus domini regis, thesaurarius, camerarius, et omnes vicecomites uno die. Item in eodem parlamento facta sunt quedam statuta, anno regis xii^o, quæ scribuntur in alio libro inter Incidentia, ne legentibus tædium generaret.¹

Anno Domini m^occc^oxix^o, statim post Pascha, in parlamento tento apud Eboracum, unanimi assensu ordinatum fuit quod dominus rex et omnes² magnates arriperent iter versus Scotiam in mense proximo post festum Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, et, quod sumptus magnos talis progressio requirebat, et ad hoc regis aerarium minime sufficere videbatur, clerus sibi decimam, cives et burgenses xii^{am}, et rurales xviii^{am} concesserunt. Item viii^o idus Junii dominus Robertus de Neville miles apud Berwyk per Scotos interfectus est, et de sua comitiva multi capiebantur, et in fugam ceteri sunt conversi. Qui in mense Decembri proximo precedente dominum Ricardum Marmaduk³ seneschallum episcopatus Dunellmi super pontem Dunelmi interfecit, asserens ipsum esse regis et regni perfidum

¹ *generaret*] etc., etc., add. B. The statute of York is printed among the Statutes of the Realm, i. 177. The roll of this parliament is printed in Cole's Records, pp.

1-54, and is not in the collected edition of the Rotuli Parliamentorum.

² *omnes*] om. C.

³ *Marmaduk*] Marmeduk, B.

proditorem. Item non multum post dominus papa per bullam ratificavit sententiam in Scotos per cardinales prius latam, deditque potestatem archiepiscopo Eboracensi, episcopis Eliensi et Carliolensi, absolvendi omnes Scotos ad fidem et subjectionem regis Angliæ redeuntes, et dispensandi benignius cum eisdem. Item eodem anno, in fine mensis Augusti, rex Angliæ, comes Lancastriæ, et alii regni proceres, cum apparatu bellico ad expugnandum Robertum de Bruys sibi rebellantem, et auctoritate summi pontificis ut præmittitur excommunicatum, Scotiam sunt ingressi, et Berewycum obsederunt; sed valde modicum profuerunt. Ibidem rege et aliis optimatibus inter se familiariter conversantibus, antiquus hostis, concordie et caritatis expugnator, pessimas discordias inter regem et comitem suscitavit per interpositas personas, regis et procerum verba mutuo transferentes et nequiter interpretantes; verum pluries omiserunt, aliquid de suo sæpius apposuerunt, ita quod rex de magnatibus et ipsi de rege penitus diffidebant. Qui vero de regis latere suis demeritis exigentibus, ut paulo superius exprimitur, fuerant separati, apud regem de prodicione quosdam de magnatibus diffamabant; et sic in incepto negotio nihil proficientes, inveteratum odium instigante diabolo invidia renovabat. Nec hoc latuit inimicos, sed, cognita dissensione, Scoti cum exercitu non modico Angliam intraverunt, patriam undique spoliantes, et incendentes, versus Eboracum gressus dirigentes, quousque prope Moitone super Swale pervenerunt, Thoma Randolph comite de Mureffe et Jacobo de Dowglas illorum ducibus constitutis. Auditis igitur hostium aditu et incursu, dominus Willelmus de Meleton archiepiscopus Eboracensis, Johannes de Hothome episcopus Eliensis tunc cancellarius Angliæ, Robertus de Pykerynge decanus ecclesiæ Eboracensis, abbates beatæ Mariæ Eboraci et de Seleby, cum multitudine plebis civitatis et patriæ, xii^o, die Septembris juxta Mitone

A.D. 1319.
Papal bulls
against the
Scots.

August.
Siege of
Berwick.

Mischief-
making and
dissension
in the
English
camp.

The Scots
advance to
Myton on
Swale.

The arch-
bishop
collects a
force and is
defeated.
Sept. 12, at
Myton.

A.D. 1319.
Sept. 12.
Battle of
Myton.

Defeat of
the arch-
bishop.

How his
banner was
saved.

The Scots
advance to
Castelford
near Pout-
fret.

They retire
about Sept.
13.

The siege of
Berwick
raised.

bellum cum hostibus componere præsumpserunt; et, non habentes ducem neque praelii instructorem, coram hostibus sunt dispersi; et est Anglorum cædes non modica subsecuta; plures etiam fluvius absorbit quam gladius trucidavit. Major Eboraci et plures alii ibidem pariter obierunt, quamplures clerici, scutarii, et alii populares, capiebantur et postea redimuntur. Archiepiscopus et omnes alii præfati fugientes, miserante Domino, evaserunt; sed et vexillum archipræsulis triumphale, hastile cuius erat ex argento, et in cuius vertice ymago Domini nostri Jesu Christi in cruce figitur deaurata, protegente Domino, ad manus hostium non devenit. Crucifer namque equo citato aquis se dedit et natatu in ripam alteram vectus est, ibique adhærens cuidam salici equum reliquit, et in quodam specu densissimo crucem præsulis occultavit, et in noctis crepusculo sic evasit; nec longe a loco in quo crux fuerat occultata latuit quidam pauper, accedensque post recessum clerici, accepit crucem et in feni funiculis involutam in suo tugurio retinuit, quousque postmodum quesita episcopo fuerat restituta.¹ Exinde Scoti usque pontem de Castelforde per iiii. leucas a Pontefracto distantem a parte boreali, patrias spoliantes, profecti sunt, et versus occidentem tendentes per Ayerdale et Wherfdale nonnullis villis a Scotis² dedicatis pepercerunt, captivos plurimos abduxerunt, et per Gratrehals versus Scotiam redeuntes circa festum Exaltationis sanctæ Crucis cum præda non modica propriam patriam sunt ingressi. Audientes iterum rex et comites Angliæ invasionem hostium prælibatam, obsidionem dissolverunt opinantes hostibus obviare, sed perunam Anglici, Scoti vero per aliam ut prædicatur, sunt reversi.

¹ This is told in very similar language in the *Annales de Melsa*, ii. 337.

² a Scotis] aut locis, C. H.

De Templariis.¹

“ Quia ad audientiam domini papæ pervenit quod non- A.D. 1319.
 “ nulli fratres ordinis quondam militiæ Templi Jerusalem, Papal
 “ post sublationem ordinis memorati, inconsulto mentis directions
 “ affectu se in Dominum² retorquentes, vestes præsumunt about the
 “ induere laicales, seque gerunt pro laicis, et tanquam laici disposal
 “ in animarum suarum periculis conversantur; quidam etiam of the
 “ eorundem se amplius mundi voluptatibus immergentes de Templariis.
 “ facto matrimonia contrahunt, quæ potius contubernia dici
 “ debent, in publico³ ducunt uxores cum illis publico habi-
 “ tantos, non attendentes quod professione quam in ingressu
 “ dicti ordinis emisissent ad continentiam et alia religionis
 “ substantialia sic se perpetuo obligaverunt, quod per sub-
 “ lationem dicti ordinis factam in generali consilio Viennæ
 “ nequaquam fuerunt a votorum observantia absoluti; volens
 “ igitur papa tantæ insolentiæ et dampnabilis præsumptionis
 “ audaciæ de fratrum suorum consilio salubriter ac saluti
 “ eorum de celeri et oportuno remedio providere, archiepi-
 “ scopo Eboracensi districto præcipiendo mandavit, quate-
 “ nus dictos fratres in sua diocesi commorantes ad suam
 “ præsentiam convocaret, ipsosque diligenter moneret et sa-
 “ lubriter induceret quod infra tres menses, a monitionis suæ
 “ tempore computandos, transeant ad aliquam de religionibus
 “ approbatis, ibidem Domino perpetuo servituri; prælatum
 “ quoque et fratres domus seu monasterii, ad quæ transire
 “ voluerint, cum diligentia inducat, ut ipsos in socios reci-
 “ piant et in fratres; clericos tamen ut clericos, laicos ut
 “ conversos, et siacera in Domino caritate pertractent. Quod
 “ si forte prælatus seu fratres omnino id facere recusaverint,
 “ ut eodem quondam Templarios, et si non ut fratres, sal-
 “ tim in domibus et monasteriis suis recipiant, ut in eis
 “ Domino juxta votorum suorum observantiam famulentur,
 “ cum diligentia moneat, et si necesse fuerit auctoritate apo-
 “ stolica per censuram ecclesiasticam coherceat et compel-
 “ lat; si vero dicti fratres quondam militiæ Templi, infra
 “ prædictorum mensium spatium, post monitionem et induc-

¹ This is an abstract of the bull of John XXII., dated at Avignon, Dec. 17, 1318; Mon. Angl. vi. 848, 849.

² in *Dominum*] in demum, C.; inde nimium, Mon. Angl. vi. 848.

³ in *publico*] et præsentate, C.

A.D. 1319.
Papal bull
on the
Templars.

"tionem hujusmodi aliquam de religionibus approbatis non
"elegerint, vel ad illam non transierint, cum effectum in ea
"secundum¹ modum perpetuo moraturi, stipendia ipsis per
"alias litteras papæ pro vitæ sustentatione deputata, quibus
"extunc ipsos fore privatos decrevit, eisdem subtrahi faciat,
"domos et mansiones seu loca quæcunque ejusdem quon-
"dam ordinis Templi seu ordinis Hospitalis Sancti Johannis
"Jerusalem eis pro hujusmodi stipendiis assignata, vel quo-
"cunque modo concessa, nihilominus auferantur. Ne autem
"præfati fratres quondam militiæ Templi, domibus aut
"locis aliis ad quæ transierint onerosi videantur, voluit
"papa et ordinavit quod ipsis in præfatis domibus seu
"monasteriis commorantibus, stipendia quæ per alias litteras
"suas eis taxare mandavit et etiam assignare, faciat epi-
"scopus quamdiu vixerint, ministrari."

A truce with
the Scots.

Item eodem anno infra Natale Domini missis per
dominum regem apud Berewyk super Twedam dominis
episcopo Eliensi, comite Penbrokiæ, Hugone Dispensa-
tore filio, et aliis magnatibus, inter duo regna Angliæ
et Scotiæ treuga capitur biennalis.²

A.D. 1320.
June.

Visit of the
king and
queen to
France.

Anno Domini m^occc^oxxx^o, circa festum Sancti Bo-
tulphi transfretaverunt dominus rex et regina, comes
Richemundia, et alii magnates, et fecit homagium regi
Franciæ pro ducatu Aquitanniæ, ut dicebatur; et circa
festum Sancti Jacobi redierunt. Item eodem anno
circa festum Epiphaniæ Domini obiit Johannes Dal-
derby episcopus Lincolnensis, cujus meritis et precibus
multis infirmatis divina beneficia largiuntur: et electus
est magister Antonius de Bek theologus, ejusdem ec-
clesiæ cancellarius, in festo Sanctæ Agnetis secundæ,³
sed, per archiepiscopum Cantuariensem non admissus,
adivit curiam Romanam, quem papa repulit et ad regis
instantiam ac etiam pecuniæ non modicæ interven-
tionem præfectus est Henricus de Burghasse in epi-
scopum ecclesiæ supradictæ.

Henry
Burghersh
made bishop
of Lincoln.

¹ secundum] servi, C.

² biennalis] etc., etc., add. B.

³ secundæ] sacro, C. The feast

of S. Agnes the second is kept on
Jan. 28.

Anno Domini M^oCCC^oXX^o obiit Walterus de Langestone episcopus Cestrie, cui successit Robertus de Northborghe, at instantiam domini regis Angliae, sicut prius, nec multum post factus est Antonius de Bek praedictus episcopus Norwycensis.

A.D. 1321.
Death of
bishop
Langton.

Item,¹ die Dominica proxima post festum Sancti Dunstani episcopi, anno regni regis Edwardi xiiii^{to}, in capitulo prioratus de Pontefracto ad mandatum comitis Lancastriae omnes domini subscripti in praesentia dicti comitis convenerunt; videlicet ipse comes primo cum suis, Thomas de Multone, Thomas de Fournivalle, Edmundus Deyncourt, Henricus filius Hugonis, Radulfus de Graystoke, Gilbertus de Atone, Marmadukus de Thwyngge, Nicholaus de Menille, Henricus de Percy, Johannes de Marmillone, Philippus Darcy, Willelmus filius Willelmi, Johannes de Fauconberge, Johannes Deyncourt, et dominus Robertus Conestabulo de Flaynbourgh, barones et banoretti; qui omnes et singuli de unanimi consensu et voluntate pro se et suis amicis et alligatis, quos ad suam concordiam possunt attrahere, concesserunt quod ex quo multae motiones in diversis terrae partibus jam sunt motae, per quas pax terrae poterit perturbari in regis et regni dedecus ac etiam populi dampnum non modicum et gravamen, volunt omnes et singuli, ac quilibet per se promisit fideliter et concessit, quod unius erunt assensus et concordiae ad defendendum terras suas et patrias, ita quod, si quis insurrexerit contra dictum comitem, aut aliquem illorum, qualiscunque fuerit, quovismodo in dampnum et dedecus illorum aut alicujus eorundem, omnes erunt parati in subsidium et defensionem contra omnes malitiose volentes eos aliquialiter infestare, et

Assembly
of the
northern
lords at
Pontefret,
under the
earl of Lan-
caster,
May 24.

They agree
to a league
for mutual
defence.

¹ These very important details, illustrating a period which has only been very partially examined by historians, are very little if at all

known to other writers, and constitute one of the most valuable portions of the present chronicle.

A.D. 1321.
May 24.
This was
confirmed
by seal.

The earl
summons
the arch-
bishop and
clergy to
meet at
Sherburn in
Elmet, on
June 28.

John de Bek
reads a bill
of articles of
agreement.

They agree
to inform
the earl of
all matters
that require
remedy.

ad hoc viriliter faciendum, ut quilibet se præparet meliori et fortiori modo quo poterit, ita quod terræ pax universalis melius foveatur, necnon quies et commodum populi multo tutius conservetur; istam itaque conventionem, quin verius confederationem, in verbis consimilibus Gallice scriptis, per sigillorum suorum appositionem quilibet supradictus dominus confirmavit: et, quia videbatur prædictis dominis quod prædictum negotium requirebat consilium majorum et præcipue prælatorum, scripsit comes Lancastriæ archiepiscopo et omnibus aliis prælatis provinciae et diocesis Eboracensis, ut, die Dominica proxima post festum Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, apud Shirbourne in Elmet omnes pariter convenirent ad tractandum cum eisdem super negotiis tangentibus populi commodum et quietem; ad quem diem archiepiscopus, episcopi Dunelmensis et Carliolensis, comites Lancastriæ et Herforde, abbates et priores, necnon plurimi barones, baneretti et milites, australes et boriales, in ecclesia parochiali de Shirbourne convenerunt; in quorum præsentia Johannes de Bek, miles, ex præcepto comitis, legit quosdam articulos, ut prætendebat, correctionibus indigentes; quos hic non insero de verbo ad verbum sicut Gallice legebantur, sed illorum sententiam breviter demonstrabo quia blandis sermonibus velabantur.

“ Primus igitur articulus post recitationem præmissorum inter cetera continebat, quod, si scirent aut cognoscerent aliquas considerationes aut injuriosas gravamina ad dampnum vel dedecus populi vel coronæ per malos consiliarios aut minus ydoneos regis ministros qualitercunque suscitari, quod ipsi vellent hujusmodi gravamina demonstrare et coram ipso comite lucide declarare, ita quod per assensum unanimum et commune consilium super hujusmodi gravaminibus opportunum remedium valeat provideri. Item videtur, domini reverendi, quod illi qui officia receperunt per quæ regnum debeat gubernari,

" videlicet cancellarius, thesaurarius, camerarius, justi- A.D. 1321.
 " ciarius, custos sigilli secreti, escaetores et alii qui June 28.
 " per electionem constitui debuissent, receperuntque Bad minis-
 " officia prædicta contra ordinationes sæpefactas, sunt ters should
 " causæ novitatum malorum et oppressionum quibus be removed.
 " populus nimium aggravatur; expedit igitur ut ce-
 " lere remedium apponatur. Item ad ordinandum A remedy
 " remedium super huiusmodi novitatibus per tales should be
 " ministros contra terræ procures suscitatas, videlicet found for
 " quod illi qui terras et tenementa perquirunt, quæ the novel
 " de rege tenentur in capite per servitia consueta, forfeitures.
 " repelluntur, eis forisfacturam suorum omnium im-
 " ponendo, et de aliis qui contra leges terræ per
 " potestatem regis exheredati et exjudicati sunt
 " assensu parium terræ minime requisito. Item de And for
 " justitiariis qui per commissiones regias et malorum oppressive
 " consiliatorum instigationem de diversis transgres- commis-
 " sionibus inquirunt, magnatesque terræ faciunt in- sions of
 " dictare, ut per conspirationes ipsos valeant exhere- justices.
 " dare contra leges usitatas in oppressionem populi
 " causis variis exquisitis. Item quod præfati mali And for
 " consiliarii constituerunt justitiosos itinerantes Lon- abuses of
 " doniis, faciuntque regem super habitatores ejusdem "quo war-
 " porrigere breve *Quo warranto*, ad respondendum ranto."
 " qualiter ipsi tenent redditus et libertates quas ipsi
 " et antecessores sui habuerunt, et quibus usi sunt a
 " conquestu et deinceps; ac per tales oppressiones
 " nituntur dicti mali consiliarii populum exheredare et
 " affligere supra modum. Item ad tractandum de gra- And for
 " vaminibus factis mercatoribus extraneis atque notis, abuses of
 " qui per huiusmodi malos ministros post merci- the staple.
 " moniorum emptionem cconsuetudine soluta cogun-
 " tur adire limina Sancti Omeri;¹ ut ibi, contra
 " suum gratum et libertates per cartas regias anti-
 " quitus sibi concessas, vendant ad magnum populi

¹ Omeri] Severi, conj., C.

A.D. 1231.
June 28.

And for
impolitic
treaties.

And for the
king's deal-
ing with the
lawyers.

The clergy
at the house
of the rector
draw up an
answer.

They agree
to aid in
resisting
the Scots;

but desire
the other
matters to
wait for the
next parlia-
ment.

" dispendium et gravamen. Item ad tractandum qua-
" liter comes¹ possit confederationes et alligationes
" jam inceptas cum extraneis annullare, quæ si per-
" fectæ fuerint cedent in destructionem vestri et nos-
" tri et totius populi Anglicani. Item ad tractandum
" qualiter dominus rex horum consiliatorum instiga-
" tione omnes legum terræ retinet defensores et peri-
" tos, quod, si magnates vel mediocres per regem
" fuerint implacitati, consilium non habebunt, cum
" sui progenitores nisi duos tantum serjantos pro suis
" placitis tenuerunt."

Lectis articulis, supplicavit comes omnibus prælatis
quod vellent ad horam² secedere, et ad propositum
juxta sua beneplacita respondere; quibus articulorum
copia tradita, mansum rectoris ecclesiæ petierunt, et
tractantes responsum quod sequitur continuo comiti
remiserunt: " Domine reverende, prælati et clerus
" istius diocesis et provincie, qui vestri rogaminis in-
" terventu hic uniformiter convenerunt, vobis regra-
" tiantur humiliter et ex corde quod regni et istius
" patriæ tantum amoris insidet cordi vestro; et, quia
" formidant omnes invasionem Scotorum, ad consumen-
" dum patrias, velut ante hæc tempora destruxerunt,
" et si intrent, quod absit, ad malefaciendum sicut
" prius, omnes juxta possibilitatem suam consentiunt
" subvenire una vobiscum et aliis magnis ac communi-
" tate convocata, ut hostium malitia reprimatur, statu
" cleri et ecclesiæ semper salvo. Item, quoad aliquas
" motiones in regno noviter suscitatas, dominationi
" vestræ reverendæ aliisque quibuslibet hic vobiscum
" adunatis supplicant humiliter et devote, quatenus
" propter Dei et ecclesiæ sanctæ reverentiam et hono-
" rem, regni salvationem, populi quietem, fiat dicta-

¹ comes] hoc, C.

² horam] homagium, B. C.; horam, conj., C.

“rum tollerantia motionum, et quod in proximo par-
 “liamento inter dominum nostrum regem et ligios
 “suos amicabile concordia et unitas ordinetur per
 “tractatus pacificos in Christo quod melius videbitur
 “expedire; quo facto credunt omnes quod super aliis
 “articulis hic ostensis in dicto parlamento ordinatum
 “erit favente Domino remedium opportunum.” Ista
 responsione in scriptis coram comite recitata, praelatis
 et clero reddidit gratias speciales, et sic licentiati
 singuli recesserunt.

A.D. 1231
 June 23

The as-
 sembly
 breaks up.

*Processus contra dominos patrem et filium Dispensatores eodem anno in parlamento tento Londoniis in tres septimanas post festum Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ: contra duos Dispensatores proponebant comites domino regi articulos subsequentes*¹

The pro-
 ceedings
 against the
 Dispensers.
 July 15.

“In primis homagium, juramentum et ligiantia magis
 “existunt ratione coronæ quam personæ regis, et populus
 “plus coronæ quam personæ regiæ obligatur, et hoc patet
 “quia antequam status regni cuiquam descendatur nulla
 “ligiantia personam respicit aut requirit, unde quæritur
 “utrum rex reduci debeat ab errore per legis suavitatem
 “aut rigorem; per suavitatem nequaquam, quia iudices non
 “habentur nisi per regem, in quo casu, si voluntas regia
 “fuerit dissona rationi, nihil nisi error inde proveniet con-
 “firmatus; unde, si rex corrigere noluerit quod coronæ fuerit
 “injuriosum populoque dampnosum, adjudicatum est quod
 “propter conservationem juramenti per asperitatem illud
 “demum auferatur. Rex namque per juramentum regere
 “populum obligatur; similiter et ipsi regni proceres cum
 “ipso regere et sibi in regimine subvenire, ac etiam defectus
 “regis tenentur dirigere per eum præstitum juramentum.”²

The prin-
 ciple on
 which the
 king must
 be made to
 do justice.

¹ *subsequentes*] Here all corre-
 spondence between MS. B. and the
 two transcripts ceases. The writer
 of B. returns to the coronation of
 Edward I. as a starting point of a
 brief abstract, “de gestis Anglorum
 “regum Gallicorum et Scotorum
 “bellis et aliis infinitis miseriis,”
 R 1681.

which is continued down to the
 year 1360 in eight pages.

² The above is the Latin version
 of the article of the charge against
 the younger Hugh, given in French
 in the Act of Parliament which
 exiled the two Dispensers; Statutes
 of the Realm, i. 162. See above, p. 33.

A.D. 1321.
July.
Charges
against the
Dispensers.

The younger
Hugh has
introduced
his father
into the
king's
councils.

They pre-
vent the
king from
hearing
sound
council.

They have
removed the
authorised
counsellors.

Deinde sequuntur xii. articuli quorum verbositas est diffusa, sed totalis intentio in annullationem et consumptionem utriusque Dispensatoris, scilicet patris et filii, retorquet. Quorum servata sententia sermonum seriem juvante Domino breviabo ;¹ " Igitur coram rege

" contra patrem et filium supradictos proponunt comites et
" barones, quod, cum Hugo Dispensator filius in parlamento
" Eboraci nominatus et ad deservendum domino regi in officio
" camerarii existit assignatus, ubi etiam ordinatum fuit quod
" quædam certæ personæ et alii magni deberent circa regem per
" quædam anni certa tempora commorari, sine quorum scien-
" tia et consilio nulla negotia deberent ardua expediri, præ-
" dictus Hugo filius traxit ad se patrem suum, cum ibidem non
" existit concordatum, quod circa regem deberet aliquammodo
" conversari ; nunc autem attrahentes sibi regni ducatum et
" regiam potestatem in dedecus regis, coronæ detrimentum,
" destructionem populi et magnatum, fecerunt iniquitates
" quæ sequuntur, ymaginantes cor domini regis a terræ pari-
" bus elongare, ut ipsi soli inter se regnum valeant guber-
" nare,² in tantum quod non permittunt dominum regem
" hilarem vultum aut animum gratum majoribus nec minori-
" bus demonstrare, nec eis aliud respondere nisi pro libito
" eorundem ; sicque corda subditorum a suo domino, atque
" cor regis a magnatibus et populo subtraxerunt.

" Item iidem non permittunt majores terræ ad regis collo-
" quium propinquare ut sibi sanum consilium præbeant et
" fidele, nisi in præsentia et audientia eorum aut alterius
" eorundem, magnates et bonos consiliarios de domino suo
" ligio repellendo, attrahentes sibi supra regis personam potes-
" tatem regiam, magisterium et superioritatem, in exhereda-
" tionem et periculum regis, regni, pariter et coronæ.

" Item³ iidem, ad satisfaciendum suæ cupidini exheredando
" et destruendo populum et magnates, consiliarios et ministros
" bonos ex assensu communi deputatos amoverunt, et alios malos
" et falsos suæ opinionis induxerunt, videlicet magistrum Ro-

¹ The following Latin corre-
sponds with the French as printed
in the Rolls of Parliament, iii. 363 ;
Statutes of the Realm, i. 181.

² *gubernare*] Here follows, in
the French, the article given above ;

after which the indictment pro-
ceeds as in the text, without close
agreement.

³ *Item*] This article is not part
of the Act as passed in parliament.

- " bertum de Baldok secreti sigilli regis custodem, dominum
 " Willelmum de Cusance, alienigenam, privatum clericum
 " Hugonis filii, magnæ garderobæ custodem, et dominum
 " Willelmum de Clyff similiter ejusdem Hugonis clericum,
 " de consilio regis fecerunt jurari, quod de cancellaria non
 " permitteret exire ullum breve tangens vel respiciens patrem
 " et filium supradictos, alios quoscunque quorum vellent
 " negotia promoveri aut etiam impedire, in illa platea præ-
 " cipue ubi nulla debet justitia denegari.
- " Item¹ iidem constituere fecerunt vicecomites, escaetores,
 " constabularios castrorum et alios minus ydoneos in obsequiis
 " regis ministrandos, ac etiam justitiarios assignatos in legi-
 " bus terræ non sufficienter eruditos, videlicet Hugonem Dis-
 " pensatorem patrem, Radulfum Basseth, Radulfum Camoise,
 " Johannem Inge et alios alligatos sibi specialiter et juratos,
 " ad audiendum et terminandum causas et negotia tangentia
 " populum et magnates; per tales namque ministros suosque
 " falsos procuratores et fautores ac falsidicos juratores fecerunt
 " terræ procures judicare, puta, comitem Herfordiæ, Johannem
 " Giffardo de Brounfeld, Robertum Mohaut et alios nobiles
 " viros propter bonorum suorum cupidinem et terrarum.
- " Item² iidem falsissime et maliciose dominum regem cum
 " equis et armis fecerunt versus partes Gloucestræ tendere
 " et illic super bonos et fideles cum armatis equitibus, contra
 " formam magnæ cartæ et voluntatem seu considerationem
 " magnatorum, in gentis illius confusionem equitare.
- " Item ubi comes Herfordiæ et dominus Rogerus de Mor-
 " tuomari de Wygemore ad debellandum³ Thlewlyn Bren, qui
 " contra regem in Clammorgan insurrexit bellicose, ex præ-
 " cepto fuerant assignati, dum modo terræ fuerunt in manu
 " regis per mortem comitis Gloucestræ, dictusque Thlewelyn
 " prædictis dominis se reddidit ac gratiæ et regiæ voluntati; et
 " illi gratiam sibi promittentes ipsum tali conditione domino
 " regi tradiderunt, qui sub eadem forma eundem etiam tunc re-
 " cepit. Iidem pater et filius, potestatem sibi regiam attrahentes,
 " præfatum Thlewelyn ceperunt et usque Caerdiff perduxerunt,
 " postquam dictus Hugo de sua seisisus fuerat purpartia, usur-

A.D. 1321.
 July.
 Names of
 evil coun-
 sellors.

They have
 appointed
 corrupt
 judges.

They have
 involved
 the king in
 attacks on
 subjects.

The case of
 Llewelyn
 Bren.

¹ Item] See Statutes of the
 i. 182.

² Item] Statutes of the Realm, i.
 183.

³ debellandum] bellandum, C.

- AD 121.
July.
Judicial
murder of
Howe and
Brix.
- Item sibi jurisdictionem, ubi in tali casu per viam rationis nullam poterant optinere, ibidemque ipsum trahi, suspendi, decollari et in quatuor partes dividi statuerunt, in exheredationem regis et coronæ necnon et in dominorum vituperium prædictorum.
- The first
murder of
Aveney and
Dunoy.
- Item iidem male consuluerunt domino regi capere in manum suam terras et castella domini Hugonis Daudely filii, quem absque processu debito de terris suis exjudicaverunt, ut eas sibi postmodum potuissent acquisisse, ac etiam per suas falsas ymaginationes machinati sunt perquisisse terras domini Rogeri Damary, ut sic ad comitatum Gloucestriae, in exheredationem parium terræ, integre valuissent attigisse.
- The case of
the War-
wick wards-
ship.
- Item ubi dominus rex per suas patentes in parlamento Londoni concessit comiti de Warrewyk quod executores sui haberent terras usque ad plenum ætatem heredis sui, si ipsum morte contingerit præveniri, quam quidem concessionem post mortem comitis ad rogatum procerum terræ dominus rex in parlamento Lincolniae confirmavit, prædictus Hugo pater, stimulante¹ filio et procurante, induxit dominum regem illud factum sine causa, mortuo comite, revocare, et eidem Hugoni ad proprium proficuum terrarum tradere custodiam earundem, regis concessionem in parlamento factam annullando contra leges usitatas et omnimodam rationem.
- The trans-
action de-
cided with
successions
in the
shires.
- Item iidem non permittunt dominum regem nostrum capere fines rationabiles de paribus terræ et aliis feodum intrantibus hiis diebus, sicut solebat fieri temporibus jam transactis, sed propter cupidinem perquirendi hujusmodi terras, per sibi regalem potestatem usurpatam inducere fecerunt in talibus negotiis impedimenta non debita, imponentes tales terras esse forisfactas, sicut de domino Johanne de Moubray pro terris de Gower, et aliorum magnatum, in dedecus regis et contra leges terræ antiquitus usitatas.
- The trans-
action of
justice from
the king.
- Item² iidem non permittunt dominum regem audire demonstrationes sibi factas nec justitiam facere super hujusmodi demonstrationibus ipsum regem et alios magnates tangentibus, videlicet de terris quondam Templariorum, sicque duxerunt regem in negotiis se ipsos et suos alligatos concernentibus, quod justitia nisi per ipsorum potest fieri

¹ *stimulante*] simulante. C.

² *Item*] Statutes of the Realm, i. 184.

" voluntatem, in exheredationem et destructionem populi et magnatum. A.D. 1221.
July.

" Item episcoporum, abbatum et priorum, in forma debita electi, qui de jure domino regi presentari et ab ipso recipi debuissent, non permittuntur ad regis presentiam pervenire quousque cum Hugone filio finem fecerint sive pactum. Extortions from prelates.

" Item ad hoc, ubi Johannes de Lethale et alii fuerunt carcerali custodie mancipati, pro quadam transgressionem facta domine de Merk, ad dampnum ejusdem mille et c. marcarum, unde fuerunt convicti coram Roberto de Maddingle et sociis suis justitiariis assignatis ad audiendum et terminandum transgressionem prenotatam, predictus Hugo filius eduxit prefatum Johannem de carcere Colecestrie, ubi adjudicatus fuit immorari quousque prefata domina satisfecerit de dampnis supradictis, quem per finem levatum coegit sibi vendere terram suam, nulla satisfactione premissa prout parti laesae, contra leges regni multis temporibus usitatas. Case of John of Lethale and the lady of Merk.

" Hac quidem prava consilia et malefacta prenotata per examinationem prelatorum, comitum et baronum ac aliorum regni parium plurimorum, verificata sunt et notorie demonstrata; et ideo prelati, comites et barones ac communitas terrarum, supplicant domino regi, quod prefati pater et filius Dispensatores tanquam falsi et pessimi consilarii regis, exheredatores coronae, et populi destructores, exulent de regno Angliae, nunquam postea reversuri, et quod super hiis fiat unum statutum in presenti parlamento ad perpetuam rei memoriam et exemplum consiliorum perversorum, ne quis delinquere taliter audeat in futurum. These charges were examined and proved, and the peers pray for a statute.

" Quapropter nos pares terrarum, comites et barones, in presentia domini nostri regis consideramus quod supradicti domini Hugo pater et Hugo filius Dispensatores tanquam exheredatores coronae sint perpetuo exheredati, et quod exulent a regno Angliae nunquam reversuri, nisi ex assensu domini nostri regis et magnatum, et hoc in parlamento debite summonito, eisque damus portum Doveriae et non alibi ad transfretandum et exeundum a regno Angliae, citra festum Decollationis Sancti Johannis Baptistae proxime futurum illo die computato. Et si predicti Hugo et Hugo Dispensatores infra regnum Angliae moram trahant post diem eis datam ad exeundum, vel unquam redeant, nisi ut premittitur, ad eandem, tunc fiet de eis sicut de regis et regni notoriis inimicis. Their verdict for perpetual exile and forfeiture. The day fixed, August 20.

A.D. 1321.

Reflexions
on the mode
of proceed-
ing against
the Dis-
pensers.

Mira res! ecce qualiter membra a capite se dis-
jungunt quando fit consideratio per magnates in par-
liamento, regis assensu minime requisito; membra
namque judicantia volunt perdere judicatos, et caput
sicut judex in judicium non vocatus dampnatos vult
protegere de plenitudine regiae potestatis. Vae! quin
ibidem fuisset aliquis misericors mediator, qui scivisset
vel potuisset judicasse inter perdere et salvare, nec
non ad memoriam reduxisse illud dictum Mediatoris
Dei et hominum, "Nolo mortem peccatoris, sed ut
" magis convertatur et vivat;" sed hostis antiquus
iratos animos per invidiam et avaritiam tantum ex-
cæcavit et taliter inflammavit, quod ad mensuram et
misericordiam respicere non valebant.

Reclamatio patris et filii prædictorum.

Protest of
the Dis-
pensers
against the
award of
the parlia-
ment.

"ERRORS. Sapefati domini duo Dispensatores in processu
" præcedente assignaverunt errores continue subsequentes:
" Primo quod ad respondendum parte non vocata ad judicium
" processerunt, ex quo eis de jure non competit contra quem-
" piam recordare. Secundo quod convicti non sunt fore cul-
" pabiles supor sibi objectis articulis criminosis. Tertio quod
" de cunctis sibi oppositis nihil tangit feloniam aut prodi-
" tionem, sine quibus aut illorum altero nemo debet proscribi,
" nec etiam exulare. Quarto quod contra recordum domini
" nostri regis ad judicium processerunt, nam dominus noster
" rex recordatus est contra articulos prælibatos, quos sibi
" magis quam alicui alteri cognoscere competebat. Quinto
" quia facta fuit eorum consideratio absque clero, et nullum
" judicium in diversitate legum cadens absque assensu com-
" muni debeat terminari. Sexto quod armati in parlamenti
" tempore pacis, in domini nostri regis presentiam intraverunt.
" Ingressionis namque modus assidentium corda concussit,
" illisque juste judicandi abstulit voluntatem. Septimo quod
" omnes illi, per quos judicium exstitit ordinatum, fuerunt
" sibi capitales inimici, juxta illud 'inimici nostri sunt judi-
" 'ces', et hoc patet lucide per articulos præfatos. Octavo
" quod major pars eorundem per asperitatem sunt coacti illo-

rum fieri voluntatis. Nono quia dominus noster rex illorum
 " iudicio non consensit, eo quod contra tenorem magnæ cartæ
 " totaliter processerunt, quæ per statutum de Marleberge et
 " per ordinationes affirmatur, et vult quod nullus exulet aut
 " proscribatur nisi per iudicium parium suorum aut per regni
 " leges antiquitus usitatas; et excommunicati sunt quater in
 " anno qui contra prædictam cartam præsumpserint aliquid
 " attemptare; super quibus præfati domini pater et filius
 " Dispensatores supplicant domino regi, quodd, desicut per
 " jus coronæ suæ et sacramentum præstitum tenetur omnes
 " per justitiam regere et fovere, necnon omnes corrigere in-
 " iurias et errores, recordum et processum considerationis
 " præfate coram se ipso faciat evocari diligenter et fideliter
 " examinari; et si in prædictis recordo et processu errores
 " reperiri fuerint aliquales, placeat sibi ulterius facere gra-
 " tiose quod jus et ratio exigunt et requirunt. Et sæpediti
 " pater et filius erunt parati querelis omnium respondere.
 " Præterea animadvertere velit regia celsitudo, quod comes
 " Herfordiæ et alii, qui fuerunt auctores prædictorum articu-
 " lorum et processuum principales, non deberent in causa pro-
 " pria locum partis et iudicis optinere, nisi hoc vellet juri
 " canonico et civili ac etiam regni legibus obviare."

A.D. 1321.
 Nine articles
 of error in
 the judg-
 ment.

They apply
 for a fresh
 examination
 of the case,
 and offer to
 answer all
 complaints.

Per religiosos et procuratores religiosorum.

" Patres et domini reverendi, videtur religiosis et procurato-
 " ribus religiosorum virorum, ad instans vestrum consilium¹
 " convocatorum, quod exhibita, supposita veritate eorundem,
 " continent in se errores; et si revocatio eorundem, juxta a
 " Deo vobis datam discretionem et facti experientiam quam geri-
 " tis, operari possit pacem finalem vel viam paci vicinam, sup-
 " plicant devote quatenus placeat vobis effectualiter instare erga
 " dominum nostrum et procures regni sui, ut fiat revocatio
 " illorum per illos per quos fieri debet, locis et temporibus
 " ad hoc opportunis, et erunt per Dei gratiam ad omnia quæ
 " ad pacem pertinent peragenda prompti, et vobis obedientes;

December.
 Declaration
 of the
 religious
 against the
 award, ad-
 dressed to
 the bishops.

¹ This is the provincial council
 summoned for December 1, 1321;
 Adam of Murimuth, who repre-
 sented the bishop of Hereford on

the occasion, places the declaration
 on the 10th. See A. Murim. Chr.,
 p. 35; Wilkins, Concilia, ii. 507-
 510; Fœdera, ii. 470.

A.D. 1221.
December.

The pardon
of the pur-
suers of the
Despensers,
granted in
the July
parliament.

“ de quibus protestantur expresse, salvo semper statu ecclesiarum
“ et animarum salute.”

Item in eodem parlamento publicata per comites
quæ sequuntur:¹—“ Cum nuper plures regni proceres im-
“ putassent dominis Hugoni patri et Hugoni filio Dispensato-
“ ribus multas perversitates per ipsos factas contra statum
“ regis et coronæ, exheredationem magnatum, et populi de-
“ structionem, et ad persequendum dicta malefacta et per
“ vim convincendum, quod per processum legis non potuit
“ comprehendi, prædicti comites inter se scripto juramento et
“ alio modo fuissent colligati, domini nostri regis licentia
“ non petita, ac deinde ad persequendum prædictos patrem
“ et filium et alligatos suos et sibi adhaerentes, præfati mag-
“ nates et alii ejusdem opinionis cum vexillis regis et suis
“ propriis explicatis equitassent, cepissent et occupassent castra,
“ villas, maneria, tenementa, bona et catalla similiter cepissent,
“ et incarcerassent homines de ligiantia regis et aliorum, de
“ quibus quosdam interfecissent et alios per redemptiones dimi-
“ sissent, et alia plura fecissent in destructionem prædictorum
“ Hugonis et Hugonis et amicorum suorum in Anglia, Wallia,
“ et Marchia, quorum quedam possunt dici transgressionibus, et
“ quedam felonias, ac propter hoc prædicti magnates domino
“ nostro regi supplicassent, quod de cunctis colligationibus,
“ transgressionibus et felonias, pro bono pacis, quiete populi, et
“ rancoris mitigatione, necnon et procerum cordium attractione,
“ absoluti essent in ipsum et quieti, concordatum est in eodem
“ parlamento, quod nulli eorum, cujuscunque status fuerint,
“ propter transgressionibus juramento scripto vel alio modo fac-
“ tas, equitationes cum vexillis regis et aliis explicatis, aut
“ propter captiones, occupationes, detentiones castrorum, villa-
“ rum, maneriorum, et aliarum rerum, vel etiam propter incar-
“ cerationes, redemptiones, homicidia, deprædationes, felonias
“ vel aliquas alias actiones quæ vocari possunt transgressionibus,
“ contra pacem domini nostri regis in persecutione prædicta
“ factas, a primo die Martii proxime præterito usque ad diem
“ Mercurii proxime post festum Assumptionis proxime se-
“ quentis, sint appellati, calumpniati, capti, incarcerati, aut
“ aliquammodo aggravati, nec in curia regis coram ipso aut

¹ This is the Latin translation of
the French text of the pardon of
the prosecutors of the Despensers,
which is incorporated in the act by

which it was repealed at the parlia-
ment of York in 1322; Statutes of
the Realm, i. 185, 186.

" alibi ad iudicium vocati; sed quod ab omni vexatione, trans-
 " gressione et calumpnia sint quieti; exceptis quod prædicti
 " Hugo et Hugo ab omni actione et ratione recuperandi bona
 " sua vel catalla prænotata, aut dampnorum restitutionem,
 " in perpetuum sint exclusi; et quod omnes qui fuerunt in
 " eadem prosecutione facienda, tam majores quam minores,
 " præfatis dominis adhaerentes, habeant cartas generales sub
 " sigillo magno regis in forma superius declarata."

A.D. 1321.
 July.

Ecce! nunc qualiter legum conditores facti sunt
 legum corruptores. Comes namque Lancastriæ in par-
 liamento Eboraci induxit dominum regem ad pardo-
 nandum sectam pacis suæ versus ipsum et alios male-
 factores suos ad numerum circiter mille personarum,
 et tamen idem comes prius juraverat super quibusdam
 ordinationibus tenendis ne dominus rex in casibus
 emergentibus de morte ulli remitteret sectam pacis.
 Væ! quod talis error tantos nobiles excæcavit; alios, ut
 dicunt, pro suis excessibus cruciant et condemnant,
 se ipsos et suos complices delictis maximis irretitos,
 dum putant absolvere, inficiunt et involvunt, prout
 post paulo superius, per suas recognitiones in parlia-
 mento factas, quando de domino nostro rege de suis
 supra modum demeritis pardonationis et acquietationis
 beneficium petierunt.

Inconsis-
 tency of the
 ruling poli-
 ticians.

Item, eodem anno, dominus Bartholomæus de Badeles-
 mere per suos castellum de Ledys in Cantia contra
 dominum nostrum regem tenuit vi et armis, sed ante
 Natale Domini rex illam cepit, xiii. armigeros decol-
 lari jussit, militibus et dominabus ibidem repertis car-
 cerali custodiæ mancipatis. Item dominus Johannes
 de Hothome,¹ episcopus Eliensis, attachiatus, Londonias
 vocatur et super quibusdam sibi objectis arguitur et
 multatur. Item infra Natale Domini Scoti iterato
 usque ad aquam de Tese ferro et flamma circumqua-
 que patrias consumpserunt. Item circa Carnisprivium,
 revocatis dominis patre et filio Dispensatoribus per

The king
 takes Leeds
 castle.

The bishop
 of Ely fined.

Scottish
 invasion.

¹ John of Hotham, bishop of Ely; chancellor from June 1318 to Janu-
 ary 1320.

A.D. 1322.
The king
marches to
the north,
and takes
the Mort-
imers.

John Gif-
ford, after
ravaging
Gloucester
and Bridge-
north, flies
to the earl
of Lancaster
at Pontfret.

They be-
siege Tick-
hill.

They march
to Burton-
on-Trent,
which they
occupy,
March 10.

dominum regem et in statum pristinum restitutus, versus boriam iter arripuit cum eisdem et copiosa multitudine armatorum. Prius tamen apud Salopiam cepit duos dominos de Mortuomari avunculum et nepotem, et dominum Hugonem Daudeleye seniore, cum multis aliis quos certae custodiæ commendavit, eo quod urbes et villas quasdam in marchia ceperunt, milites et alios regis ligios et ministros proflixerunt, et alia facinora fecerunt, quousque rex ex insperato supervenit et illorum cuneos disgregavit. Postea dominus Johannes Gyffarde cum non modica multitudine armatorum ingressus est villam et castrum domini regis Gloucestriae, et contra ipsius pacem et voluntatem occupaverunt, ibidemque et apud villam regis de Briggenorth prædationes, incendia, homicidia, et alia facinora perpetrarunt; sed de adventu regis præmuniti, timore perterriti, prædictas terras, villas et castrum relinquentes, versus comitem Lancastriæ apud Pontemfractum perhendinantem, tanquam ad principale refugium accesserunt; et exinde ducentes secum machinas, usque ad castrum regis de Tykhille processerunt, et illud per tres septimanas obsederunt insultantes, continue debellando, ibique quosdam regis homines peremerunt; nec sufficebant illis malefacta prælibata, quin Thomas comes Lancastriæ, comes Herfordiæ, domini de Moubray et Clifforde, et multi alii barones et baneretti, cum multitudine magna peditum et aliorum hominum armatorum, ad tantam sunt dementiam devoluti, quod apud Birtone super Trentam, cum vexillis explicatis domino suo regi obviantes, sibi et suis per tres dies continuos vi et armis aquæ transitum negaverunt; ubi in secunda hebdomada Quadragessimæ, die Mercurii proximo ante festum Sancti Gregorii papæ, vi^{to} idus Martii, anno regni regis Edwardi xv^o, Incarnationis Dominicæ millesimo ccc^oxxi^o, c littera Dominicali, in multitudine gravi villam de Birtone et pontem occupantes, quosdam homines occide-

runt. Igitur perpendens dominus rex comites suos in aciebus dispositis ad pugnam hostiliter preparari, configere statuit cum eisdem, et, ductus ad quoddam vadum, aquam transiit versus illos, ac suis ad conflictum dispositis vexillum voluit explicuisse, statimque dominus Hugo Dispensator filius de dextrario desiluit, et superius extendens brachia super nivem, quam tunc terre superficiem cooperuit, coram rege se prostravit, dicens, "Parce, domine, parce populo tuo, et propter Dei misericordiam, non potentia sed regis clementia dirigat actus vestros; domine mi rex, quos niteris debellare regni nobiles et ligii tui sunt, non sano ducti consilio sed fervore juvenili stimulante, manus ad fortia et indebita extenderunt, et si vexillum tuum, domine mi rex, fuerit explicatum, universalis guerra totam terram undique perturbabit, quam tuis temporibus vix poteris temporare.¹ Prosequatur tamen regia celsitudo quod incepit, ut, si forte videant fortunam sibi contrariam, poeniteant et de inceptis juvante Domino resipiscant." Sed comites, regis aditum intuentes, terrore perterriti et, imposita flamma quibusdam domibus villæ de Birtone, in fumo fugientes versus Pontemfractum iter arripiunt festinanter. Cognita dispersione comitum atque fuga, rex castrum comitis de Tuttebiry cepit, ubi inventus fuit dominus Rogerus Damary et alii vulnerati. Exinde prosecutus est dominus rex comites fugientes, et illi, regis adventum audientes, de Pontefracto usque Pontemburgi, patrias spoliantes et alia facinora facientes, octavo die postquam confutati de Birtone recesserunt, propere pervenerunt; ubi quidam miles Borialium, Andreas de Harcla, bellicosus et strenuus, virtute commissionis regiae sibi factæ ad resistendum et refræmandum regi rebellantes, ducens secum armatos et

A.D. 1292.
March 16.
The king crosses the Trent, but is persuaded by the younger Despencer not to unfurl his standard.

The lords fly to Pontefract.

Capture of Tutbury.

The lords at Boroughbridge.

¹ *temporare*] *temperabitur*, C.

A.D. 1322.
March 18.
Northward
flight of the
lords.

pedites in illis partibus adunatos, fugientibus obviavit, et pontis transitum impedivit. Quo autem prædicti comites divertisse voluerunt, a pluribus ignoratur; opinio tamen communis vulgi fuit quod disponebant usque Scotiam properasse. Et dedignantes comites horum paucitatem, super pontem comes Herfordiæ et alii cum eisdem congressi sunt; qui etiam ibidem occubuit; duo milites et comitis vexillarius confligentes vitam pariter finierunt. Rogerus de Clifford et plures alii vulnerati a certamine declinabant.

Reflections
on the crisis.

Ecce qualiter peccata nostra nobis multiplicant dies malos, juxta quod scribitur in Apocalipsi: "Et exiit Rev. vi. 4.
" equus rufus et qui sedebat super eum, datum est ei
" ut sumeret pacem de terra et ut invicem se in-
" terficiant." Sic in præsentia, quia Anglici mutuo jam confidunt, et quia dies mali modo sunt, futuros adhuc deteriores formidamus, sicut beatus Gregorius prædico spiritu Maximiano Salonitano episcopo scribit, dicens; "Affligor in hiis quæ jam in vobis patior, et
" vehementer conturbor ubique; jam video quia nobis
" peccata nostra respondeant, ut, foris agentibus et
" intus a perversis judicibus conturbemur. Sed nolite
" de talibus contristari; quia qui post nos vixerint
" deteriora tempora videbunt, ita ut in comparatione
" sui temporis felices dies nos æstimant habuisse."

Capture of
the earl of
Lancaster.

Interitu cognito comitis Herfordiæ, Thomas comes Lancastriæ usque in crastinum pacem petiit, atque treugam; quem nocte sequente tota fere retinentia sua respuit et reliquit. Et in crastino mane dominus Simon Warde vicecomes Eboraci, cum cecis armatis, venit illuc properanter, et continuo comes Lancastriæ, Johannes Moubray, Rogerus de Clifford, et multi alii capti et usque Eboracum sunt perducti; et exinde usque Pontemfractum ad regis imperium sunt adducti

¹ habuisse] S. Gregorii Magni, *Epistolæ*, lib. x., ep. 36, Opp. ii. 1066.

Dominica in medio Quadragesimæ, quæ fuit dies Sancti Benedicti; et in crastino suis aspectibus præsentati.

A.D. 1222.
March 21

Igitur die Lunæ proxima ante festum Annuntiationis beatæ Mariæ Virginis, apud Pontemfractum, in castro, domino regi pro tribunali sedente, comitibus Cantie, Richmundiæ, Pennebrok, Warenniæ et Surriæ, Arundellæ, Ascetle et Anegos, ac etiam baronibus, baretis et aliis regni magnatibus assidentibus, Thoma comite Lancastriæ in iudicium vocato, astante, recordatum¹ est quod idem Thomas contra fidelitatem, homagium et ligantiam suam, venit hostiliter cum vexillis explicatis apud Birtone super Trentam, simul cum Humfrido de Boun comite Herfordiæ, cum toto processu, sicut superius est expressum. Quæ proditioes, homicidia, combustiones, deprædationes, felonias, et debellationes hostiles, cum equis et armis, vexillis explicatis, notoria sunt comitibus, baronibus, et aliis magnatibus, cum omni populo manifesta. Et ideo consideratum fuit, quod idem Thomas comes pro proditioibus trahatur, pro homicidiis, prædationibus et felonias, suspendatur, pro prædicta fuga decapitetur. Sed tandem dominus rex ob reverentiam parentelæ excellentis et nobilis de qua idem Thomas existit procreatus, scilicet filius avunculi sui Edmundi, remisit prædicto comiti de regia gratia speciali executionem duarum poenarum sibi adjudicatarum, videlicet quod non trahatur neque suspendatur; sed quod executio tantummodo fiat super ipsum Thomam quod decapitetur. Et hoc facto, inter monachos ejusdem villæ traditur sepulture.

March 22.
Record of the trial and condemnation of the earl of Lancaster.

He is beheaded and buried at Pontefract.

Proth dolor! quod tantus vir de talibus debeat diffamari, aut hujusmodi operibus consentire. Et statim domini Warinus de Insula, Willelmus Thouchett, Thomas Mauduct, Henricus de Bradeburne, Willelmus filius Willelmi, et Willelmus Cheny, per eodem recordum et

Other execution.

¹ An abstract of the formal record printed in the *Federa*, ii. 478.

A.D. 1322.
March.
Further ex-
ecutions at
York and
Gloucester.

processum ibidem trahuntur et suspenduntur.¹ Item in crastino, apud Eboracum, domini Johannes de Moubray, Rogerus de Clifford, et Gocelinus Deyville, per recordum et processum prædictos trahuntur et cum cathenis ferreis suspenduntur. Item apud Gloucestriam dominus Johannes Giffarde, quia contra fidelitatem, homagium et ligiantiam suam, per proditionem cepit villam et castrum domini regis Gloucestriæ, nec non villam de Briggenorth succendit et pontem fregit, ibique fecit prædationes, homicidium, et felonias, et exinde patrias spoliando vi et armis usque castrum domini regis de Tykhille hostiliter processit, quod cum aliis pluribus obsedit, et postea apud Birtone et Pontemburgi domino regi restitit, et cum suis ligiis, vexillis explicatis, dimicavit, per regis recordum, ut prædicitur, una cum domino Rogero Elmorigge trahitur et suspenditur, exigentibus demeritis supradictis. Qui vero voluerit totum recordum et processum, contra prædictos dominos factum et pronuntiatum, legere vel audire, in alio libro inter incidentia chronicorum totaliter poterit invenire, sicut in iudicio superius est ostensum; in quo nomina dominorum et aliorum militum, qui propter præfatam rebellionem capiebantur, reperiet, et loca in quibus mortis supplicium sunt perpassi. Ibidemque continetur credentia cujusdam Johannis de Denome² infra prædictum processum scripta, ex parte prædictorum comitum Roberto de Bruys et Scotis exponenda, super confederatione et alligatione facienda cum eisdem. Istud ultimum non affirmo, sed an sit verum nec ne nescio. Deus novit.

Incriminating evidence.

Anno Domini millesimo ccc^oxx^oii^o, in quindena Paschæ rex Edwardus apud Eboracum tenuit parlia-

¹ *suspenduntur*] See Ann. de Melsa, ii. 342, 343; and the record in the Fœdera, ii. 478, 479.

² *Johannis de Denome*] Johan de Denum, Fœd. ii. 479; Johan de

Denom, Trokelowe, p. 118: he was a person employed by the king himself in negotiation with the Scots; see Fœd. ii. 631.

mentum, in quo de militibus qui fuerunt de querela comitis erat taliter ordinatum: videlicet, quibusdam dominus rex de sua gratia quod deliquerant condonavit; alii per redemptiones dimittuntur, et plerique perpetuis carceribus committuntur, juxta transgressionis quantitatem; quidam ad tempus et quidam suo perpetuo moraturi: et nonnulli sunt per diversa mortis genera condemnati, quorum nomina, et loca in quibus mortui sunt, in prædicto processu contra præfatum comitem factum, et in eodem parlamento recitatum, possunt plenius apparere. Similiter dominus rex ibidem dominos Hugonem patrem Wintonie, et Andream, de Harcla Karleolensem, fecit comites et nominavit. Item tractabatur ibidem de regis profectione versus Scotiam: et circa festum Sancti Jacobi proxime sequens, cum exercitu magno Scotiam est ingressus: Berewycum obsedit, sed nihil proficiens, non multum post in Angliam est reversus. Nec multum post festum Sancti Michaelis, Robertus de Bruys cum exercitu non medico infra regnum Angliæ Anglicos est prosecutus, ita festinanter et cante quod fere in monasterio de Bella-landa dominum regem, non circumspectum sed improvisum, cepisset, si non ipsum gratiose Christi pietas respexisset. super excelsum namque montem super monasterio de Bella-landa, ubi fuit dispositus exercitus Anglicanus, Scoti inter arbusta per medium nemoris ascenderunt, et in primo congressu Anglici coram hostibus sunt dispersi; et captis ibidem comite Richmundiæ et nonnullis aliis, pluribus etiam interfectis, rex de Bella-landa velociter discessit, et die Veneris proxima ante festum Sancti Lucæ Evangelistæ cum germano suo comite Cantie, Hugone Dispensatore filio, Johanne de Croyewelle, et Johanne de Ros, sibi secretariis et familiaribus, usque Bridelyngton mane venit: ibidemque pernoctavit; et in crastino versus Brustewyk iter arripuit festinanter: quem dominus Robertus de Scarde-

AD 1222

Agro

Parliamentum

et 1224

Parliamentum

et 1224

Parliamentum

et 1224

et 1224

et 1224

Expositio

et 1224

Scotia

et 1224

Nem

et 1224

et 1224

et 1224

Hs 420

et 1224

et 1224

Hs 420

et 1224

et 1224

A.D. 1322.
October.

The trea-
sures of
Bridlington
removed to
Goxhill in
Lincoln-
shire.

Robert
Bruce at
Malton.

The canons
of Bridling-
ton treat
with the
Scots.

The Scots
retire, Oc-
tober 22.

burgh,¹ prior de Bridlington, in itinerando conduxit. Tantusque timor omnem populum terræ invasit, ut quilibet quo tutius fugeret ordinavit; munimentis igitur monasterii nostri de Bridlington, calicibus, vestimentis, capis serieis, vera cruce, reliquiis et aliis rebus pretiosis, in carentis et bigis dispositis, uno tandem calice in monasterio dimisso, dominus prior prædictus cum conventu octo tantummodo canonicis domi residentibus, usque ecclesiam nostram de Gousle in diocesi Lincolnia trans Humbriam est profectus. Ibique per quindenam integram morabantur. Interim Robertus de Bruys rex Scotiae apud Malton morabatur,² Scotis patrias spoliantibus et incenditibus, animalia grossa de Kyl-lome, Ruddestane et adjacentis patriæ secum abducen-
tibus, captivosque plurimos ceperunt. Nos itaque, tanto metu percussi, ex assensu fratrum domi commo-
rantium, misimus dominum Robertum de Bayntone concanonicum nostrum usque Maltone ad tractandum cum Scotis, quia parentes habuit inter eos, ut monasterio et maneriis nostris quoad combustionem parcerent in eventu; et, hoc facto, ix. Scotos cum xviii. equis ad monasterium secum duxit, qui victualia, scilicet panem, vinum et cerevisiam,³ quam capere volebant in suis vasis propriis secum suis ducibus detulerunt; et sic undique Scoti ferro et flamma patriam consumentes, cum præda non modica die Veneris proximo post festum Sancti Lucae Evangelistæ versus partes proprias sunt reversi. Neo fuit tunc temporis qui tantis hostium incursionibus resistere poterat, vel audebat; exigentibus culpis nostris; abstulit namque Dominus illis diebus Anglorum corda, Qui novit ad tempus filios flagellare,

¹ Robert of Scarborough, the fourteenth prior of Bridlington, in Burton's list, ruled from 1321 to 1342: Mon. Ebor. p. 249; Mon. Angl. vi. 284.

² morabatur] Cf. Ann. de Melsa. ii. 346.

³ cerevisiam] certam, C. om. H.; perhaps caruam.

cum genti vilissimæ tradidit Anglicos cruciandos, juxta quod, dicit Huntingdoniensis,¹ prædixit Anglicis quidam vir Dei, quod gens Scotorum quos vilissimos habebant eis ad extremam confusionem dominaretur. Qualis utique major confusio potuit Anglicis evenisse, quam regem suum in suo regno per Scotos de loco ad locum perpendere fugatum, populum huc et illuc dispersum, tanquam gregem sine pastore coram hostibus corruentem? Et quia timebamus nobis de periculo sententiæ, eo quod communicavimus cum Scotis, eis victualia ministrando, in proxima visitatione domini nostri diocesani, in capitulo nostro de Bridelyngton absolutionis beneficium petivimus et habuimus ab eodem; et ex habundanti quandam litteram in hæc verba:

A.D. 1282.
Fulfillment
of a prophecy.

Danger of
the canons
of Bridlington
who had
negotiated
with the
Scots.

“ Willelmus, permissione divina Eboracensis archiepiscopus,
“ Angliæ primas, dilecto filio Roberto de Scardeburghe, priori
“ monasterii de Bridelyngtone nostræ diocesis, salutem, gratiam
“ et benedictionem. Ad impendendum in forma juris
“ beneficium absolutionis quibuscunque canonicis domus vestrae,
“ qui in sententiis excommunicationis majoris vel minoris,
“ eo quod cum Scotis excommunicatis communicaverunt, incurrisse
“ se formidant, edendo et bibendo cum eisdem, seu alio
“ genere communionis, non tamen in eorum auxilium vel favorem,
“ quatenus potestas nostra ad hoc se extendit, vobis vices
“ nostras committimus cum cohercionis canonice potestate.
“ Valete. Datum apud Thorpe prope Eboracum, xv^o Decembris,
“ anno gratiæ millesimo ccc^oxx^oii^o, et pontificatus nostri sexto.”

The arch-
bishop authorises the
prior to deal
with them.
Dec. 15.

Enumeratis igitur quibusdam cladibus publicis et invasionibus manifestis, plures omittimus quas solummodo scientia capit. Quia totiens hostes versuti fines Angliæ boriales invaserunt, prout accepimus, fama veridica referente, quod plures illarum partium coloni, qui in prædiis et possessionibus ovium et armentorum uberius habundabant, jam compelluntur per patrias mendicare. Communis itaque præsumptio fuit et vulgariter dicebatur, quod hostes partes vicinas Eboraci non fuissent ausi hostiliter invasisse nisi cum quibusdam Anglicis conspirassent; et super hoc Andreas

Great distress in the north.

Suspicion of complicity with the Scots.

¹ Hen. Hunt. lib. vi. § 1; ed. Arnold, p. 174.

A.D. 1323.
Suspicious
conduct of
Harcla.

de Harcla comes Karleolensis vituperium non vitavit. Nam dum modo Scoti cum Anglicis in vertice collis juxta Bellam-landam, ut prædicitur, conflixerunt, idem Andreas cum viginti milibus equitum et peditum apud Pontemburgi eventum rei, patrias spolians, exspectavit, parvipendens regis infortunium, cum non multum defuit quin insanabilem miseriam et sempiternum dedecus incurrisset. Item idem Andreas composuit et tractavit cum Roberto de Bruys rege Scotiæ super quibusdam articulis juri regis Angliæ contrariis, prout post in indenturis super hoc inter ipsos factis, quorum copia in alio libro scribitur inter Incidentia Chronicorum;¹ et quia sermonum explicatio fit sæpius in eisdem effectum articulorum breviter intimabo; unde

Alleged ne-
gotiation of
Harcla with
the Scots.

primus articulus sic habebat: "Quoniam habitatores utrius-
" que regionis, Angliæ scilicet et Scotiæ, mutuo conversantes
" opulenter et strenue tunc degebant, dummodo per regem suæ
" nationis ac leges et consuetudines patrias utrumque regnum
" ab altero per se separatim regebatur, eadem igitur con-
" suetudo amodo conservetur; et quod omnes hujusmodi con-
" cordiæ sectatores diligentiam adhibeant, cum omni consilio
" et auxilio, vigilantem, ut rex Scotiæ regnum suum integre,
" libere, et pacifice, sibi et heredibus suis teneat in futurum.
" Nolentes autem concordiam huic consentire, tanquam pacis, et
" quietis populi perturbatores, et utriusque regni hostes notorios,
" disperdantur. Volentibus ergo se ipsos obligare et conven-
" tioni hujusmodi consentire, fatetur præfatus rex Scotiæ se
" velle affirmare et assecurare quod erit eis in auxilium, con-
" silium, et defensionem, in omnibus et singulis quæ possent
" provenire utriusque regni habitatoribus, ad commune regni
" proficuum et honorem, juxta assertionem et arbitrium xii.
" personarum quarum vi. per regem Scotiæ et vi. per dictum
" comitem eligentur, ad ordinandum et terminandum omnia
" quæ prædictorum regnorum tangunt commodum et quietem.
" Item de omnibus illis qui hujusmodi concordiam esse voluerint
" assertores habebit præfatus rex Scotiæ securitatem qualem
" prædicti ordinabunt. Qui vero ad illam securitatem facien-

¹ The formal record of Harcla's condemnation is given in the Parliamentary Writs, II. ii. 262; Fœ-

dera, ii. 509. With the following document compare Annals of Lanercost, pp. 248, 249.

" dam noluerit assentire, omnes ejusdem conventionis assertores, A.D. 1222.
 " fautores, et valitores una cum praedicto rege sic contrari- Alleged ne-
 " antem confundere non omittent. Item si dominus rex Angliae gotiation of
 " infra annum proxime sequentem hujusmodi pacto voluerit con- Harria with
 " sentire, videlicet quod praefatus rex Scotiae habeat et teneat the Scots.
 " sibi et heredibus suis libere et separaliter, ut praedicatur,
 " regnum suum; idem rex Scotiae faciet construere quoddam
 " coenobium infra regnum Scotiae annui redditus quingentarum
 " marcarum sterlingorum pro animabus omnium in praedictis
 " praeliis occisorum; ad haec solvet regi Angliae, infra x.
 " annos proximos subsequentes, quadraginta milia marcarum,
 " videlicet quatuor milia marcarum singulis annis sterlingo-
 " rum; habebit etiam idem rex Angliae maritadium heredis
 " masculi regis Scotiae supradicti in suo sanguine maritandi,
 " si visum fuerit personis xii. praenotatis, quod utriusque populi
 " regni poterit expedire." Ista de indenturis.

Praeterea idem Andreas scripsit majori et communi- His in-
 tati villae Novi Castri, supplicans et exhortans quod trigues at
 deberent conditionibus consentire. Copia litterae con- Newcastle
 tinentis eandem materiam scribitur inter incidentia
 Chroniconum.

Nec multum post quidam in armis strenuus, An- He is
 tonius de Luscy, banerettus, considerans exhereda- arrested by
 tionem regis, et regni subversionem, ex praefatis con- Antony de
 ditionibus posse miserabiliter provenire, praedictum Luscy.
 comitem ex mandato regis cepit et certae custodiae
 mancipavit, quousque regiam consuleret majestatem.
 Verum¹ regis archano sibi patefacto, saepefatus comes He is de-
 accinctus gladio et calcaribus calciatus, coram judici- graded and
 bus assistitur tribunali, ubi propter prodicionem executed.
 spoliatus est cingulo militari, calcaribusque de talis
 abscisis cum securi, honore comitis est privatus, postea
 trahitur, suspenditur, decollatur et membratim ultimo
 dividitur, cujus partes in locis variis suspenduntur.
 Ecce! quem cupiditas et superbia exaltavit, et praetulit
 supra modum, miserabiliter cadere compulit in
 profundum, sicut lucide praedicatur in versibus vati-

¹ Verum] vestri, MSS.

A.D. 1223. cinalibus de gestis ejusdem comitis apud Pontemburgi, ubi de comitibus triumphavit. In isto siquidem Andrea per ipsius insipientiam probitates plurimæ perierunt. Nam ante illa tempora pluries cum Scotis feliciter dimicavit.

Negotiations for a perpetual peace.

Anno Domini millesimo CCC^oXX^oIII^o, instigante et procurante domino Henrico de Suly, apud Novum castrum fuit quidam tractatus¹ de scientia regum Angliæ et Scotiæ inter comitem de Penbroke, Hugonem Dispensatorem filium, magistrum Robertum de Baldok archidiaconum Mydelsexyæ, dominum Willelmum Herle militem, Willelmum de Eyremyn canonicum ecclesiæ beati Petri Eboracensis, et Galfridum le Scrope, ex parte regis Angliæ, et Willelmum episcopum Sancti Andree, Thomam Randolf comitem de Murefe, Johannem de Mentest, et Robertum de Lowether milites, magistrum Walterum de Twynham clericum, nuntios regis Scotiæ ex altera; super pace perpetua inter regna Angliæ et Scotiæ reformanda; sed quia videbatur eis, multis et variis rationibus hinc inde propositis, quod tam arduum et onerosum negotium sine majori consilio et deliberatione non potuit debite consummari, ex assensu partium prædictarum capta est treuga xiii. annorum proxime subsequentium, sub spe quod interim pax perpetua inter regna prælibata poterit ordinari. Et quia treuga diversas inter se continet rationes, ipsius copia in alio libro ponitur inter incidentia chronicorum.

A truce for thirteen years concluded.

A.D. 1224. Quarrel with France.

Anno Domini M^oCCC^oXX^oIII^o orta est discordia inter reges Angliæ et Franciæ pro homagio ducatus Wasconiae, quod quia rex Angliæ distulit facere, sicut fieri consuevit, rex Franciæ non modicam partem Wasconiae invasit, diversas villas et civitates ejusdem in regis

¹ The text of this truce, of which the above is a portion, is given by Blauforde, ed. Riley, pp. 133, sq.;

ed. Hearne, pp. 70, sq.; and in French in the *Fœdera*, ii. 521.

Angliæ præjudicium occupavit; unde, ad mitigandum regis Franciæ animum, ex assensu regis et procerum Angliæ, Isabella regina Angliæ circa Carnisprivium transfretavit, et adivit regem Franciæ fratrem suum, pro reformatione pacis inter reges Angliæ et Franciæ super terris, ut prædicitur, occupatis. Item eodem anno quidam frater Johannes Coby ordinis Prædicatorum, prior in conventu de Mesto¹ in provincia Provincie, rogatus per meliores homines de Mesto, assumptis secum quibusdam fratribus et multis aliis, adivit domum Gilberti de Corno defuncti, in qua per viii. dies integros a die defunctionis suæ quædam vox audita fuit per multos homines de Mesto, quæ quidem vox respondit fratri ad interrogata valde miserabiliter et dixit, quod fuit spiritus bonus, ut post de spiritu in alio libro inter incidentia chronicorum.

A.D. 1258.
Queen Isabella
went to
France.

A wonderful
quest in
Provence.

Anno Domini millesimo ccc^oxxv^{to} missi sunt per dominum regem et magnates terræ ad Wasconiam, in protectionem et defensionem ejusdem, Edmundus comes Cantie germanus regis, et dominus Johannes comes Warenniæ, cum multis equitibus et armatis; sed valde modicum profuerunt. Et propter hoc habito tractatu cum proceribus regni, misit rex primogenitum suum Edwardum ad partes transmarinas, ut ipse et mater sua præmissa cum avunculo suo rege Franciæ tractarent super pacificatione inquietationis supradictæ. Regina vero cum primogenito suo moram prolixiorem in illis partibus trahens, quam dominus suus rex Angliæ sibi dederat in mandatis, timuit sibi de indignatione regis, et propter hoc sibi subsidium adinvenit, et tantum egit erga comitem Hanoniæ quod contraxerunt super matrimonio primogeniti sui Edwardi, tunc secum ibidem existentis, cum filia comitis Philippa, ut in sequentibus apparebit. Adhæsit ibidem regiæ dominus Rogerus de Mortuomari nepos, qui de Turri

A.D. 1258.
The earls of
Kent and
Warrene go
to France.

The young
Edward
sent.

He is con-
tracted to
Philippa of
Hainault.

¹ Mesto] No such name occurs among the Dominican houses of Provence, as given in Echard and Quesif, Ser. Ord. Dom. vol. i. p. xiii.

A.D. 1325. **Roger Mortimer.** Londoniæ pro carcere sibi deputata latenter exiit et evasit.

A.D. 1326. **The queen and her son land near Harwich, Sept. 24.** Anno Domini millesimo CCC^oXX^oVI^o, octavo kalendas Octobris, Isabella regina Angliæ, cum filio suo primogenito Edwardo, apud Herewyche in Southfolek applicuit, ducens secum dominum Rogerum de Mortuomari nepotem, Edmundum comitem Cantiae, Willelmum Trusselle, Thomam Rocelyn, Johannem de Ros, milites, et multos alios Anglicos; quos dominus rex et familiares sui tanquam proscriptos et exosos habuerunt, eo quod moram diuturniorem fecerant in partibus transmarinis quam per procures fuerat ordinatum. Dominus Johannes, frater comitis Hanoniæ, cum multis alienigenis venit pariter cum eadem. Audiens igitur rex adventum reginæ, Anglicis et alienigenis stipatæ, turbatus est valde, et omnes familiares sui cum eo, dominumque Walterum de Stapeltone, episcopum Exoniensem, Londonias misit ut Londonienses et communitatem patriæ domino regi attraheret. Quem Londonienses, in cimiterio Sancti Pauli apprehensum, male tractantes extraxerunt et in strata regia decollaverunt, suis in fugam conversis; qui circa suas exequias intrmittere non audebant, sed in loco quondam per mendicantes fratres sacci vocatos inhabitato traditur sepulturæ: sic que filii scelerati, caput . . . consecratum pontificis amputantes, locum dedicatum et civitatem regiam regni famosissimam pessime polluerunt. Audiens igitur rex rabiem Londoniensium, in quibus plurimum confidebat, versus Waliam cum utrisque Dispensatoribus patre et filio et quibusdam aliis familiaribus suis profectus est, ab omni subsidio desperatus. Igitur regina perpendens cor domini sui regis a se et a filio suo alienatum, necnon ab ipsis tanquam ab hostibus seipsum indies elongare, accersitis Henrico comite Lancastriæ aliisque magnatibus, indignatum animum domini sui mitigare et reconciliare, eidem adhærendo, toto conamine nitebantur: sed consilarii

The king sends bishop Stapleton to London.

He is murdered by the mob.

The king flies towards Wales.

regis, propria demerita pavescentes, se ipsos approxi-
mare noluerunt. Et sic rex, infra Walliam latitans,
ab ejus aspectibus se subtraxit. Tunc regina, salubre
consilium suscipiens, in festinum duces et consiliarios
domini sui malos ab ipaius latere studuit amovere,
quos etiam persequi et comprehendere disponebat. Et
ita factum est. Nam feria proxima præcedenti vigiliam
apostolorum Symonis et Judæ, Hugo Dispensator pater
apud Bristoliam capitur, trahitur, suspenditur, et
ultimo decollatur. Proht dolor! quod tantus vir, præ-
minens temporibus suis sensu et probitate pollens,
deberet desipere in extremis. Rex vero cum Hugone
Dispensatore filio, et magistro Roberto de Baldok, per
Wallenses proditus est et captus; ac feria proxima
ante festum Sancti Edmundi episcopi et confessoris
ducitur, et Henrico comiti Lancastriæ committitur, per
quem in castro de Kenylworth certæ custodiæ depu-
tatur. Item Edmundus comes de Arundell apud
Salopiam in festo Sancti Hugonis episcopi et confes-
soris per dominum Johannem de Charleton capitur,
et continue decollatur. Item Hugo Dispensator filius,
feria proxime præcedenti festum Sanctæ Katerinæ
virginis, apud Herefordiam coram judicibus producit
judicandus, cui ante tribunal astanti dominus Willel-
mus Trussell [miles] verba hujusmodi dirigebat:¹
" Quoniam tu, Hugo, et pater tuus, in parlamento regis
" Edwardi dicti de Carnarvan tento Londoniis anno regni sui
" xv^o, per assensum communem, demeritis vestris exigentibus,
" proscripti fuistis a regno Angliæ, nunquam ad eandem
" reversuri nisi per regem et magnates in parlamento debite
" summonito fueritis revocati, contra quod exilium et considera-
" tionem præfatam redire non vocati temere præsumpseritis: et
" tu in redeundo duas magnas naves alienigenas diverreis mer-
" cimoniis versus Angliam oneratas, de bonis ad valorem lx
" milium librarum sterlingorum, interfectis hominibus, spoliasti,

A.D. 1294.
The king's
counsellors
prevent him
from mar-
rying the
queen.

The elder
Dispensator
beheaded at
Bristol,
Oct. 24.

The king is
taken and
imprisoned
at Kenil-
worth,
Nov. 12.

Execution
of the earl
of Arundel,
Nov. 17.

Sentence on
the younger
Dispensator,
Nov. 24.

¹ *dirigebat*] The following Latin | in French, printed in Knighton. cc.
is an abstract of the sentence given | 2547. sq.

A.D. 1326.

The sentence on the younger Hugh le Despenser.

in dedecus regis et populi scandalum, et in periculum merca-
 torum aduentium externas regiones. Item tu et pater tuus
 proditores convicti cum complicitibus vestris, vobis regalem
 potestatem attrahentes, per Andream de Harcla notorium
 proditorem viros nobiles spoliastis et interemistis, videlicet
 comitem Herfordie, Willelmum de Sulye, Rogerum de Ber-
 felde, et alios apud Pontem Burgi, et similiter dominum
 nostrum venerabilem comitem Lancastrie decollari, barones
 suos optimos et milites apud Pontemfractum trahi et sus-
 pendi falsissime procurastis, dominos etiam de Clifford, de
 Moubray et Deyville apud Eboracum, necnon quamplures
 alios barones, banneretos et milites, in diversis locis tyrannide
 trahi, suspendi et decollari fecistis, nonnullosque variis
 carceribus post rapinam bonorum suorum nequiter condemp-
 nastis; ita quod comitum et aliorum nobilium virorum
 predictorum captio, incarceration, et destructio, de vestris
 conspirationibus et falsis consiliis emanavit; item tu et
 pater tuus cum complicitibus et fautoribus vestris dominum
 regem extra regnum suum ad debellandum hostes suos Scotie
 pessime eduxistis, ubi plusquam xx. milia hominum pro
 defectu debite dispositionis ductu vestro falsissimo perierunt,
 infectoque negotio redire cum dedecore est compulsus; cui
 in redeundo pessime consulistis, ut nobilissimam dominam
 meam Anglie reginam in maximo corporis sui periculo apud
 Tynmouthe relinqueret desolatam, cum in illius terre finibus
 hostes undique confluebant; et exinde dominum nostrum
 regem usque moram de Blakhow intra manus hostium de-
 duxistis, qui ipsum ibidem improvisum fere surripissent,
 ad dedecus regis et populi sempiternum, prout interitus et
 captio plurimum declarabat; sicque serenissima domina mea
 et vestra, per vestrum proditorium consilium infortunie dere-
 licta, fuisset fere perdit, ad opprobrium insanabile regis et
 populi Anglicani, nisi Dominus noster omnipotens ipsam
 oculo misericordie respexisset; cujus saluti et honori affuit
 gratiose; unde necessitate compulsus exposuit se periculo
 maximo pelagi fluctuantis, cum nunquam talis excellentis-
 sima domina fuit taliter derelicta. Item episcopos Herfor-
 densem, Lincolnensem, Eliensem, et Norwicensem, pessime
 spoliastis, equos electos, vasa aurea et argentea, et alia
 ornamenta pretiosa, ab eisdem rapuistis, et ad tantam penu-
 riam deduxistis quod de loco ad locum se transferebant
 pedibus incedendo; item induxistis dominum regem ad con-

" ferendum patri tuo comitatum Wintonie, et Andree de A.D. 1281.
 " Harcla, de prodicione convicto, comitatum Karleoli; ac The con-
 " etiam tibi plures terras coronæ pertinentes in exhereda- tance on the
 " tionem regis majestatis. Item per vestram falsam conspira- passage
 " tionem ejecistis dominam nostram reginam de terris per in such a
 " dominum regem aibi datis et assignatis, quam etiam ordi- Dispenser.
 " nastis et possistis ad sua vadia per dictas, contra statum et
 " excellentiam tante dominæ, semper inter dominum suum
 " regem et ipsam discordiam excitando. Item, quando domina
 " nostra aspedicta cum filio suo mittebatur ad partes trans-
 " marinæ, ad tractandum cum fratre suo rege Francie super
 " salvatione Vasconie, quæ fuit in periculo perditionis, misisti
 " tu maximam summam pecunie quibusdam tuis falsis com-
 " plicibus, qui tecum in destructionem ejusdem dominæ nostræ
 " conspiraverant, vel saltem quod ipsius et filii sui reditum
 " omnino debuissent impedire. Sed cum vestris nefandis
 " auribus insonuit, quod feliciter infra regnum Angliæ appli-
 " cuissent, spiritu nequam ducti, fecistis dominum regem se
 " ab eisdem elongare; quem etiam extra regnum eduxistis in
 " periculum et dedecus sui corporis atque status, transferentes
 " vobiscum aigillam magnum et thesaurum multum, qui in
 " arario regis erat; et ideo consideratum est quod pro pro-
 " ditionibus sis tractas, pro rapinis suspensus, et, quia post
 " exilium reversus es et sine warranto repertus, decollatus; et,
 " quia semper inter regem et reginam ac alios regni nobiles
 " discordiam seminasti, evisceratus eris; visceribusque com-
 " bustis in quatuor partes divisus eris in locis variis suspen-
 " dendus"; unde versus vaticinii;

" Dispensatores¹ hircus vehet hic ad honores,
 " Qui sibi majores non tractabunt per amores.
 " Pro fastu natus periet pater inveteratus;
 " Armorum flores veteres perdentque labores.
 " Abecisis capita raro remeat quia vita,
 " Membratim cæsus dici poterit male læsus."

Prophecy
 about the
 Dispensers.

Post hæc dominus rex de custodia comitis Lancas- Part of the
 triæ educitur, et dominis Thomæ de Berkeley et Jo- king

¹ *Dispensatores*? I have not found these lines among the prophecies of John of Bridlington, but they are

of the same character and probably from the same hand.

A.D. 1337. hanni Mautravers militibus in castro de Berkeley
 The king
 sent to
 Berkeley.
 Parliament
 at London.
 Renuncia-
 tion of
 allegiance.
 Declaration
 of Trussell.
 Edward
 renounces the
 crown.

committitur sub custodia reservandus. Regina igitur
 et filius ejus primogenitus, convocatis Angliæ proceri-
 bus, parliamentum Londoniis tenuerunt. In quo ma-
 gister Robertus de Baldok, archidiaconus Midelsexiæ,
 perpetuo carceri judicatur, ubi postmodum miserabili-
 ter exspiravit. Deinde tractantibus illis de regni regi-
 mine, rationibus hinc inde propositis, compertum est
 regem inconsulte plurima perpetrasse, ipsumque minus
 sufficientem ad officium regium reputabant. Statue-
 runt ergo homagia sua rependere, ulterius sibi non
 obedituri, per quendam militem negotium¹ proferentem,
 apud Berkeley die Lunæ proxima ante festum Purifi-
 cationis beatæ Mariæ Virginis, anno Domini supra-
 dicto, et regni regis Edwardi sub custodia positi xix^o,
 in hiis verbis:²—

“ Ego, Willelmus Trussell, procurator prælatorum,
 “ comitum, et baronum, et aliorum in procuratorio
 “ meo nominatorum, habens ad hoc plenam et suffici-
 “ entem potestatem, tibi Edwardo regi Angliæ tanquam
 “ regi qui ante hæc tempora gubernavit, pro dictis
 “ personis in præfato procuratorio meo nominatis, no-
 “ mine eorum omnium et singulorum, propter certas
 “ causas in prædicto procuratorio expressas, reddo et
 “ retrado fidelitates et homagia delibero, et acquieto
 “ prædictas personas meliori modo quo lex et consue-
 “ tudo poterunt ordinare; et protestor, nomine eo-
 “ rum omnium et singulorum, quod ipsi in tuis fide-
 “ litate, ligiantia, nolunt ulterius permanere, nec de te
 “ tanquam de rege clamant aut curant de cetero quic-
 “ quam tenere. Immo te reputant et tenent amodo
 “ personam privatam ab omnia regia dignitate.” Et
 informatus continuo per nuntios tunc præsentis, cessit
 officio regali, et omni jure regio sibi competenti, coram
 notario, abrenunciavit, et a regni regimine se dimisit.

¹ negotium] regia, MSS.² hiis verbis] Knighton, c. 2549.

Quod ut factum est, executores negotii Londonia- AD 127
 reversi sunt, et rem gestam seriatim in pleno consilio The charter
 was not
 intended to
 be a charter.
 recitaverunt, ac instrumenta super hoc exhibentes finem
 operis concluserunt. Et statim diffinitum et approba-
 tum est ab omnibus et singulis regni nobilibus ibidem
 tunc præsentibus, quod filius pro patre ad regni regi-
 men admittatur. Et ita factum est, ut in sequenti
 libro plenius ostendetur.

Brevis collectio hystoriae precedentis.

Rex¹ Edwardus, cujus gesta transcurrendo descripsimus, fuit Character of
 Edward II.
 corpore quidem elegans, viribus præstans, sed moribus, ut
 vulgo dicitur, multum discrepans. Nam, parvipenso proce-
 rum contubernio, adhasit cantoribus, tragedis, aurigis, navi-
 giis, et aliis hujusmodi artificiis mechanicis, magis alienis
 quam proprio consilio credens; in dando prodigus, in con-
 vivando dapsilis et splendidus, ore promptus, sermone varius,
 contra hostes infortunatus, in domesticos efferatus, ad unum
 aliquem familiarem ardentem adjectus, quem summe coleret,
 ditaret, præferret, a cujus præsentia abesse non sustineret,
 ac pro ceteris honoraret; unde provenit amanti opprobrium,
 amato obloquium et interitum, populo præcipitium, et regno
 detrimentum; indignos quoque et ineptos ad gradus ecclesi-
 asticos promovit, qui postea sibi in angustiis non affuerunt.
 Tanto etiam in diebus ejus caristia omnis bladi generis fuit,
 tamque continua mortalitas hominum et morius armentorum
 existit, quanto a retro sæculis vix fuerat unquam visa.

In Kambria natus ibique proditus atque captus.

ITEM VERSUS VATICINALES DE EODEM.

- " Transmittent Britones hircum sed non rationes. Prophecy
 given about
 him.
- " Hircus barbatus erit in sensu quasi mutus.
- " Anglorum terra non regnabit sine guerra.
- " Dapsilis et gratus sed in actibus infatuatus.

¹ With this character of Edward | Knighton, cc. 2531, 2532; Higden
 II. compare Ann. de Melsa, ii. 286; | Polychronicon.

A.D. 1327.
Verses
about
Edward II.

- " Hircus cornutus nunquam certamine tutus,
 " Tempora jocunda raro capiet vel habunda.
 " Rex insensatus¹ est bellis undique stratus.
 " Nobilis est natus qui dicitur infatuatus.
 " Nam perdet gentem regni pro jure loquentem,
 " Ac optimates nullus reddet sibi grates;
 " Perdet cognatos pendere sinet veneratos;
 " Rex pietate carens Christo non fit bene parens,
 " Hircus erit² fortis sumens bona [munera] sortis,
 " Regnans perdetur qui gentis non miseretur.
 " Mors infecta malis consumet tempora talis.
 " Summus contritum tandem faciet redimitum.
 " Tempora³ bis dena non accipiet sibi plena,
 " Anglis regnando, secretum jam tibi pando."

¹ *Rex insensatus*] From the prophecies of John of Bridlington, MS. Digby, 89, fo. 5.

² *Hircus erit*] This line does

not occur in this place in the prophecy.

³ *Tempora . . . pando*] Not in the prophecy.

Incipiunt gesta regis Edwardi tertii post Conquestum.¹

Tempore quo regnavit Edwardus rex Angliæ dictus de Carnarvan breviter jam decurso, ad disserendum gesta filii sui regis Edwardi tertii post Conquestum stilum amodo divertamus. In quorum principio quædam oracula sibi quodammodo convenientia antiquitus nunciata breviter inseremus. Igitur temporibus Henrici regis Angliæ filii imperatricis orta fuit discordia inter patrem regem et Henricum suum primogenitum coronatum. Quæ quidem dissensio multum displicuit sancto Thomæ Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, et præcipue, dummodo cancellarii officio fungeretur, Henricum juvenem sibi in filium adoptavit. Et quadam die sedens in mensa discordiam conquerens cum assidentibus sibi clericis hujus materiam pertractavit, timens sibi ne discordiam ultio sequeretur. Et amota mappa positisque cubitis super mensam, sanctum caput in ablutis manibus inclinavit, nec multum post modicum dormitavit; ipsumque nolebant qui secum sederant excitare. Tandem expergefactus quandam brevem cedulam in manu sua repperit continentem versus,

A.D. 1287.
Good omens
and auspices
of the new
reign.

Prophecy
revealed to
S. Thomas
of Canter-
bury.

H. patre submarcet post R. reget J. que relicto
E. post H. rex fit, E. post E. postea mira.²

Qua perlecta modicum suspiravit et subticuit. Ecce qualiter Dominus sanctum virum visitavit et sibi sua:

¹ *Ex eodem Codice Lamleyano:* MS. C. The title given in the transcripts is, "Continuatio Nicholai Trivetti per quendam monachum de Bridlington." The title as well as the designation of the author is a misnomer.

² These lines occur with the title, "Visio Sancti Thomæ Martiris Cantuariensis archiepiscopi de Regibus Angliæ;" in the *Miscellanea* appended by Hearn to his edition of Robert of Avesbury, p. 260.

A.D. 1327.
Fulfilment
of the pro-
phesy.

Adventure
of Edward I.
in Gascony.

His pro-
phesy of
the con-
quest of
France.

compassionis reddit rationem. Scriptura namque veram prophetiam continet et subtilem. Nam superstitute patre rege decessit filius coronatus, et aliorum quilibet successit alteri in regendo. Ad istum vero regem pertinet ut suis temporibus fiant mira. Cujus ingressum et progressum dirigat Ille per quem reges regnant, et corroboret semper felicibus incrementis. Item quodam tempore nobilissimus princeps Edwardus rex, avus domini nostri regis nunc, transfretavit ut videret Vasconiam et alias terras suas in partibus transmarinis, cui nobiles provinciarum per quas ipsum iter agere contigit, occurrerunt, reverentias debitas tanto principi facientes, de loco in locum ipsum honorifice conduxerunt. Et contigit quod quidam illius terre magnus in itinerando regi adhasit, et ipsis appropinquantibus, inter cetera tandem ille magnus sic alloquitur regem dicens; "Domine mi rex, non vos maneat, rogo, quod interrogabo?" Cui rex, "Dicas quod volueris, et auscultabo." Tunc ille, "Quaero de vobis, domine mi rex, utrum rex Angliæ præsens vel futurus debeat conquirere terras hereditarie sibi competentes, per regem Franciæ sibi surreptas et in sui præjudicium occupatas?" Cui statim non respondit rex, sed subductis calcaribus urgebat equum quem sedebat, et, unius leucæ spatium meditans, equitabat. Tunc opponens suspicabatur regem commotum, et modicum se subtraxit. Et tandem dominus rex ipsum ex nomine appellavit et dixit, "Respondeo quod sic." Cui ille, "Ad quod, domine mi rex, respondetis?" Et ait rex, "Interrogationi tuæ: et dico tibi quod rex Angliæ non solum terras injuriose sibi detentas conquirere prævalebit, sed et diadema regni Franciæ per victoriam optinebit. Quia venient dies in quibus erit rex Franciæ cupidus, crudelis, vecors, et suæ communitati odibilis et exosus. Et per idem tempus erit rex Angliæ munificus, misericors, audax hostium expugnator, indigenis suis et alienigenis affabilis et

"dilectus." Nec est dubium quin rex iste pro tunc A.D. 1287.
 inspiratus, eo quod bene concordat ejus responsio cum Fulfillment.
 ultimis verbis oraculi præcedentis: opinatur ergo quod
 de isto rege juvene prophetavit.

Postquam rex Edwardus dictus de Carnarvan, ut Edward III. elected.
 præmittitur, cessit regia dignitate, prælati, comites,
 barones, et alii regni proceres Londonias convenerunt,
 ejusque primogenitum Edwardum regem constituerunt,
 et die Dominica, quæ fuit dies proxime præcedens Knighted Feb. 1.
 festum Purificationis beatæ Mariæ Virginis, anno Do-
 mini M^oCCC^oXX^oVI^o, ætatis suæ xiii^o, de domino Johanne
 fratre comitis Hanoniæ suscepit ordinem militare.
 Quem inunctum Walterus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, Crowned.
 sicuti mos est, regni diademate insignivit. Cui omnes
 proceres terræ fidelitatem et homagium tunc fecerunt.
 Nec multum post terras, in manum regis seisitas tempore
 patris sui tanquam forisfactas, ipse novus rex rectis
 heredibus reddit gratiose. Legimus quod Arthurus Parallel of king Arthur.
 rex Britonum anno ætatis suæ xv^o ad regni regimen
 est admissus. Qui propter verum dilectionis indicium
 in scuto depictam gessit ymaginem Virginis gloriosæ.
 Rex iste junioris ætatis, ut prædicitur, in regni solio
 sublimatus benedictæ Virginis speciem ob purum de-
 votionis affectum secum defert sculptam in cordis tri-
 clinio reverenter, cujus etiam nomen mellifluum in
 ipsius ore frequenter residet nominandum.

- " Hinc sublimata Mater reverenda Maria,
- " Assis, virgo pia, quod tempora sint sibi grata,
- " Sole serenaris ab alvo sanctificata,
- " Sacri solaris splendore satis decorata,
- " Subvenias regi juveni genitrix generosa
- " Pro te namque regi cupit et quærit speciosa."

Item inter varia scripta quæ revolvi, vidi quoddam Prophecy of the bull.
 vaticinium metricè dictum, in quo rex iste taurus vo-
 catur, et quod ibidem scriptum de tauro reperi non
 tacebo.

VERSUS VATICINII¹

A.D. 1327.
Prophecy of
the bull.

"Taurus erit fortis metuens nil tristia mortis,
"Sobrius et castus, justus sine crimine fastus,
"Ad bona non tardus, audax veluti leopardus;
"Semper erit taurus viridescens utpote laurus
"Fertilis et plenus, nummorum semper egenus,
"Agmina vaccarum² defendet vi propriarum;
"Hic subjugabit hostes, reges superabit;
"Vix mundo talis stauri ductor liberalis;
"Rex erit et custos, et diliget undique justos."

Expedition
against the
Scots.

The earl of
Mar.

Adventure
at Stanhope
Park.

Anno Domini M^oCC^oXX^oVII^o, et regni regis primo, circa Festum Pentecostes, rex Angliæ, adunatis Anglicis aliisque solidariis de Hannonia, cum apparatu bellico iter suum versus Scotiam dirigebat. Et veniens Eboracum adventum procerum expectabat, ubi Hannonici cum Anglicis dimicarunt, utrorumque pluribus interfectis. Et exinde usque Heydenbryge est profectus, sed interim hostes Scotiæ cum exercitu magno regem Angliæ infra regnum suum invadere statuerunt, Thoma Randolph comite de Murref et Jacobo de Douglas capitaneis constitutis; et habuerunt secum Duffenoldum comitem de Marr, qui fuit unus de pueris cameræ regis Edwardi de Carnarvan, sed ipso capto natale solum petiit; qui statim a Scotis est admissus et suo comitatui restitutus. Audientes Scoti adventum Anglorum, parcum de Stanhope adierunt, et inibi hospitati sunt; similiter et Anglici, ex altera parte rivuli cujusdam, fixis tentoriis quieverunt. Quadam igitur nocte quidam Scotus Jacobus de Douglas miles, cum paucis de suis, inter vigiles Anglorum sub-

¹ These are among the prophecies of John of Bridlington, MS. Digby 89, fo. 9, with the following title, "Capitulum tertium docet

"mores Edwardi de Wyndesore et
"accidentia regni Angliæ tempore
"juventutis suæ."

² *vaccarum*] vectarum, MSS.

ito per medium exercitum Anglicanum transivit, quos-
 dam cepit, aliquos occidit, plurimos terribiliter evi-
 gilavit, ipsemet¹ illusus, capellano suo tantummodo
 interfecto, ad exercitum proprium remeavit. Pudet
 dicere et tamen praesumitur et dicitur, quod talem in-
 vasionem non fecisset nisi cum quibusdam Anglicis
 conspirasset. Et sic, octo diebus decursis, Scoti noc-
 tanter parcam relinquentes, patrias spoliantes, ad partes
 proprias redierunt: nec multum post redeuntes Scoti
 castrum de Alnewyk per quindenam et amplius obse-
 derunt; sed nihil proficientes, eo quod dominus Henri-
 cus de Percy munitionem suam propriam optime defen-
 debat, castrum praedicti domini apud Werkeworth
 adeunt, obsessuri; ubi quibusdam de suis interfectis,
 a suo proposito defraudati, versus Scotiam sunt pro-
 fecti. Item eodem anno xi^o kalendas Octobres, in
 festo Sancti Mathaei apostoli et evangelistae, obiit Ed-
 wardus rex dictus de Carnervan, in castro de Berkeley,
 ubi fuit custodiae deputatus, et in vigilia Sancti Thomae
 apostoli proxime sequentis, apud Gloucestriam traditur
 sepulturae. Qui regnavit decem et novem annis, duo-
 bus mensibus, et xix. diebus, quibus semper in formi-
 dine vivebat, familiares suos timuit, amicos velut hostes
 formidabat.

A.D. 1277.
 Exploit of
 James
 Douglas.

Siege of
 Alnewick by
 the Scots.

Death of
 Edward II
 Sept. 21.

" O, qui scripta legis, memor esse velis rogo fati
 " Edwardi regis de Carnervan vocitati;
 " In cujus gestis Anglis, Kambriis, manifestis
 " Armatis maestis occurrit plurima pestis;
 " Edwardum regem Gloucestria condit humatum,
 " Ad propriumque gregem ducas, bone Christe, bea-
 " tum."

Verses
 about him

De regis hujus decessu varia vulgariter opinantur,
 de qua materia ulterius disserere jam non curo, quia
 scribitur versus: —

¹ ipsemet] ipsumque, C. This passage is to be compared with the
 Annales de Meln, ii. 356, 357.

A.D. 1327.
Admonitory
verses.

"Credo quod interdum multis mendacia prosunt,
"Et quandoque nocet omnia vera loqui,
"Vera loqui nocuit, nocuit nimis esse fidelem,
"Res ea me docuit ne cunctis cuncta revelem.
"Exiet et rediet firmatus nomine patris
"Ejus et interiet genitor terebratus in atris.¹
"Arte suæ matris regnum rapiet sibi patris
"Funera post patris quæret regalia matris."²

Sed quod in vaticinio metrico de domino rege nostro
nunc et patre suo dicitur audiamus versus.³

A.D. 1328.
Treaty for
the mar-
riage of
David Bruce
with the
king's sister.

Item, eodem anno, xvii^o die Martii, apud Edenburghe
fuit quidam tractatus inter Robertum de Bruys regem
Scotiæ ex parte una et venerabiles patres Henricum
de Lincolnia et Willelmum Norwicensem episcopos, ac
nobiles viros Henricum de Percy, Willelmum la Souche
de Ascheby, et Galfridum le Scrope, nuntios et pro-
curatores regis Angliæ ex altera, super matrimonio
contrahendo inter David filium et heredem prædicti
Roberti de Bruys, et Johannam sororem regis Angliæ
supradicti. Et quia propter ætatis insufficientiam
matrimonium tunc temporis contrahere non valebant,
concordatum fuit quod, quamcitus ad hoc contulerit
se pubertas,⁴ matrimonium debite celebretur. Similiter
ordinatum fuit in eisdem indenturis quod prædictus
rex Scotiæ assignabit Johannæ in bonis sufficientibus
infra regnum Scotiæ duas milia libratas terræ, et
redditus annuatim percipiendos, cum feodis militum,
advocationibus⁵ ecclesiarum, et omnibus aliis libertati-
bus eidem terræ pertinentibus, ad terminum vitæ præ-
dictæ Johannæ, salvis prædicto regi Scotiæ, heredibus
et successoribus suis, advocationibus abbathiarum, pri-
oratum, hospitalium, ac aliis juribus coronæ suæ

¹ *atris*] *actis*, C.

² *Exiet . . . matris*] Prophecy
of John of Bridlington, MS. Digby
89, fo. 5 vo.

³ The verses are not given in the
MSS.; possibly because they occur
in fragments in different parts of

the annals. But it is possible that
this paragraph should have been in-
serted before "Exiet, &c." above.

⁴ *pubertas*] *publicat*, C.

⁵ *advocationibus*] *advocationi-*
bus, C.

spectantibus ab antiquo; et, si contingat prædictum David post celebratum matrimonium in fata decedere, præfata Johanna superstite remanente, supradictæ duæ milia libratae terræ et redditus sæpèdictæ Johannæ, nomine dotis, debent nihilominus remanere, ita quod aliam dotem petere non poterit nec habere. Ista patent evidentius in indenturis super hujusmodi tractatu factis et consignatis, quarum copia scribitur inter incidentia cronicorum, ubi inveniuntur diversas rationes hinc et inde propositas, pro pace inter regna perpetuo reformanda. Item eodem anno, ante Natale Domini Philippa filia comitis Hannoniæ cum avunculo suo Johanne venit in Angliam; quam dominus Edwardus rex Angliæ duxit uxorem in majori ecclesia beati Petri Eboraci, domino W. de Meletone ejusdem archiepiscopo solempniter celebrante, die Dominica proxima ante Conversionem Sancti Pauli proxime tunc sequentem. Item eodem anno dominus Walterus Reginaldi, Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, in fata decessit; cui successit magister Simon de Mepeham, sacrae professor theologiæ, electione canonice celebrata.

A.D. 1328.
Terms of the
alliance.

Arrival of
Philippa.

The king's
marriage.
Jan. 24.

Succession
of arch-
bishop
Mepeham.

Attempt of
the earl of
Lancaster.

Anno Domini M^oCCC^oXX^oVIII^o, et regni regis i^{do}, Henricus comes Lancastriæ, Henricus de Bellomonte, Thomas le Wake,¹ Hugo Daudeley, et plures alii cum communitate Londoniensi contra dominum regem insurgere disponebant; sed cito post comes Lancastriæ, Hugo Daudeley, et Thomas le Wake, eventum rei dubium opinantes, se regis gratiæ submiserunt. Domini vero Henricus de Bellomonte, Willelmus Trussell, Thomas Rocelyn, Thomas Wyther, et alii non sine causa a conspectu regis se subtraxerunt, et in transmarinis partibus morantur.² Item eodem anno, in mense Julii, David de Bruys desponsavit Johannam sororem regis Angliæ apud Berewyk super Thwedam, regina Angliæ et aliis pluribus utriusque regni magnatibus ibidem presenti-

Marriage of
David
Bruce.

¹ *le Wake*] de Wake, C. A close agreement is here to be traced

between our annals and the Annales de Melan ii. 358, 359.

² *morantur*] moriantur, C.

A.D. 1328.
Verses on
the Scottish
marriage.

bus, juxta condictum expressum in indenturis superius memoratis: unde in vaticinio metrico dicitur de eodem versus;

"Taurus regnabit,¹ sed mater confederabit
"Cum Scotis nata Dinad² cancro copulata;
"Pax erit in terra rediet sed Scotica guerra;
"Psalletur gestis Dinad³ luxuria festis,
"Qui tenet uxores uxore sua meliores."

A.D. 1329.
Philippa
crowned,
Feb. 1.

Anno Domini m^occc^oxxix^o, et regni iiii^{to}, pridie nonas Februarii, domina Philippa regina Angliæ a magistro Simone de Mepeham archiepiscopo Cantuariensi est Londoniis coronata;

"Deficient mores, regales perdet honores,
"Pignus amoris, pacta sororis non solidabunt;
"Anterioris facta doloris nam reboabunt."⁴

Execution
of the earl
of Kent.]

Item, eodem anno, dominus Edmundus de Wodstok comes Cantiae, avunculus regis, apud Wyntoniam decollatur, eo quod circa deliberationem fratris sui Edwardi regis incarcerationi continue laborabat, quosdam procures ad illud idem faciendum exhortando. Et hoc quidem sibi per quosdam suos æmulos sibi extitit imputatum.

War be-
tween Lewis
of Bavaria
and the
pope.

Item eodem anno orta est magna discordia inter papam Johannem xxii. et Lodowycum ducem Bavarie, imperatorem Alemannie. Contra papa pluries⁵ misit exercitus suos, quos ille viriliter expugnavit, multasque civitates Ytalie imperio rebelles vi occupavit et imperio subjugavit. Ista siquidem briga durante, clerus transmontanus et populus Romanus, cum duce Bavarie predicto, quem sibi fecerunt imperatorem Romanorum, præfatum papam Johannem, Avinionie sedentem, Romæ publicaverunt hæreticum juste deponendum; et quen-

¹ *Taurus regnabit*] John of Bridlington, MS. Digby 89, fo. 11 vo.: the whole section contains 22 lines.

² *Dinad*] Dyna, Joh. Brid.

³ *Dinad*] David, Joh. Brid.

⁴ *Deficient . . . reboabunt*] These are the last three lines of the fourth section of the prophecy.

⁵ *pluries*] plures, C.

dam fratrem ordinis Minorum Petrum de Corvaris natu A.D. 1239
 Romanum in papam elegerunt, quem Nicholaum quin- The anti-
 tum vocaverunt. Qui postea pœnitens facti sui accessit quæ Nin-
 ad papam Johannem Avinionæ, et fassus¹ electionem es V.
 suam non fuisse canonicam; unde papatu cessit, ab-
 solutionem optinuit, et secum ibidem in curia, pro
 tempore quo superfuit, moram traxit; unde versus
 vaticinales:—

- " Gentis Romanæ² pastor erit alter inane
- " Qui Petri plane solium capiet sibi mane.
- " Balthasar in cœnis vasis potavit amœnis
- " Summo dicatis de Templo vi spoliatis,
- " Pro techel et mane phares discussaque plane
- " Quod fuit inmane didicit sacra tangere vane."

Hoc anno fecit rex Angliæ homagium Philippo de The king
 Valesia pro Vasconia. drew his homage
for Gascony

Anno Domini m^occ^oxxx^o, et regni regis Edwardi A.D. 1290
 tertii post conquestum iiii^{to}, natus est Edwardus filius June 13
 regis Edwardi ex Philippa regina apud Wodstok. xvii^o Birth of the
 kalendas Julii. Item eodem anno in festo Sancti Lucæ king's son.
 Evangelistæ, fere nocte media dominus rex in castro
 de Notingham, Hugone de Trompyngton milite inter-
 fecto, et quibusdam aliis militibus et scutariis vulnera-
 tis, introitum cameræ matris suæ sibi præcludentibus, Arrested
 cepit dominum Rogerum de Mortuomari, Oliverum de Mortuomari
 Ingham, Johannem Mautravers, Symonem de Berford and his
 militem, et Henricum de Burghasche episcopum Lin- friends.
 colniensem; quos continuo misit Londonias usque ad
 parliamentum in salva custodia conservandos.

Item, circa festum Sanctæ Katherinæ proxime se- Mortuomari
 quens, in parlamento Londoniis, idem Rogerus de combated
 Mortuomari propter sibi imposita et, ut dicebatur, per to death

¹ fassus] falsus, MSS.

² Gentis Romanæ] From the
 prophecies of John of Bridlington,
 fo. 25, Digby 89. The copy of

these prophecies in Boll. 487 ends
 with the words "potavit amœ-
 nis."

A.D. 1330.
Nov. 29.
Mortimer
executed.

ipsum confessa, et præcipue quia de Turre Londoniensi, ubi fuit incarceratus, exiit fugitivus, morti est addictus, et ibidem in vigilia Sancti Andreæ apostoli tractus est et suspensus, ac inter fratres Minores est sepultus; unde versus,

"Occultis portis lustris capiet mare mortis
"Illicitis scortis solitum cameris et in hortis
"Qui fuerat fortis morietur turbine sortis."¹

Henry de
Beaumont
and Wake
pardoned.

Item in eodem parlamento dominus rex gratiose remisit dominis Henrico de Bellomonte, Thomæ Wak, et aliis similiter, hoc quod sibi deliquerant, de quibus superius fecimus mentionem. Item ibidem ordinatum

The queen's
jointure.

fuit quod Isabella, mater domini regis Angliæ, haberet pro dote quatuor milia marcarum terræ annis singulis vitæ suæ. Item in eodem parlamento Symon de

Simon de
Berford
hanged.

Berford miles, suis demeritis exigentibus, tractus est et suspensus.

A.D. 1331.
Accident at
a tourna-
ment.

Anno Domini m^occc^oxxx^oio, et regni regis Edwardi Tertii post conquestum quinto, dominus rex habuit hastiludium triduo Londoniis in vico qui le Chepe ubi quedam machina lignea, in modum solarii facta, pro regina et aliis regni dominabus, corruit et læsit plurimos in cadendo.

De gestis Edwardi de Balliolo, versus:

Exploits of
Edward
Balliol.

"Rem referam gestam, multis populis manifestam,
"Scotis infestam, pro multo tempore mæstam;
"De regnis binis, factis hinc inde rapinis;
"Edwardus, natus Johannis Balliolensis
"Quondam Scotensis regis, tunc magnificatus,
"Vestit loriam, gentem cupiens inimicam
"Albanectensem sibi suppeditare per ensem;
"Quingentos equites loricos numeravit,

¹ *Occultis sortis*] Joh. Bridl., MS. Digby 89, fo. 9.

" Mille simul¹ pedites fortes sibi consociavit;
 " Hanc armatorum modicam siquidem validorum
 " Turmam collegit, quæ fortia bella peregit.
 " Per mare sufficiunt naves, et cuncta parata.
 " Nec sibi deficiunt quæ sunt ad prælia grata.
 " Vela patent ventis ducuntur per mare latum
 " Ad portum gratum; laus inde² sit omnipotenti.
 " Obsistunt Scoti, nulli se subdere curant,
 " Dum vires durant, concurrunt undique moti.
 " Litus scandentes, Anglos mactare volentes,
 " Sed concurrentes cito facti sunt fugientes,
 " Kynkhorn testatur quod Scotus subpedetatur.
 " Quando calcatur qui princeps esse putatur.
 " Dipplin clamat idem, tanti mactantur ibidem.
 " Turbine namque pari quot non possunt numerari
 " Coguntur tandem massam componere grandem.
 " Ut multi fantur, expirantes tumulantur;
 " Sic conquæstores pauci facti meliores,
 " Mutando mores multos mercantur honores.
 " Scotis languores inducunt atque dolores.
 " Quod successores sunt ammodo deteriores.
 " Hiis consummatis metri finem faciamus.
 " De prætaxatis ad principium redeamus.
 " Plus pandet prosa per planitiem super glosa
 " Gestorum dicta quam metro carmina picta."

A.D. 1132.
 Exploits of
 Edward
 Balliol.

De navigatione ejus, et profectione versus Scotiam.³

Anno Domini M^oCC^oXXX^oII^o dominus Edwardus, Balliol
 filius et heres Johannis de Balliolo quondam regis
 Scotiæ, cum dominis Henrico de Bellomonte comite de
 Boghan, Gilberto de Dunfranville comite Angosæ, et
 David de Strabolgan comite de Ascetell, Richardo Talbot,

Balliol
 collects an
 army for the
 invasion of
 Scotland.

¹ simul] sunt, C.

² inde] in, C.

³ The following details agree al-

most verbally with the Annales de
Melsa, ii. 362, sq.

A.D. 1332
July 31.
They set
sail from
Barton on
Humber
and Hull.

and reach
Kynghornon
August 6.

They defeat
the Scots
under the
earl of Fife

After two
days' rest
at Donfer-
melyn they
march to
the river
Erne, where
an army
awaits
them under
the earl of
Marr, their
supposed
ally.

Henrico de Ferrariis, Fulcone filio Warini, Nicholao de la Beeche, Radulfo de Stafforthe, Thoma Ughtred, Alexandro de Moubray, Johanne de Moubray, Roberto de Wincestre, et Waltero Comyn, baronibus et banneretis, cum nonnullis aliis Anglicis solidariis, equis, cum suis pabulis et aliis necessariis, in quater viginti et octo navibus majoribus et minoribus collocatis, ultimo die mensis Julii, videlicet in festo Sancti Germani episcopi, apud Bartone et Kyngeston super Hulle, aquoreum iter arripiunt, et versus Scotiam altum sulcantes per sex dies continuos et sex noctes, fluctuum discrimina non modica sunt perpassi; septimo tandem die, videlicet in crastino Sancti Oswaldi regis et martyris, apud Kynkehorne in comitatu de Fyfe applicuerunt. Quibus ripam ascendentibus comes de Fyfe cum xxiiii. milibus equitum et peditum, ut eos expugnaret, occurrebat; equis etiam nondum de navibus eductis, incedendo pedibus pugnaverunt. Ipsius itaque dimicantibus, nonnulli de Scotis ceciderunt; inter quos Alexander de Setone miles filius perimitur, ceteri in fugam convertuntur. Insequebantur Anglici Scotos sibi terga vertentes, donec montium difficultas armatos vetuit insequi longius fugientes; videntes itaque tam celerem victoriam a Domino sibi concessam, humiliter et devote supplicabant, ut iter et opus inceptum, ejus principium tam gratiose decoravit, continuaret et finiret. Equis igitur et ceteris necessariis de navibus eductis, venerunt ad conobium de Donfermelyn, ibique biduo commorantes, in regnum ulterius processerunt ad fluvium quod dicitur Erne, ibique figentes tentoria hospitantur, videruntque trans flumen exercitum prægrandem equitum et peditum adunatum. Quorum dux et instructor Duflenoldus, comes de Marr, qui per litteras et internuntios consilium et auxilium eisdem dominis multipliciter promiserat, ad ripam ex transverso veniens, illos verbis talibus est adhorsus: "Milites," inquit "presumptuosi, quibus ab oris huc advecti estis,

" vel quid in hac regione quæritis, aut quo dux vester
 " censetur nomine nobis dicere non tardetis ; " at illi :
 " Optimatum hujus¹ terræ filii sumus, ac de suis con-
 " silio et auxilio confidentes, cum hujus regni recto
 " herede domino Edwardo de Balliolo hucusque ad-
 " venimus, terras et tenementa quæ nobis hereditarie
 " competunt postulantes ; credimus siquidem adventum
 " nostrum apud te fore laudabilem atque gratum, sicut
 " inter nos est sæpius prælocutum ; nec opus est seria-
 " tim pandere nomina singulorum, eo quod hujus
 " operis consiliarius aliquando exstitisti." Quibus ille :
 " Nequaquam, quia nunc aliter fatum et fortuna pac-
 " tum hujusmodi commutarunt. Perditionem vestram
 " siquidem doleo, cum per subitam vestram invasionem
 " et adventum indiscretum totum regnum Scotiæ com-
 " movistis, et in vestram confusionem, prout ipsi cerni-
 " tis, excitastis." Hiis et hujusmodi hinc inde propo-
 " sitis, abinvicem discesserunt ; et videntes se ab omni
 " auxilio comitis defraudatos, habitoque super hiis verbis
 " tractatu, circa solis occasum, instructi per quosdam
 " patrias et vada fluminis cognoscentes, instante nocte
 " aque transitum disponebant. Ibiq[ue] super ripam noc-
 " tis caliginem expectantes fluvium transvadarunt, et
 " hostium tentoria petentes ingrediuntur cubilia sopi-
 " torum, et nullam² [misericordiam] habentes cædunt
 " undique consurgentes. Ad gemitus itaque morientium
 " evigilant ceteri, et cum nec arma capiendi neque fu-
 " gam faciendi congruum spatium haberent, inermes
 " discurrunt inter armatos quo eos impetus tunc duco-
 " bant, nihilominus tale præmeditati, huc et illuc fugi-
 " entes. Irruentibus Anglicis cadunt hostes continuo
 " vulnerati. Cum igitur in hunc modum noctem penitus
 " consumpserunt, et sub Auroræ luce tanta ruina populi
 " patuit interfecti, miserunt quosdam ad scrutandum
 " utrum tanta cædes erat peditum an etiam armatorum.

A.D. 1332.
 August.
 They de-
 clare their
 claim on
 the lands
 of their in-
 heritance.

The earl's
 answer.

They cross
 the river
 and surprise
 the Scots.

Examina-
 tion of the
 slain.

¹ hujus] habuimus, C.

| ² nullam] ullam, C

A.D. 1332.
August.

Scouts are
sent out.

A general
engagement.

Confusion
and rout of
the Scots.

The earl of
Fife re-
treats.

Henry de
Beaumont
pursues.

Et redeuntes nunciaverunt omnes pedites quotquot fuerant interfecti. Et vere sic erat. Nam omnes equites et armati pontem pariter obsidebant, aestimantes advenas vadæ fluminis ignorare. Sed cum sol diem proximum adduxisset, miserunt exploratores circumspectos, ne in manus hostium inciderent improvise. Et ecce statim comes de Marr prædictus, cum Scotis in cuneis more suo dispositis, venit obviam eis in multitudine maxima, pedibus incedendo, circiter xl. milia peditum et hominum armatorum. Tunc Anglici in oculis suis parvi, non de sua virtute sed de Dei misericordia confidentes, quamvis pauci, quingenti equites et armati, et mille pedites et sagittarii, contra hostes aciem dirigeabant. Scoti vero præsumptuose ad bellum animum componebant. Dispositis itaque turmis et sagittariis suis, ut collaterales cuneos hostium invaderent, ipsi armati magnum exercitum expugnabant. Et, facto congressu, Scotorum impetum primo non ferentes, aliquantulum retrocedere compelluntur, et de superius animati resistunt, clypeos ictibus præ-tendendo; hostium vero minores turmae per sagittarios plurimum lacerati, adhærere magno exercitui compelluntur, et in brevi conglobati, alius ab alio premebatur; ita a suis suffocati, et magis quam gladiatorum ictibus verberati, acervum valde mirabile componebant. Sicque condensati, ac si fuissent funibus colligati, miserabiliter expirabant. Videns tandem comes de Fyfe se suosque in extremo mortis positos, decrevit ad horam hostibus cedere, quam cum detrimento diutius præliari; et provido consilio cum non multis a certamine declinavit. Scotis igitur terga vertentibus, dominus Henricus de Beaumont cum suis equis petiit dispersos insequiturus, et eadem in hostes statuit facere fugientes. Et ceteri qui remanserant jussi sunt ambire massam hostium superius memoratam, et eam assiduis debellationibus infestare. Ex ideo siquidem acervo, ut creditur, divina ultimatione mirabiliter con-

globato, non potuit extrahi unus vivus; ceciderunt A.D. 1342. August. Terrible slaughter.
 illo die de parte superba Scoterum tres comites, vide-
 licet Duffenoldus de Marr, prædictus custos Scotiæ,
 ad cujus nutum regni negotia pertinebant, et comites
 de Murreffe et de Menteste, xviii. banneretti, lviii.
 milites, DCCC. equites, MCC. armati et pedites plurimi,
 præter acervum cujus numerum nemo novit. Massa The great heap of slain.
 siquidem vel acervus prædictus, mirabiliter ut præmit-
 titur conglobatus, altitudinem quindecim pedum habe-
 bat; metrico lucide scribitur de eodem versus.

- " Quidam¹ ballivus, armis jam nominativus.
 " Voce vocativus tauri tauroque dativus,
 " Sternit equos, ligni medio latitat leo signi
 " Ipsos ascendens, ad Scotica cornua tendens,
 " Militiæ girum facient Angli bene mirum,
 " Temporibus gentis cum pennatis ferientes;
 " Namque loco læto non sunt Scoti sine leto,
 " Scotos dum gentes terebrabant arcus habentes,²
 " Et viduæ flentes sponso quærent morientes."

Facta igitur discomfitura, de fugatione revertentes Delibera- tions of the victori- ous lords.
 circa horam diei nonam, Edwardus de Balliolo et sui,
 ubi fuerat prælium, convenerunt, et pro concessa sibi
 victoria Dominum collaudantes, quid agere debeant
 disponebant; et inter se dicebant " Quos nostros spera-
 " bamus familiares jam experti scimus contra nos
 " aciem direxisse; unde fratres et filii et parentes
 " ipsorum quibus istam et hesternam stragem intuli-
 " mus, necis illorum ultores, æterno odio nos habe-
 " bunt; petamus ergo aliquod oppidum cujus muni-
 " mine tutius quiescamus." Et continuo villam Sancti They take and occupy Perth.
 Johannis adierunt, eamque ceperunt, et moenia diruta
 et a palis et tabulis munierunt. Hoc compertum, qui
 de bello fugientes evaserunt resociatis et collectis
 viribus terre, villam quadriduo obsederunt et expug-

¹ Quidam] Joh. Bridl., MS.
 Digby 89, fo. 11 vo.

² arcus habentes] architenentes,
 Joh. Br.

A.D. 1339.
August.
Siege of
Perth.

John Craw
sails from
Berwick.

The siege
abandoned.

nantes, aditum cuiusdam Johannis Crawe de Berewyko in ipsorum subsidium expectant. Obsessi siquidem electos de suis equites et sagittarios nonnullos apud Meffen ad deprædandum direxerunt; nec propter metum obsidentium desistere voluerunt, quin prædam non modicam reduxerunt. Similiter et aquæ cursum in fossatas villæ decurrentis aperuerunt ab hostibus obturatum. Interim Johannes Craw prædictus, pirata crudelissimus, apud Berewycum navigium præparans, armatos mille præter nautas secum ducens, expugnaturus occupantes villam Sancti Johannis, pelagum est ingressus; et navibus prædictorum conquæstorum prope Kynkhorne ubi applicuerant, in salo dimissis, ab omnibus fere vacuis nautis duntaxat cœtis, obviat;¹ [qui] perpendentes cum tanta multitudine se congregi non posse, divinum flagitantes auxilium, et, timore postposito, velis in altum extensis, et in mare versis, fugam capere compulerunt. Quo audito, qui villam Sancti Johannis obsederant, stupefacti obsidione dimissa recesserunt.

Coronatio Edwardi de Balliolo.

Perth is
committed
to the earl
of Fife, who
joins the
lords.

Edward
Balliol
crowned.

Anno Domini M^oCC^oXXX^oII^o, disgregatis, ut præmittitur, Scotis, præfati conquæstores custodiam villæ Sancti Johannis comiti de Fif nuper ad pacem venienti, eisdemque fidelitatem juranti, commiserunt, et usque Scone divertentes, vocatis quibusdam Scotorum proceribus, episcopis et abbatibus, cum provincialibus qui paci se submiserant, episcopus de Dunkeldyn Edwardum de Balliolo regali diademate coronavit. Ubi contigit quod in hujusmodi solempnitate raro tamen legitur contigisse; omnes namque qui interfuerunt refectioni armati præter galeas existebant. Arguebat eos siquidem necessitas, quia metu magis quam dilec-

¹ Compare Annales de Melsa, ii. | there are no materials for improv-
365, where, however, unfortunately | ing the reading of the text.

tionem eis populus et procures inclinabant, sicque qui ^{AD. 1182.}
armati manu et valida regnum Scotiae conquistavit, ^{A coronation in arms.}
ipsum ab armatis decuit coronari.

De gestis apud Rokesburghe.

Rege igitur, ut praemittitur, insignito et discursis ^{The army comes to Rokesburghe.}
postmodum paucis diebus, apud Rokesburghe veniunt
praefati conquastores, ut fessa corpora recrearent;
hoc autem moleste ferentes regni superstites tantasque
caedes sibi et suis primitus illatas ad memoriam revo- ^{Attack of the Scots on the English.}
cantes, convocatis tironibus et resociato dilapso populo,
in novum regem irruere subito disponebant; Scotisque
ad pontem de Rokysburghe confluentibus, Thomas
Ughtred cum suis transitum impedivit, donec rex et
sui arma sumerent et Scotis irruentibus obviarent.
Nec mora, sed illis hinc inde convenientibus, fit magna
caedes inter eos, quae magis in Scotis illata compulit ^{They have to retreat with loss.}
eos pontem relinquere, nec sine suorum maximo detri-
mento. Quidam tamen vi capiebantur, inter quos
Andreas de Murrel miles, et pessimus ille pirata
Johannes Crawe praedictus, qui strages plurimas na-
vales Anglicis intulerat multis annis, in dicto conflictu
cum nonnullis aliis referuntur.

*De prima expulsionem Edwardi de Balliolo de regno
Scotiae apud Anandum.*

Hiis ita gestis, saepefatus rex Scotiae commilitonibus ^{Balliol's followers.}
suis, qui secum non modica discrimina sunt perpassi,
terras et tenementa diversaque munera rite laboribus
compensatis liberaliter est largitus. Nec multum post
comites de Boghan et Assextellis, ceterique domini, et
omnes fere Anglici, terras visitaturi in Angliam red-
ierunt. Rex vero Scotiae cum paucis admodum An- ^{He is left alone in Scotland.}
glicis sed et Scotorum multa familia stipatus, die
Dominica in festo Sanctae Luciae virginis apud Anan-

A.D. 1332.
Dec. 13.
Edward
Balliol is ex-
pelled from
Scotland.

dum est profectus, ubi duos dies habuit pacificos, sed tertio die incursu subito Scotorum inde enormiter expulsus. Nam, quia fidem in Scotis quasi nodum in cirpo quæsivit, sibi quoddam infortunium accidit valde grave. Vigiles vero sui hujusmodi prodicionem fieri permittebant; irruerunt namque comes de Murref et Archebaldus de Douglas miles cum multis aliis noctanter, et, in eum subito irruentes, Walterum Comyn militem et quosdam de suis maxime Scotos percusserunt, aliquos ceperunt. Ipse vero rex cum paucis de suis ascenso equo versus Angliam iter arripens vix evasit.

A.D. 1333.
January.
Parliament
at York.

Edward
Balliol asks
the help of
king Ed-
ward.

The king
listens to
the pro-
posal.

Item eodem anno post Natalem Domini Edwardus rex Angliæ apud Eboracum suum tenuit parliamentum; ubi, clero et regni proceribus congregatis, venerunt dominus Randulfus de Kerr, et Alexander Comyn baneretti, et Johannes de Felton miles, directi per præfatum regem Scotiæ domino regi Angliæ tanquam capitaneo domino regni Scotiæ, ac humiliter supplicabant quatenus injuriis domino suo regi Scotiæ multipliciter illatis potestate regia compati dignaretur, et ut æmulos suos, qui ipsum de regni sui Scotiæ finibus expulerunt et exterminare conabantur, per solidarios Anglicos iterum expugnare concederet facultatem; sicque favente Domino et subvenientibus Anglicis suæ restitui poterit regię dignitati. Habito super hiis tractatu, perpendens tandem rex Angliæ subjectioni regni Scotiæ quod progenitoribus suis Angliæ regibus competebat, pro quo sæpius decertabant, et multum sanguinis effundebant, favente jam Domino, sibi protinus imminere, si sæpedictum regnum Scotiæ præfato regi Balliolensi restitueretur, prædictorum nunciorum petitionibus favorabilius inclinavit, annuens ut omnes et singuli qui terras et tenementa in prædicto regno Scotiæ clamabant sibi competere quovis jure, ad id perficiendum manus apponerent adjutrices. Tento itaque ut præmittitur apud Eboracum parlamento, in principio Quadragesimæ, proxime sequentis, præfatus rex

Scotiæ cum comitibus de Boghan, Ascetle, et Anegos, ac non multis Anglicis equitibus et sagittariis stipendiariis, versus Scotiam est profectus, statimque post multi nobiles Angliæ in eorum subsidium indies confluebant, et apud Novum Castrum super Tynam per dies aliquot expectantes, donec adunatis xxi milibus equitum et peditum electorum Scotiam adierunt, villam de Berwyk obsederunt; cuius castri et villæ custodiam habuerunt comes Patricius et Alexander de Seetone milites per Scotos assignati. Isti quidem deforis, satagentes villam viribus optinere, machinas et propugnacula fieri faciebant; illi vero infra, nec castrum nec villam redere curantes, viriliter resistebant. Interim per duos dies ante festum Annuntiationis beate Mariæ Virginis, eodem anno finiente, Willelmus Douglas et de Poldric, et alii circiter quatuor milia Scotorum juxta Karliolum Angliam intraverunt, et patriam depredantes oppida plurima combusserunt, æstimantes Anglicos obsidionem velle deserere, et ipsos persequi, ut solebant. Hoc audiens Antonius de Luseye custos Karlioli, collectis admodum paucis de patria, scilicet quingentis, Scotos cum non modica præda domi revertentes insecutus est, et infra limites Scotiæ cum eisdem congressus est ipso die Annuntiationis Dominicæ, ubi prædictus Willelmus Douglas et alii capiebantur, et Scoti plurimi sunt occisi.

A.D. 1288.
February.
Balliol captures a town.

Berwyk besieged.

March 21.
Invasion of Cumberland by the Scots.

Victory of Antony de Lucy.
March 25.

Anno Domini m^occ^oxxx^oiiii^o, regni vero regis Angliæ Edwardi viii^o, post Pascham in manu valida idem rex versus Scotiam arrepto itinere Berwycum venit, dispositisque circumquaque machinis per terram et per mare illam undique expugnavit. Nautæ vero maris fluxum expectantes, navibus ad muros deductis, hostes sæpius insultabant, ac ipsi deintus dolios litu- minatos accendentes ut naves comburerent preparantes, ceciderunt in foveam quam fecerunt. Nam Domino

Edward comes to Berwyk after Easter.

Attempt to burn the fleet.

¹ Thomas Kirkpatrick (?); or Patrick Polwarth (?).

A.D. 1333.
June.
A church
burned, and
a truce
granted.

The attack
renewed.

A truce for
fifteen days.

The earl of
Ulster slain,
June 6.

Hostilities
renewed,
July 11.

disponente flamma conversa magnam partem villæ et quandam ecclesiam devoravit; ultioni divinæ, ut creditur, et hominum insultibus resistere non valentes, de muris acclamantes regiamque clementiam flagitantes usque in crastinum inducias postulabant, asserentes se velle regiæ voluntati in omnibus subjacere. Annuit: Anglici quieverunt; Scoti vero per totam noctem ignis rabiem temperantes et murorum custodias præparantes in crastino resistebant. Anglici vero ad expugnandum villam iterum ascenderunt. Et hoc perpendentes Scoti humiliter supplicantes ad regis Angliæ colloquium pervenerunt, habitoque tractatu cum eisdem, tandem præfati custodes quindecim dierum inducias petierunt, et si infra idem tempus prædicta villa per suos non fuerit refugata, in crastino post quindenam villa cum castro Anglicis redderetur. Ad hujusmodi pacti confirmationem xii. obsides tradiderunt, quod si pactum non servarent statim obsides necarentur. Sæpèdicti custodes continuo transmittunt litteras condictum¹ quod præscribitur continentes.

Dum ista taliter agerentur, comes de Hulvester, regis Angliæ consanguineus, equis, armis et ceteris ad bella necessariis dispositis, ex Hibernia veniens in subsidium regis Angliæ, Dominica proxima post festum Sanctæ Trinitatis a suis in Hibernia est proditus et occisus. Undecimo itaque die mensis Julii, qui quidem fuit Dominicus et induciarum prædictarum ultimus, Scoti exercitu grandi adunato in aurora diei fluvium de Twede transierunt, et vexillis explicatis infra limites Angliæ usque Twedemouthe processerunt, donec venientes ex opposito exercitus Anglicani ex transversa aquæ usque ad horam diei tertiam expectabant. Post horam itaque vesperarum equites quasi numero ducenti præfati fluminis vadium, ubi pons erat antiquitus, prope mare transierunt, et villam de Berewyk adierunt: hocque comperto Willelmus dominus de Monte-

¹ condictum] conluetum, C.

acuto cum ducentis equitibus villam ex parte maris
 circuierunt usque ad portum versus mare, ubi cum
 Scotis congressus est; nondum enim omnes villam tunc
 temporis sunt ingressi: quorum quidam capiebantur,
 pluribus interfectis; ceteri per viam qua venerant
 fugere sunt compulsi. Ex quibus improvide vadum
 repetentibus aliqui mergebantur. Inter quos Willel-
 mus de Setone filius Alexandri de Setone prædicti
 est demersus. Eademque nocte Scotorum exercitus
 fines Angliæ boreales invasit, et per tres dies et noctes
 Scoti sunt dispersi, patrias spoliantes et incendentes
 nec ordini nec loco vel sexui pepercerunt, astimantes
 Anglicos ab obsidione revocare. Sed propter hoc rex
 Angliæ ceptis desistere noluit; nam in crastino, trans-
 actis induciis supradictis, villam et castrum juxta
 condictum prænotatum petiit sibi reddi. Hostes vero
 respondentes dixerunt villam hesternæ die fuisse refu-
 gatam. Negaverunt Anglici, dicentes villam de tan-
 torum hominum accessu honeratam magis quam refu-
 gatam. Illis sic altercantibus, jussit dominus rex
 unum de obsidibus jam suspendi. Admirantes hostes
 tam sævam sententiam a facie regis egressam, timue-
 runt sibi ne ceteri suspenderentur; unde regis clemen-
 tiam humiliter petierunt. Quare Willelmus de Kethe
 miles dixit se potestatem de suis proceribus habere
 cum Anglicis iterum componere et tractare, et petiit
 inducias usque diem Lunæ proxime subsequentem, ita
 quod illo die inter solis ortum et occasum, super
 campi planitiem inter fluvium de Twede et oceanum,
 equites ducenti deberent ingredi villam de Berewyk,
 absque interitu vel captione decem hominum prædicto-
 rum, et ex hoc haberetur villa optime refugata. Et
 ad hujusmodi pacti confirmationem sex obsides denuo
 tradiderunt. Annuit rex Angliæ, facta super hiis
 indentura. Hæc itaque præsumptuosa propositio bel-
 lum prænunciavit et intulit manifeste; et continuo
 Willelmus de Kethe prædictus duces suos apud More-

A.D. 1293.
 July 11.

Failure of
 the attempt
 to recover
 Berwick

The Scots
 attempt a
 diversion

Edward
 demands
 the sur-
 render.

He orders
 one of the
 hostages to
 be hanged.

Another
 proposal of
 truce, if two
 hundred
 men can
 force their
 way into
 the town on
 the Monday
 following
 with loss of
 less than
 ten.

A.D. 1333.
July.
William
Kethe re-
calls the
Scots to
relieve
Berwick.

Prepara-
tions for
battle.

pathe Angliam devastantes adiit, huiusmodi pactum nuntiare; quibus et dixit, nisi per ipsos obsessis subventum fuerit, desolatio immo destructio regni Scotiæ sequeretur: et adjecit, quod nisi prædictam conventionem voluerint affirmare, villam sæpedictam cum castro domino regi Angliæ redderet absque mora. Illi vero negotium expositum ratum habentes ad Scotiam redierunt, et præfixo die cum Anglicis configere statuerunt.

De bello de Halcydown Hille.

July 19.
Battle of
Halcydown
hill.

Edward's
array and
division of
his forces.

Eodem anno, mensis Julii die xix^o, feria proxima ante festum Sanctæ Margaretæ virginis, quæ fuit dies Lunæ præfixus, rex Angliæ campum petiit, suum exercitum instructurus. Et primo constituit unam turmam quingentorum armatorum circa villam, adjunctis sagittariis et peditibus, ut egressum obsessis civibus abnegarent, ne a tergo venientes incursione furtiva Anglieis infestarent; cui præfuerunt Radulfus Basset, Thomas de Fourniville baneretti, Symon Warde et Johannes de Multone milites, ac etiam major villæ Novi Castri. Reliquum vero exercitum in tres cuneos tunc divisit. Quorum [primum] marscallo fratrique suo Johanni de Eltham comiti Cornubiæ, Henrico de Beaumont comiti de Boghan, et Edwardo de Boun gerenti vices comitis Herfordiæ, commendavit. Comes de Ascecle David huic turmæ alam a dextris versus mare, et comes de Angos Gilbertus de Unfravilla aliam a leva similiter faciebat. Secundam vero aciem ipse rex Angliæ hinc inde, ut superius, alis compositis; tertiam quoque turmam regi Scotiæ Balliolensi, alis ut superius dispositis, ut instrueret, assignavit. Sagittarii alis singulis deputantur; et quia principalis et præsumptuosa causa instantis certaminis erat quod equites ducenti, ut præmittitur, villam deberent ingredi illo die, constituit rex totidem electos equites

ut mutuo configerent et illorum aditum impedirent. A.D. 1333.
July 19.
The king's
speech to
his troops
Discurrunt interim exploratores, et circa horam diei
nonam adventus hostium nuntiatur. Ascenso itaque
dextrario, dominus rex suos verbis affabilibus anima-
vit; "Considerate, commilitones mei, cum quibus gen-
" tibus dimicaturi sumus isto die. Diu est quod pro-
" genitoribus nostris rebelles extiterunt. Piget itaque
" referre plebis et religiosorum subversiones et strages
" quas nostro generi pluries intulerunt. Jam, Deo pro-
" pitio, dies instat ultionis, nec illorum multitudinem
" timeatis, quia de Domini praesidio confidentes vobis-
" cum pares erimus in conflictu." Hiis dictis, equo
desiliens in suo cuneo se locavit; nec mora! ecce
Scotorum exercitus numero quasi lx. milia, quendam
monticulum, Halyndounhill vocatum, non longe a saepe
dicta villa distantem ascendunt, equis inter arbusta
trans collem dimissis; in ejus vertice totalis illa
multitudo in tres cuneos est divisa; inter quos Arche-
baldus de Douglas, custos Scotiae deputatus, aspiciens
ducentos equites praedictos non longe ab Anglorum ex-
ercitu delitantes, fertur talia protulisse: "Confortamini, Speech of
Archibald
Douglas,
guardian of
Scotland.
" fratres, et arma sumite cum vigore; ecce! duces
" hostium nostrorum equites sunt effecti, ut ceteris
" nobis in praedam dimissis fugae praesidium melius
" consequantur. Nunc alia fortuna tanquam inclusos
" illos in nostris finibus huc adduxit, hinc, siquidem
" a tergo, villam optimam viris bellicosis munitam;
" a dextris vero pelagum spatiosum et altum, a sinistris
" autem alveum fluminis de Twede cujus intumescens
" mare riparum marginem jam implevit. Igitur [animos]
" resumite et manus ad caedendum extendite, nec cui-
" quam redemptio concedatur, sed principes et pedites
" pariter pereant isto die." Et Anglici equos insi- The onset
dentes, perpendentes turmas hostium ad bellum acce-
dere, incedendo dimissis equis in suo cuneo quilibet
se locavit. Et continuo agmen unum hostium in
illam catervam quam rex Scotiae dirigebat audacter

A.D. 1333.
July 19.
Victory of
Halydown
hill.

Great
slaughter

Berwick
sur-
rendered,
July 20

Small loss
of the
English.

Edward's
letter to
archbishop
Melton.

irruit ad pugnandum. Similiter et alius Scotorum cuneus ad agmen regium se collisit. Sed nec sagittarium copiam nec arma militum sufferentes, in fugam citius dissolvuntur, moxque Scotorum sequitur magna caedes. Nam rex Angliae et alii proceres cum suis equitibus hostes huc et illuc discurrentes insequi statuerunt. Sed Scotorum turma in qua optimi milites ponebantur, qui villam, [ut] praemittitur, ingredi debuissent, in primariam aciem Anglorum ferocitate irruit leonina. Factaque est ibidem cruenta pugna. Decertant namque Scoti villam petere et pactum quod praemittitur perficere cupientes; e contra Anglici viriliter resistebant. Sicque, maxima parte diei emensa, prevalentibus Anglicis, favente Domino, victoria jam provenit. In isto siquidem conflictu diuturno ceciderunt equites quingenti de robustissimis et electis totius gentis Scotianae, in loco ab illius terrae incolis Hevyside nuncupato. Per septem itaque leucas fugientium fugatio facta fuit, donec nox superveniens Anglicos redire et tentoria petere compellebat. In crastino habitatores villam et castrum regi Angliae reddiderunt. In isto siquidem praelio vii. comites, xxv. banneretti, xlvii. milites Scoti caesi referuntur, praeter illos qui versus mare semetipsos ab alto praecipitabant. Pauci capiebantur; sed et plurimi evaserunt. Corpora comitum et majorum in locis dedicatis rex Angliae statuit sepelire. In tanta siquidem caede nisi miles unus et armiger unus de exercitu Anglicano, et pauci pedites ceciderunt.

His igitur expletis et hostibus, favente Domino, triumphatis, rex Angliae direxit hanc epistolam archiepiscopo Eboracensi Willelmo de Meletone in haec verba:—

Edwardus,¹ Dei gratia, rex Angliae, dominus Hiberniae, et dux Aquitaniae, venerabili in Christo patri Willelmo eadem

¹ The corresponding letter to the archbishop of Canterbury is printed in the *Foedera*, ii. 806.

.. gratia archiepiscopo Eboracensi, Angliæ primati, salutem. A.D. 1283.
 .. Sedens in throno gloriæ Qui Sui dispositione non fallitur, July 22.
 .. dilectos suos in opportunitatibus visitat uberius quam crea- Edward
 .. turæ rationis intentio sciat aut valeat invenire. Ipse quidem announces
 .. dominantium Dominus, misericordiam suam nobiscum licet his victory
 .. immerito magnifice mirificans, hiis diebus funestam Scotorum to the arch-
 .. inimicorum nostrorum rabiem et ipsorum perfidam feritatem, bishop of
 .. qui partes regni nostri boreales, nuper coadunatis viribus, hos- York.
 .. tiliter invadentes, depredationes, strages, incendia, necnon
 .. et alia mala quæ poterant crudeliter perpetrarunt, ordini,
 .. ætati et sexui non parcentes; et demum contra nos et
 .. exercitum nostrum prope Berewyem, die Lunæ proxime
 .. ante festum Sanctæ Margarietæ virginis proxime præterito,
 .. videlicet xix^o die mensis Julii, indurante spiritu superbiæ
 .. et antiquæ suæ malitiæ, ad prælium se parantes, virtutis
 .. suæ potestate mirabiliter dissipavit, ipsos in manu nostra
 .. victorioso præsidio concludendo; quos in Eo Qui dat salutem
 .. rogitibus, ac de jure nostro confidentes, in timore Domini,
 .. licet in perditione hominum non lætemur, in campo certa-
 .. minis devicimus, absque læsione magna, laudetur Altissimus,
 .. gentis nostræ, castrum ac villam Berwici vobis redditam
 .. favente Domino jam habemus. De quibus gratiarum om-
 .. nium Largitori laudes exsolvimus, ut poseamus, humiles et
 .. devotas, ineffabilem ipsius clementiam implorantes, ut sig-
 .. num quod nobiscum fecit in bono incrementis faciat felicibus
 .. fecundare pacis, firmando misericorditer opem conceptam
 .. quæ vobis, ad vestri recreationem et publicam regni lati-
 .. tiam, divina contemplando magnalia, nuntiamus. Et, quia
 .. inter cetera humanæ reparationis remedia humilem apud
 .. Deum orationis instantiam divinæ gratiæ credimus multi-
 .. pliciter affluentiam excitare, paternitatem vestram affectuose
 .. requirimus et rogamus, quatinus Salvatoris nostri clemen-
 .. tiam, pro concessa nobis cælitus victoria, devotis laudibus
 .. attollatis et a vestris subditis faciatis, ut convenit, devotione
 .. celebri venerari; ipsos salutaribus monitis inducentes, ut
 .. intentis orationum suffragiis nos miserationi divinæ sedulo
 .. recommendent, recommendare velitis vosmet ipsi, quod com-
 .. missum nobis regimen ad Dei beneplacitum, defensionem
 .. ecclesiæ, regni honorem, commodum et quietem, conserva-
 .. tionem et augmentum, ac redintegrationem jurium nostrorum
 .. regalium, ac nostri et subditorum nostrorum salutem ani-
 .. marum, agere, et in justitia roborari nostris temporibus,

He asks for
prayers.

A.D. 1333.
July 22.

"feliciter valeamus. Teste me ipso apud Berewicum super
"Twedam, xxii^o die Julii, anno regni nostri vii^o."

Robert of
Graystones
elected to
Durham.

Item eodem anno, circa festum Sancti Michaelis, Lodowycus de Beaumont, episcopus Dunelmensis, in fata decessit, et dominus Robertus de Grastanes, sacre theologie professor, ejusdem ecclesie monachus, in episcopum Dunelmensem est electus.

He is con-
secrated
Nov. 14, in
the palace
at York.

Item eodem anno, xviii^o kalendas Decembris, dominus Willelmus de Meletone, Eboracensis archiepiscopus, in capella palatii archiepiscopi apud Eboracum, propter interdictum et suspensionem per dominum papam Johannem xxii. in ecclesiam cathedralem Eboracensem et canonicos ejusdem illatam, magistrum Robertum de Grastanes predictum, sacre pagine professorem, electum capituli Dunelmensis, presentibus episcopis Karliolensi et Armaghensi, in Dunelmensem episcopum consecravit.

A.D. 1334.
Richard of
Bury conse-
crated, and
Graystones
set aside.

Anno Domini m^occc^oxxx^oiiii^o, regni vero regis Edwardi viii^o, septimo die mensis Junii, dominus Ricardus de Buri, clericus domini regis, per papam Johannem xxii. ad instantiam regis a Wyntoniensi,¹ in episcopum Dunelmensem est consecratus. Prædictus vero magister Robertus de Grastanes ab officio pontificatus est repulsus, quia papa episcopatus Anglie vacantes sibi primitus reservavit. Item xix^o die mensis ejusdem, videlicet in festo Sanctorum Gervasii et Prothasii, apud Novum Castrum super Tynam, presentibus regni proceribus, Edwardus de Balliolo rex Scotie fecit homagium et fidelitatem domino suo regi Anglie prædicto pro regno Scotie in verbis Gallicis quæ sequuntur:—²

June 19.
Edward
Balliol does
homage.

"Jeo Edwarde, par la grace de Dieu roi Descoce et
"des Isles apurtenante, devynk vostre homme lige

¹ a Wyntoniensi] Anymo', C. Bury was consecrated on the 13th of December, 1333; he was in-throned on the 5th of June.

² See Hemingburgh, ii. 309; A. Murimuth, p. 75; Chron. Lanercost, p. 277; Cf. Ford, ii. 847.

" pur les ditz roialme et isles contre toutes gentz qe
 " porront vivre ou morir. Nous serroms feial et loial,
 " et foi et loiaute porteroms a vous nostre treschere
 " seigneur, roi d'Engleterre, et a vous heres come
 " seuerain seigneur des ditz roialme d'Escocce et Isles
 " countre toutz genz qe pourront vivre ou morir"; et
 li roy le receut.

A.D. 1324.
 June 12.

Et statim rex Scotiæ prædictus dedit domino suo regi Angliæ et heredibus suis fere totam cis mare Scotiæ, incipiendo apud Berewycum, cum castris, villis, monasteriis religiosorum et forestis; factis super hoc munimentis. Hiis completis rex Angliæ versus Londonias, et rex Scotiæ cum suis versus Scotiam, sunt profecti.

He surrenders southern Scotland to Edward.

Secunda expulsio Edwardi de Balliolo de regno Scotiæ.

Item eodem anno, die Sancti Bartholomæi apostoli, Henricus de Beamont comes de Boghan et comes de Astecle, terras suas in comitatu de Boghan visitare volentes, a rege Scotiæ prædicto, apud Strivelyn perhendinante et dissentiente, recesserunt; et statim conglobati Scoti regem Scotiæ præfatum persequi statuerunt. Quem prodidit Alexander Moubray miles ejusdem nationis; cujus et equos, thesaurum et omne supellectile regum rapiebant. Ipse vero rex prodicionem prædictam satagens declinare, versus Berewycum iter suum dirigebat, et cum Scotis in itinere confligit, et fugavit, ac postea prospere adiit Berewycum. Dum itaque Ricardus Thalbot, Johannes de Strivelyn, et Johannes de Feltone milites, qui cum comitibus de Boghan et Astecle prædictis in interiores partes Scotiæ processerunt, perpendentes populum ad ipsos expugnandum undique convolare, versus Angliam sunt reversi. Sed juxta Lynliscou per Willelmum de Kethe et Godefridum de Rôs capiebantur et in castro de Donbretagne custodiæ deputantur, familia sua et sagittariis interfectis.

Aug. 24.

The Scots again attack Balliol.

He flies to Berwick.

His partizans intercepted by the Scots and imprisoned at Dumbarton.

A.D. 1354.
August.

Henry de
Beaumont
besieged in
Dundarg.

Balliol asks
aid of
Edward.

Edward
winters at
Roxburgh.

November.
Long frost.

Great
storm.

The new
nave of
Whitby
church
blown
down.

Comes vero de Ascetle cum paucis admodum Anglicis capiebatur, ipsoque retento Anglici repatriare permittuntur. Et perpendentes proceres Scotiæ fortunam sibi taliter arridere, Henricum de Beaumont comitem de Boghan prædictum cum suis utriusque sexus numero quasi CCC. in castro suo de Dondarg adunatis viribus obsederunt; unde præsumitur quod, si rex Scotiæ et ceteri domini prænotati dispersi non fuissent, non in manus hostium taliter incidissent; quia juxta philosophum omnis virtus unita fortior est se ipsa dispersa. Quo audito, rex Scotiæ malis Scotiæ undique perturbatus, misit Thomam Ughtrede militem domino suo regi Angliæ nuntiaturum qualiter, fracto fidelitatis homagii juramento sibi præstito, Scoti in ipsum hostiliter irruerunt, humiliter supplicando quatinus remedium apponere dignaretur. Igitur rex Angliæ, perjuris Scotis et eorum malitiæ volens obviare, contra festum Omnium Sanctorum apud Novum Castrum super Tynam per dies aliquot expectabat, donec adunato exercitu usque Rokesburghe est profectus; villam et castrum reædificari et muniri fecit, et ibidem cum suis copiis hyemavit.

Eodem anno, circa festum Sancti Martini in hieme, incipiebat gelu, nix et grando, et durabant continue per quatuor menses proxime subsequentes. Et in vigilia Sancti Andreæ apostoli circa mediam noctem videbantur fulgura et coruscationes, audiebantur tonitrua valde terribilia apud nos. Et in eadem vigilia circa horam diei tertiam facta est tanta tempestas universalis nivis et venti de Favonio flantis, et duravit per totum illum diem, quod nullus dies de tali poterat reminisci. Novam namque fabricam navis ecclesiæ beati Petri et Sanctæ Hildæ de Whitby usque ad suppositionem in . . . præter summitatem cabuli consummatam, videlicet columnas infra muros exteriores et totum opus super positum concussit solotenus et prostravit. Similiter plures ecclesias et domos varias per Angliam et in regionibus aliis dissipavit.

Item eodem anno in crastino Epiphanie Domini, Xp. 1222. Jan. 7.
quidam proditor Thomas Pyngel cum ducentis Scotis Scottish
equitibus Ridesdale est ingressus, patriam spolians ac invaded into Ridesdale.
praedam non modicam diversi generis animalium adu-
navit. Sed hoc in exercitu Anglicano divulgato, comes Defeated by the earl of Cornwall.
Cornubiæ, domini de Percy et de Novavilla, redeunti-
bus Scotis juxta cujusdam fluminis vadum obviabant,
et impetum in eos facientes, paucis admodum evasis,
capitaneus et ceteri perimuntur.

Item eodem anno, mensis Februarii die xviii^o, equiti- Feb. 18.
bus et sagittariis in Rokesburghe et Berewyk di- Edward has an inter- view with French am- bassadors, who urge him to give up the war.
missis, regeque Scotiæ ad eorum munimen et præ-
sidium in Karliolo commorante, deputato, rex Angliæ
accersitis archiepiscopo Eboracensi, episcopo Dunel-
mensi, comite Cornubiæ et quibusdam aliis regni pro-
ceribus, apud Novum Castrum super Tynam cum legatis
regis Franciæ colloquium habuit et tractatum; et fuit
summa totius negotii ex parte regis Franciæ tunc pro-
lati, quod rex Angliæ ceptis desisteret, nec amodo
Scotiam expugnaret. Et ad hoc statuit rex Angliæ per
legatos proprios respondere. Ibique innotuit domino
regi Angliæ qualiter Henricus de Beaumont comes de
Boghan reddit Scotis castrum de Dondarge, in quo fue- Surrender of Dun- darge.
rat obsessus, facta super hoc indentura, videlicet quod
præfatus comes de Boghan et comitissa conjux sua
cum familia competenti militum, clericorum, mulierum
generosarum, et aliorum officiariorum, sibi necessari-
orum, moram facient in custodia domini Andreæ de
Murref, Alexandri de Moubray et Roberti de Lowther, Terms of surrender, and pro- posal of perpetual peace.
donec prædictus dominus comes Henricus mittat nun-
tios speciales domino regi Angliæ pro pace perpetua
inter regna Angliæ reformanda; reliquam vero fami-
liam utriusque sexus, repatriare cupientem, in salvo
conductu deducere facient dicti domini versus Angliam,
usque ad limites regni sui; et si forte noluerit rex
Angliæ hujusmodi paci perpetuæ consentire, prædicti
domini Andreas, Alexander et Robertus prædictum

A.D. 1333.
February.

The king
returns to
London.

comitem cum suis omnibus usque Berewycum vel alibi quo voluerit sub fida custodia sanum conducere facient atque salvum, sicut plenius continetur in indenturis in alio loco inter incidentia. Item eodem anno ante carnisprivium, circa festum Sancti Mathie apostoli, in villa Sancti Johannis, Rokesburghe, Edenburghe, Berewyk et Karlioli, armatorum et sagittariorum copia non modica ad eorum custodiam deputata, dominus rex Angliæ cum comitibus de Warwyk, Lincolnæ, et aliis proceribus festinanter et subito de partibus borealibus versus Londonias est profectus, ex causa valde necessaria pro suis liberis protegendis et tuendis; de quorum prosperitate juxta relationem sibi factam plurimum hæsitabat.

May 26.
Parliament
at York.

July.
Invasion of
Scotland.

July 28.
Cumber-
nauld
castle taken.

Anno Domini m^occc^oxxxv^o, et regni regis Angliæ ix^o. In crastino Ascensionis Domini, convocatis regni proceribus, rex apud Eboracum tenuit parliamentum,¹ in quo debellare Scotiam decrevit. Et in hebdomada Pentecostes iter arripiunt usque Novum Castrum; et exercitu adunato juxta Karliolum Scotiam intraverunt. Et propter exercitus multitudinem rex Angliæ versus occidentem et rex Scotia versus orientem iter suum dirigunt, patrias incendentes. Rex igitur Scotiæ, die Veneris proxima ante Gulam Augusti, venit ad quoddam castrum Cumbernolde nuncupatum, in quo equites c^{ci} et multæ mulieres generosæ sunt reperti; Scoti vero de se præsumentes et de muris proclamantes Anglicis improperebant, quos statim Anglici eo acrius insultabant. Et, illis deintus strenue resistantibus, Anglici per fenestras turris inferiores ignem domibus supponentes de superioribus gradibus subfumigatos hostes descendere coegerunt. Et sic tandem, vi castro devicto, Willelmus Marscallus miles et quidam scu-

¹ The parliament sat, May 26—
June 3: the king was at Newcastle
on the 18th of June, and also on the

3rd of July: on the 6th of July he
was at Carlisle.

tarius castri constabularius, necnon quaedam mulieres reservantur, ceteris omnibus interfectis. Item, die Dominica proxime sequenti, comes de Nemurco regi Angliæ de partibus transmarinis veniens in subsidium guerræ suæ cum cxi. equitibus Anglicis et Gallicis, cc. hobellariis et sagittariis, exiit de Berewyco, æstimans regem Angliæ apud Edenburghe reperiri. Et ecce comes de Murref, comes Patricius, et alii majores Scotiæ cum x. milibus equitum et peditum, locum latibulis aptum ingressi, secus viam quam ipsos ituros arbitrabantur, illorum adventum expectantes latuerunt. Et cum jam ad locum memoratum accederent, nescii quos dolos hostes versuti paraverunt, egressi Scoti in illos irruunt, nil tale præmeditantes, undique lacerrantes: at illi, etsi fraudulenter fuerant circumventi, viriliter resistebant. Et ceciderunt utrobique plurimi vulnerati, sed pejus Anglicis fortuna tunc temporis ministrabat, quia illorum paucitas per Scotorum multitudinem nimium exstitit onerata. Tandem comes de Nemurco, et qui secum superfuerant, impetum hostium ferre diutius non valentes, Turrim de Edenburghe conscenderunt, sed non habentes Anglici, et qui cum comite erant, unde sitis fervorem extinguere poterunt, redemptioni quatuor milium marcarum se continuo reddiderunt. Willelmo igitur Daubenay milite et aliis obsidibus dimissis, comes de Murref cum mille et ducentis equitibus prædictum comitem de Nemurco et suos superstites versus Berewycum usque Northam et ulterius conducebat. Quos cum dimisissent et redierunt, obvios habuerunt Willelmum de Pressefen et Michaelen fratrem ejus, custodes castri de Rokenburghe, cum ducentis equitibus et peditibus ad deprædandum proficiscentes; qui et nihil de facto quod præscribitur audierunt. Et statim facta est congressio valde dira, sed Scoti continuo fugierunt, et insequentes Anglici caedem non modicam faciebant. In isto siquidem conflictu plusquam quadringenti equites Scotorum et pedites ceciderunt. Comes itaque de

A. D. 1222.
July 28.
Arrival of
the count of
Nemur.

He is surprised and overcome by the Scots.

He surrenders, promises ransom, and is conducted to Northam.

His escort on their return, overwhelmed by the English.

A.D. 1335.
August.
Prisoners
taken.

Two ships
of Yar-
mouth
capture a
Scottish
ship.

Fate of the
armed men
in it.

Aug. 18.
Submission
of the earl
of Athol.

Aug. 20.
Letter of
the king of
France to
Edward.

Murref, et Henricus Prendergest miles, cum non multis aliis capiebantur, et carcerali custodiæ committuntur, et sic obsides pro redemptione comitis de Nemurco et suorum cum hostibus dimissi absque solutione liberantur. Item circa festum Sanctæ Mariæ Magdalenæ, duo naves de Germue ceperunt quandam navem magnam de Scotia cum apparatu bellico, in qua fuerunt centum et lx. homines armati præter nautas tali vasi convenientes; in qua etiam invéniebatur episcopus Glasgensis, qui nimio dolore vexatus, antequam applicuit, expiravit. Ceterorum vero nullus evasit, quin gratis se ipsos submergebant ac tamen etiam fuerant interfecti.

Regibus igitur Angliæ et Scotiæ apud villam Sancti Johannis in Scotia perhendinantibus, xviii^o die Augusti, facta fuit reconciliatio¹ comitis de Ascetle, qui postquam captus fuit Scotis adhæsit, et cum eisdem contra regis Angliæ et Scotiæ conspiravit. Similiter et aliqui magnates, qui de regis fidelitate recesserunt, pacificantur cum eodem. Modus vero reconciliationis fere omnibus magnatibus Angliæ omnino displicuit; cujus copia in alio libro in verbis Gallicis annotatur. Item, xx^o die mensis Augusti, nuntii regis Franciæ quandam epistolam in verbis Gallicis regi Angliæ tradiderunt; cujus copia sequitur consequenter:—

“ Cognate charissime, nosti qualiter, ex auctoritate summi pontificis et voluntate, tanquam capitaneus suscepimus passagium Terræ Sanctæ, in quo tuam præsentiam plurimum affectamus, sicut hiis nunciis sæpius fati sumus, ac etiam omnes contumelias et dissensiones quæ præfatum passagium poterunt impedire totis viribus volumus annullare. Misi-
“ musque tibi dilectos et fideles consiliarios nostros episcopum Aueriensem et Petrum de Tichel² militem, ut tandem tibi placuisset quod de discordia inter te et David

¹ *reconciliatio*] See the terms of the agreement in Knighton, c. 2566, and, in full, in Robert of Avesbury, de Hearne, pp. 24, sq.

² The envoys are called “episcopus Ebricensis” and “Petrus de Tierzlieu,” in the *Fœdera*, ii. 903, 904, 913.

" regem Scotiæ subcitate possemus ordinare; et rescripisti
 " nobis quod nondum tibi taliter est consultum propter cer-
 " tas causas nobis per tuos nuntios ostendendas; qui non ad
 " hæc nostris aspectibus paruerunt. Ad hoc cum commu-
 " nitas et habitatores terræ Scotiæ nobis sæpius supplicas-
 " sent, ac continue cum instantia magna et diligentia sup-
 " plicant et requirunt, quatinus propter certas alligationes
 " inter charissimum dominum Carolum regem Franciæ, cog-
 " natum et prædecessorem nostrum, avunculum tuum, cujus
 " animæ propitiatur Deus, et prædecessorem et patrem præ-
 " dicti David et habitatores regni Scotiæ factas, prout qui-
 " busdam de tuis apud nos existentibus patefecimus mani-
 " feste, vellemus juxta tenorem alligationum prædictarum
 " eis facere subsidium et solamen; quod quidem propter
 " honorem nostrum et magnitudinem rationis differre non
 " possumus nec negare. Ideoque fatemur quod eidem pro-
 " misimus subvenire, eo quod per prædecessorem nostrum
 " prædictum et [avunculum] tuum ligati et obligati fuimus,
 " ut superius est ostensum; unde pro bono pacis et con-
 " cordiæ fecimus nostrum grande consilium tibi confidere
 " viam istam, ut placeat tibi quod sanctissimus pater et
 " nos possumus de prædictis discordiis ordinare. Et credi-
 " mus quod ista via proficiet passagio prælibato, tibi et
 " regno tuo, et honorabilis atque bona; et ideo tibi, cog-
 " nate charissime, supplicamus quatinus huic viæ concor-
 " dare velis efficaciter et assentire, quam si volueris accep-
 " tare, nobisque tuam rescribere voluntatem, firmum et stabile
 " faciemus, intentione tua scita, quod idem David faceret si
 " personaliter interesset. Custodiat te Dominus. Scriptum
 " apud Thaverniacum¹ vii^o die Julii."

A.D. 1255.
 July 7.
 Letter of
 Philip of
 Valois to
 Edward III.
 announcing
 that he is
 bound to
 assist the
 Scots.

He pro-
 poses that
 the pope
 should
 arbitrate.

RESPONSIO REGIS ANGLIÆ.

" Charissime domine et cognate, litteras vestras apud
 " villam Sancti Johannis in Scotia, xx^{mo} die mensis Au-
 " gusti, recepimus, continentibus quod de summi pontificis
 " auctoritate passagium Terræ Sanctæ tanquam capitaneus
 " suscepistis, in quo nostram cupitis comitivam, et omnes
 " dissensiones velletis libentissime repellere, quæ possunt
 " præfatum sanctum passagium impedire; necnon qualiter
 " nuntii David et habitatorum regni Scotiæ vobis supplica-

Answer of
 Edward
 III., dated
 August 22
 at Perth.

¹ Thaverniacum] Thameyn, MS. But see Will. Nang., D'Ach. Spirileg.
 iii. 98.

A.D. 1335.
Aug. 22.
Acknow-
ledgment of
receipt.

“runt et instanter supplicant et requirunt, quod ratione
“alligationum per Carolum regem Francie prædecessorem
“vestrum et avunculum nostrum prædecessori et patri præ-
“fati David, ac etiam communitati et habitatoribus regni
“Scotie supradicti factarum, velletis eisdem subvenire juxta
“alligationis tenorem prædictæ, quod renuere non valetis
“propter honorem vestrum et multiplicem rationem. Ideo-
“que spondistis eisdem facere subsidium et levamen.
“Similiter quod vos ad depellendum omnes dissensiones
“quæ prædictum passagium poterunt retardare, ac pro bono
“pacis et concordie, fecistis grande consilium vestrum nobis
“confidere viam istam, videlicet, quod sanctissimus pater et
“vos possetis super prædictis discordiis ordinare, supplicas-
“tisque nobis ut ad istam viam dignaremur etiam consen-
“tiro. Charissime nepos et domine, quoad primum placeat
“vobis scire quod per immensos labores et penas non mo-
“dicas inter nos et habitatores Scotie pacem fecimus stabi-
“lire, quæ favente Domino erit taliter observata quod propter
“dissensiones inter regna prælibata passagium Terræ Sanctæ
“erit nullatenus impeditum. Quoad secundum, videlicet,
“quod per causam alligationum prædictarum ipsi David et
“habitatoribus Scotie subsidium spondistis, nobis videtur
“quod, habendo respectum ad antiquas alligationes inter
“reges Angliæ et Francie per affinitatem et proximitatem
“sanguinis, ac etiam propter homagium nostrum vobis fac-
“tum, plus nobis tenemini subvenire quam aliis qui sunt
“vobis extranei et remoti. Et, nepos dilectissimo, quoad
“tertium, videlicet, quod debemus consentire quod sanctissi-
“mus pater et vos possetis super contentionibus prædictis
“et contumeliis ordinare, placeat vobis scire quod, benedic-
“tus Altissimus, dissensiones prædictæ pacificantur, ut supe-
“rius est expressum; tanguntque coronam nostram et jura
“specialiter regni nostri, quæ quidem ordinationi vel decreto
“cujuscunque submittere nolumus nec valemus; quia pro-
“ceres et communitas regni nostri per statuta et leges an-
“tiquitus usitatas ad id nolunt aliququaliter consentire. Cha-
“rissime nepos et domine, in omnibus quæ vos tangunt
“parati semper erimus per rationem vobis facere quod de-
“bemus. Datum sub sigillo nostro privato apud villam
“Sancti Johannis in Scotia, xxii^o die Augusti.”¹

His answer
in detail.

He refuses
to submit to
the pope's
judgment.

¹ I have not found the French | given above; but they are referred
originals of either of the two letters | to by Knighton, c. 2567.

Item eodem anno post festum Assumptionis beatę Marię Virginis comes de Astecle, regibus Anglię et Scotię ut præmittitur pacificatus, quorundam majorum Scotię a rege Anglię reconciliationem impetravit, exceptis duntaxat comite Patricio, Andrea de Murref seneschallo Scotię, et Wilhelmo de Douglas, qui nondum regis gratiam sunt adepti. Comes namque Patricius, immemor fidelitatis juramenti post bellum de Halyndonhulle regi Anglię apud Berewicum præstiti, cui tunc temporis idem rex ut eum alliceret bona promalis reddens ccc. libras argenti contulit gratiose, guerram contra Anglicos denuo suscitavit. Cujus malitię rex Anglię volens obviare regem Scotię præfatum et alios comites et barones cum octingentis equitibus assignavit, ut partes Scotię transmontanas peterent, et hostes occiderent resistentes. Quibus dispositis et jussa complentibus, ac demum peragratis provinciis, et usque Berewicum reversus, rex diversas custodias diversis dominis assignavit, regeque Scotię apud Aukelande perhendinante profectus est rex Anglię usque austrum. Nec mora; iterum Scoti conglobati, comite Patricio, Andrea de Murref, et Wilhelmo de Douglas ducibus constitutis, comitem de Ascetle, quem exosum habebant eo quod familiaritati regis Anglię, ut prædicatur, jam rediit, in vigilia Sancti Andrea ceperunt, ipsumque quatuor milites occiderunt. Hoc comperto rex Anglię statuit Scotiam denuo debellare, et adunatis regni proceribus in manu forti Berewicum adiit, ubi versuti Scoti iterum regis clementiam sunt adepti.

Et circa Conversionem Sancti Pauli accersitis archiepiscopo Cantuariensi et episcopis Lincolnensi, Dunelmensi et Karliolensi, cum quibusdam regni majoribus, pax fuit iterum reformata inter regna. Et exinde parliamentum suum statuit Londoniis tenendum in Quadragesima proxime sequenti; ad quos Scoti promiserunt accedere et pacem reformatam omni juris robore confirmare. Rege igitur Londonias reverso,

A.D. 1328.
August.

The earl of Athol procures the submission of the Scottish lords, except earl Patrick. Murray and Douglas, who renew the war.

Edward sends a force, and then turns southwards.

The Scottish lords kill the earl of Athol.
Nov. 29.

Edward returns to Berwick.

A.D. 1336.
Jan. 25.
Peace made.

A.D. 1326.
January.
The Scots
kill the
English
envoys.

Scoti antiquam malitiam et spiritu superbiæ indurata[m] ad memoriam revocantes, et tanquam canes ad vomitum revertentes, custodes et ministros quoscunque infra regnum Scotiæ per regem Angliæ constitutos infestare et trucidare in dies non cessabant.

May
Balliol
moves from
Berwick to
Perth.

Anno Domini M^{ccc}XXX^{vi}o, et regni regis Edwardi xmo, circa festum Pentecostes, rex Scotiæ sæpeditus cum comitibus et baronibus Angliæ in manu forti apud Berewyem aliquandiu morabatur, donec ordinato exercitu mare Scotiæ transierunt, et apud villam Sancti Johannis adventum regis expectabant Angliæ. Iterum Flandrenses, regi Franciæ faventes, Scotis arma et alia necessaria ministrabant, cum quibus Anglici in pelago sæpius sunt congressi, caesis plurimis utrobique.

June
Edward
goes to
Scotland,
but the
Scots avoid
a battle
and he
returns.

Igitur rex Angliæ circa festum Barnabæ apostoli, suos visitaturus, Scotiam adiit, et instructis exercitibus Scotos, huc et illuc fugientes ad pugnam excitavit. Sed cum ipso congredi metuentes latibula petierunt. Et perpendens quod guerram prorogare maluerunt, dimissis Anglicis ibidem et ad certas custodias deputatis, in Angliam est reversus. Nec multum post Johannes de Eltham comes Cornubiæ, germanus regis, in Scotiam dimissus, viam universæ carnis est ingressus, qui postea Londoniis est sepultus. Rex itaque itinerando

John of
Eltham dies.

Edward
uses a large
sum of the
people's
treasures, for
the war.

versus Scotiam venit Elboracum, ibique magnam summam pecuniæ decimæ triennalis, domino papæ per eorum concessæ et collectæ ac in monasterio beatae Mariæ Elboraci ad opus summi pontificis ad reservandum positæ, cepit et in subsidium guerræ suæ statuit expendendam. Et morabatur in Scotia usque festum Sancti Nicholai confessoris. Rege Scotiæ sæpéfato ibidem in manu forti dimisso, ipse rex et regina apud Haytefelde solempne festum Natalis Domini tenuerunt.

He keeps
Christmas
at Hatfield
where a son
is born.

ubi regina peperit filium quem Willelmus de Meleton archiepiscopus Elboracensis de sacro fonte suscepit et suo nomine nuncupavit: qui cito post obiit et in majori ecclesia beati Petri Elboraci, a parte boreali magni

altaris traditur sepultura.¹ Item eodem anno in parlamento Londoniis indicto, in Quadragesima, rex primogenitum suum Edwardum ducem Cornubiae nominavit, eidemque ducatum dedit. Et eodem die Henricum Lancastriae comitem Derbyae, Willelmum de Boun comitem Huntingdoniae, Willelmum de Montecuto comitem Sarisbariae, Hugonem de Audelay comitem Gloucestriae, Willelmum de Clynton comitem Northamptoniae fecit, ac etiam nominavit, eidem terras et redditus assignavit, factique sunt xii. milites ipso die.

A.D. 1287.
March.
The king's son made duke of Cornwall.

Creation of earls.

Anno Domini m^occc^oxxxvii^o, regni regis xi^o, decimo die Julii in concilio habito Eboraci, ordinatum fuit coram rege pro salva custodia marchiae borealis, quod sexaginta equites electi de comitatu Eboraci comiti de Warwyk debuissent intendere, ipsoque capitaneo constituto pacis, ad proficiscendum versus Scotiam cum eodem; electi fuerunt similiter lx. sagittarii de quolibet wapentachio citra Trentam ad proficiscendum cum eodem expensis suis, de militibus et seriantibus, habentibus quadraginta solidatas terre et supra, levatis et eidem pro eodem itinere liberatis. Igitur custodia marchiae Scotiae Thomae de Bellocampo comiti de Warwyk, ut praemittitur, deputata, rex Angliae domino archiepiscopo Eboracensi direxit breve suum cujus tenor sequitur, in hac verba:²—

July 10.
Sixty knights of Yorkshire chosen to accompany the earl of Warwick to Scotland, with archers from each Wapentake.

“ Edwardus Dei gratia rex Angliae, dominus Hiberniae et dux Aquitaniae, venerabili in Christo patri Willelmo, eadem gratia archiepiscopo Eboracensi, Angliae primati, salutem. Justum est et consonum rationi ut per communia subsidia communibus periculis occurratur; sane licet nos desiderantes omnino habere pacem cum domino rege Franciae, qui nonnullas terras in ducatu praedicto nobis diu detinuit et ad hoc detinet minus juste, sibi pro optineunda restitutione

Aug. 24.
Letter of the king to the archbishop of York.

¹ “V. Memor. Walt. Coventry.”
C. in marg.

² in hac verba] This letter is
R 1681.

given in the Fœdera, ii. 990, from
the Close Rolls of the year.

A.D. 1237.
Aug. 28.
He recounts
his grounds
of complaint
against the
king of
France.

He directs
him to sum-
mon a con-
vocation of
the clergy
of his pro-
vince on
Sept. 10. to
grant an aid.

“ terrarum hujusmodi quicquid debuimus reverenter et humi-
“ liter fecerimus, offerentes ulterius ad captandam illius bene-
“ volentiam maritagia filii nostri primogeniti ducis Cornubiæ,
“ claræ memoriæ Johannis comitis Cornubiæ fratris nostri
“ tunc viventis, et sororis nostræ charissimæ jam comitissæ
“ Gerliæ; pecuniam etiam pro suo libito et alia quæ in sce-
“ dula hiis inclusa plenius annotantur; ipse tamen, hiis omni-
“ bus obauditis, machinans nos et nostros omnino deprimere,
“ ut usurpata super nos possit retinere liberius, et sibi facilius
“ attrahere residuum quod habemus, movet nobis guerram
“ fortissimam tam in terra quam in mari, nolens nec paci nec
“ pacis tractatui consentire; propter quod, ad reprimendum
“ ipsius et Scotorum et aliorum inimicorum nostrorum mali-
“ tiam, oportet pro defensione ecclesiæ et terrarum nostro
“ regimini subditarum nos opponere manu forti, quæ quidem
“ defensio tantum requirit profluvium expensarum quod sine
“ magno fidelium nostrorum præsidio illas non possumus sup-
“ portare. Quamobrem amorem gratum et bene dispositum
“ quem ad nostri conservationem honoris et defensionem ec-
“ clesiæ et prædictarum terrarum confidimus vos habere, ex
“ corde rogamus quatinus, ponderatis debite quantis periculis
“ nos et nostri subicimur in hac parte, prælatos et clerum
“ vestræ diocesis, tam exemptos quam non exemptos, apud
“ Eboracum die Mercurii proxime post festum Nativitatis
“ beatæ Mariæ proxime futurum, citius quo poteritis con-
“ vocare faciatis. Ita quod prælati, decani, abbates, priores,
“ archidiaconi, rectores ecclesiarum, et alii beneficiati quos
“ expedire videritis, personaliter tunc compareant coram vo-
“ bis; coram quibus singula contenta in dicta cedula et alia
“ quæ movere poterunt, clare et publice faciatis exponi;
“ inducentes eosdem ut quilibet in alleviationem expensarum
“ hujusmodi nobis, prout facultates eo permiserint, talem sub-
“ ventionem faciat qualem tanta necessitas jam exposcit; re-
“ scribentes nobis cum omni celeritate quid et quantum vos et
“ alii singuli nobis duxeritis concedendum: ad hoc faciatis
“ dictam cedulam in singulis ecclesiis dictæ diocesis et locis
“ aliis quibus expedire videritis, diebus solemniibus et festivis
“ quando major aderit populi multitudo, publicari patenter et
“ exponi, ut fideles nostri, super hiis informati, nobis libentius
“ temporaliter subveniant et pro nobis apud Deum votivis
“ precibus intercedant, ad quod monitis efficacibus excitetis;
“ taliter super hiis vos habentes quod vestram debeamus

"gratitudinem merito commendare. Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium xxviii^o¹ die Augusti anno regni nostri undecimo." A.D. 1287.
Aug. 28.

Cedula inclusa litteris antescriptis in verbis Gallicis mittebatur continens quae sequuntur:—

"Primo² rex Angliæ per solempnes nuntios regi Franciæ supplicavit, ut terras in ducatu Aquitanie per ipsum injuste et voluntarie occupatas sibi redderet gratiose. Quorum petitionibus nihil annuit, sed tandem respondit quod, si rex Angliæ vellet se suis aspectibus personaliter præsentare, jus sibi faceret et favorem. Sub spe promissionis supradictæ secrete regnum Franciæ est ingressus, regique humiliter supplicavit, ut sibi prædictas terras liberaret, et super hoc sibi fecit quicquid de jure sibi facere tenebatur. Sed rex Franciæ negotium distulit per tractatus, nec quicquam petitorum effectui mancipavit. Hoc non obstante rex Angliæ, ipsius benevolentiam cupiens, amicales vias et oblationes eidem optulit subsequentes, videlicet, proposita una et recusata, aliam optulit consequenter; scilicet maritagia filii sui primogeniti cum filia ipsius regis Franciæ; item filiae suæ cum filio suo nunc comitisse Gelrie, non modico summa pecuniæ mediante. Item fratris regis Angliæ comitis Cornubiæ tunc viventis. Item, quia datum fuit intelligi regi Angliæ quod rex Franciæ vellet iter carpere versus Terram Sanctam, et ipsum habere comitem itineris affectabat, et eo ipso sibi faceret gratiam et favorem, ipse rex Angliæ, ne forte, si prædicti itineris aliquod impedimentum intervenerit, sibi imputaretur, sibi annuebat iter prædictum in manu forti suscipere cum eodem, dummodo tamen plenariam dictarum terrarum restitutionem ante præfati itineris inceptionem sibi faceret sine³ fraude. Item optulit rex Angliæ proficiisci cum eodem si medietatem terrarum prædictarum vel etiam ante profectionem certam sibi vellet tradere portionem. Item spondit proficiisci cum eodem, si post ipsorum reditum de Terra Sancta restitutionem sibi faceret antedictam. Item ad malitiam regis Franciæ melius evitandam, qui impedimentum itineris sæpèdicti sibi voluit

Schedule of the negotiations between Edward III. and the king of France.

¹ xxviii] The date in the Fœdera is August 21, but the letter containing the schedule sent to the archbishop of Canterbury is dated August 28; Fœdera, ii. 994.

² The French schedule, of which the text is an abstract, is printed in the Fœdera, ii. 994, from the Close Rolls.

³ sine] super, C.

A.D. 1337.

Aug. 28.

Details of
the negotia-
tions be-
tween
Edward III.
and the king
of France.

“ imputare, protectionem præfatam gratanter admisit, ita quod
 “ in suo reditu sibi faceret justitiæ complementum. Rex vero
 “ Franciæ, qui totas terras injuste ut præmittitur occupatas
 “ studuit retinere, necnon et alias in eodem ducatu et alibi
 “ adjacentes vi et armis extorquere pariter satagebat, noluit
 “ aliquam prædictarum obligationum aut viarum amicabi-
 “ lium quomodolibet acceptare, sed quaerens occasiones Scotis
 “ regis Angliæ hostibus manifestis se convertit, eisdem subai-
 “ dium ministrando, ut ipsi regem Angliæ in suis ita partibus
 “ expugnarent, quod sibi jus suum prosecui alibi non vaca-
 “ ret. Item postmodum ad reverentiam regis Franciæ et
 “ nuntiorum suorum requisitionem rex Angliæ treugam et
 “ guerræ dilationem concessit Scotigenis gratiose, ut interim
 “ inter eosdem reges tractatus pacis fieret perpetuæ reformandæ.
 “ Quibus dependentibus hostes versuti sæpefati comitem de
 “ Arce, ut præmittitur, et alios magnos regis Angliæ ligios
 “ peremerunt, ac etiam castra et alia loca præfati regis et
 “ suorum obsederunt pariter et ceperunt. Et nihilominus, ad
 “ requisitionem regis Franciæ nuntiorum, treugam quatuor vel
 “ quinque annorum præfatis Scotis annuebat, sub conditione
 “ quod sibi facerent de dampnis et pressuris sibi et suis factis
 “ treuga facta primitus perdurante, ita quod interim passa-
 “ gium Terræ Sanctæ poterit ordinari. Ad quam quidem resti-
 “ tutionem rex Franciæ noluit consentire, sed Scotos in malitia
 “ fovebat, quibus etiam quantum potuit affuit et subvenit,
 “ necnon guerram suscitavit contra regem Angliæ manifestam;
 “ nam galiotas et alias naves guerrinas quas fecit sub colore
 “ ficto præfati passagii fabricare, versus Angliam destinavit, et
 “ captas plurimas naves Anglicanas submerserunt, necnon
 “ partes Australes insulæ ejusdem hostiliter invaserunt, rapi-
 “ nas, homicidia et incendia perpetrantes. Item ad hæc rex
 “ Angliæ ex assensu et consilio procerum regni sui bellum
 “ cupiens declinare, direxit solempnes nuntios regi Franciæ
 “ oblatores quicquid absque exheredatione sua potuit adim-
 “ plere, ita ut pax fieret inter eos; ipse vero, in sua malitia
 “ perseverans, noluit permittere prædictos nuntios suis aspec-
 “ tibus præsentari, nec pacis aut concordie tractatibus consen-
 “ tire; sed exercitum prægrandem Aquitanniam destinavit,
 “ asserens, sed non vere, prædictum ducatum sibi fuisse foris-
 “ factum, et sic castra et munitiones in eodem obsedit, cepit
 “ et depopulavit. Item rex Franciæ, ad velandam suam ma-
 “ litiam præconceptam, dominum papam et alios principes
 “ Christianos contra regem Angliæ pertinaciter excitavit, ut
 “ ducatum sæpeditum non tantummodo debellarent, sed ut

"omnium aliarum terrarum suarum per suas adinventiones
possent fieri conquestores."

A.D. 1287.
Aug. 29.

Hiis igitur pacificis et amicabilibus viis regi Franciæ
pluries propositis et oblatis, et spretis contemptibiliter
per eundem, rex Angliæ perpendens exheredationem
suam manifeste imminere, eo quod Francigenæ ex una
parte et Scoti ex altera ipsum indies infestabant,
ipsorum versutiam totis viribus reprimere disponebat,
se ipsumque pro defensione ecclesiæ sanctæ et terra-
rum suo regimini subditarum proposuit opponere
manu forti. Quæ quidem defensio tantum requirebat
profluvium expensarum, quod sine magno subditorum
suorum auxilio illas non potuit supportare. Quam-
obrem in subsidium guerræ suæ concessa est sibi per
totum clerum Angliæ, de spiritualibus et temporalibus
spiritualibus annexis, decima triennalis. Item pro
eisdem expensis perficiendis capiebatur medietas lana-
rum totius Angliæ, et mittebatur ad partes trans-
marinas in quadringentis et quadraginta navibus,
majoribus et minoribus, episcopo Lincolnienai et domino
Waltero de Mannay cum septingentis equitibus custo-
dibus et ducibus constitutis. Et circa festum Sancti
Michaelis altum petentes dominus W. prædictus, cum
quibusdam armatis et sagittariis, adivit quandam in-
sulam Cageamt nuncupatam, conflixeruntque cum
habitatoribus ejusdem, ceperuntque quandam militem,
germanum comitis Flandriæ, pluribus aliis interfectis.
Quem rex Angliæ donis plurimis decoravit et ad
propria permisit postmodum remeare. Item in eadem
profectione præfati domini episcopus Lincolnienais et
Walterus de Mannay ceperunt omnes lanas mercatorum
Angliæ apud Dordraghe inventas, ad valorem cl.
miliū librarum, in subsidium guerræ regiæ.

Edward
prepares for
war.

Grant of a
tenth for
three years
and of half
the wool of
England.

Cadwand
occupied
about
Michaelmas.

Seizure of
the wool at
Dordrecht.

Circa idem tempus innotuit nobis, quibusdam Anglicis
referentibus,¹ infra regnum Franciæ a pueritia conversan-

¹ See an abridgment of this story in the *Annales de Melun*, ii. 284.

A.D. 1337.
A wonderful
storm of
wind in the
neighbour-
hood of
Paris.

tibus, de quadam aëris intemperie in eodem contingente. Uxor quippe regis Franciæ, scilicet filia ducis Burgundiæ, in bosco Vincenti non longe a civitate Parisius in puerperio recubuit; et suborta est tanta aëris inæqualitas quod ipse rex et duo theologi fratres ordinis Jacobini et Minorum secum ibidem tunc existentium, tanto attoniti sunt timore quod de turri in turrem se timide transtulerunt. Et vix illis egressis, quin cecidit illa turris, et quidam murus lapideus cingens turrim de suo loco per prædictæ tempestatis turbineum est avulsus, et a loco in locum per non modicum spatium corruens est translatus; cumulum etiam sive coopertorium cameræ reginæ, ubi in puerperio requievit, secum rapuit spiritus nequam; et quod sibi a Domino fuerat permissum perpetravit. Supellectile namque reginæ recubantis per aëra dilaceratum sparsim in summitatibus arborum dereliquit. Et quidam miles Raginaldus de Sacins, fugiens in turbine supradicto, ab equo quo sedit raptus est et per non modicum spatium in aëre vectus tandem in quodam albo spineto cecidit, ubi facies et alia sua membra fuerunt miserabiliter lacerata, ita ut clare non potuit intueri; et sic languens ad finem duorum annorum flebiliter perduravit. Et quidam filius burgensis de Pountoise, qui cum quodam amico suo filio cujusdam burgensis Parisiacæ civitatis, illuc advenerat ob solemnitatem purificationis reginæ, sicut consuetudinis est in talibus festis, hastiludiis indulgere, sublatu est cum equo suo, in præfata fugiens tempestate, et separatus ab equo supra arbores per itineris longi spatium transvectus, tandem inter ramos cujusdam arboris descendens manibus arbori adhæsit, et sicut vivus vix evasit. Quamplures similiter arbores altitudinis et magnitudinis immensæ huc et illuc prostratæ de terra radicibus sunt evulsæ.

A.D. 1338.
January.

Anno Domini M^oCCC^oXXX^oVIII^o, regni regis xii^o, idem rex circa festum Sancti Hillarii, pro salva custodia

marchiae Scotiae ordinanda, iter suum versus Scotiam dirigebat. Et apud Berewicum perhendinanti notificatum est quod Francigenae in armis et aliis necessariis Scotis subsidium ministrabant, et quod in classe non modica circa medium Martii tunc instantis Angliam hostiliter invadere disponebant. Sed rex Angliae malens praevenire quam praeveniri, in singulis comitatibus regni sui ad eligendum et disponendum omnes qui possent ad bella procedere equites, lancearios et sagittarios, milites deputavit, ac super litus maris custodes et vigiles ordinavit, ut, quodocunque hostes regnum invadere navigio declinarent, ad illorum vociferationem tota patria convolaret, ut in applicando hostibus obviarent. Et super hoc, habito tractatu cum majoribus atque clero, iter suum navigio ad partes externas dirigebat, si forte per propinquos vel Francigenas alligatos apud regem Franciae possent quascunque vias pacis et concordiae reperire; unde de Berewico super Twedam domino Eboracensi archiepiscopo direxit quandam litteram in haec verba:¹—

A.D. 1295.
January.
The king
hears that
the French
are assembling
the fleets
and pre-
paring an
invasion.

“ Edwardus Dei gratia rex Angliae, dominus Hiberniae et
“ dux Aquitaniae, venerabili in Christo patri Willielmo, eadem
“ gratia archiepiscopo Eboracensi, Angliae primate, salutem.
“ Utriusque testamenti salutaribus exemplis informati, omnium
“ operationum humanarum directum principium, ac contra
“ hostium visibillum et invisibillum insidias devotam orationum
“ [instantiam] esse [didicimus] firmamentum. Cum itaque pro
“ defensione regni et jurium nostrorum, concedente Domino,
“ oportebat nos ad partes extraneas dirigere gressus nostros,
“ et quod Creatori nostro placuerit cum gratia ipsius prosecui
“ toto pectore; vestram cordis ac mentis affectu deprecimur
“ caritatem, quatinus pro nostra et nostrorum protectione
“ contra nobis adversantes, jura nostra injuriose occupantes.
“ Dei dextera nos in nostra justitia dirigente effectualiter assu-
“ menda, apud Altissimum, sine Quo nihil est validum, et Qui
“ precum importanitate se asserit devincendum, preces effun-

March 25.
Letter of the
king to the
archbishop
of York.

¹ See the copy of the letter addressed to the archbishop of Canterbury, in the *Fœdera*, ii. 1025; and that to York, *ibid.* p. 1026.

A.D. 1338.
March 28.
The king
asks for the
prayers of
the church
for his
success in
the war.

"dere laboretis, et tam in diocesi quam in provincia vestras
" sollicitudini decretis, per suffraganeos vestros cum congrega-
" tione cleri et populi catholici, ipsum Judicem placari precibus
" mandetis, Qui jura singulorum pro suo libramine respicit et
" tuetur; sicque vobis more Moysi continue orantibus, con-
" tingat nos continue de hostibus triumphare; et idem Judex
" fortis, patiens et benignus, nostrum progressum, sua inter-
" veniente gratia, sibi placidum, aggressum, Ipso cooperante,
" felicem et prosperum, et regressum nostrum efficiat Ipso
" consummante gloriosum. Ad hæc, pater, cum populus regni
" nostri variis oneribus, tallagiis et impositionibus, hactenus
" prægravetur, quod dolentes referimus sed inevitabili necessi-
" tate compulsi de eisdem oneribus ipsum ad hæc relevare non
" valemus, dictum populum ad tantam necessitatem nostram
" humiliter et benigne, patienter et caritative sustineat, et
" priorem quam penes nos concepit de cetero [et] instanter in
" orationibus et elemosinis suis, oneribus prædictis, quæ non
" ex malitia vel presumptione voluntaria ipsum gravant, non
" obstantibus, exhibeat caritatem, indulgentiarum muneribus
" et aliis modis quibus secundum Deum videbitis expedire,
" piis exhortationibus inducat, et nos penes eundem excusetis.
" Speramus namque per Dei gratiam, cujus manus cunctis
" indigentibus sola sufficiens et largiflua comprobatur, beneficiis
" compensativis dictum populum visitare et consolari, pro
" loco et tempore opportunis. Datum apud Berewicum super
" Twedam, xx^oviii^o die Martii, anno regni nostri xii^o."

The arch-
bishop
issues orders
for masses
to be said
for the
king's
success.

Attendens¹ igitur archiepiscopus supradictus fructum
uberem quem speravit ex devotis hujusmodi orationi-
bus, divinam ad hoc clementiam inclinantibus, pro-
venire, in caritatis visceribus intimis affectans suorum
subditorum animos ad devotionem hujusmodi quantum
potuit excitare, injunxit et mandavit ut in singulis
ecclesiis parochialibus, conventualibus, et collegiatis
suarum diocesis et civitatis, rectores et prælati facerent
in singulis Missis de cetero celebrandis, pro salubri
statu et prospero dicti domini nostri regis ipsiusque
exercitus ac sibi et suis adhærentium, mentionem fieri

¹ The letter of the archbishop, of which the following lines are an abstract, is given in the *Fœdera*, ii. 1026.

specialem, ac ipsi ac alii Christi fideles, clerici et laici, A.D. 1288. Solemn processions to be made.
singulis quartis et sextis feriis processiones solempnes
cum devotione debita facientes, pro salubri expeditione
ipsius domini regis et suorum, preces Domino fundant
humiles et devotas, ut ipse Deus et Dominus noster,
in Cujus manu corda sunt regum, pro Sua pietate gres-
sus suos et actus dirigat et disponat; ipsumque
dominum nostrum regem cum suis ab adversis protegat
et defendat, necnon pacis optatæ tranquillitatem, cujus
tempore et non alio bene colitur pacis Auctor, sibi
triumphum de inimicis suis concedat, quodque super-
atis hostibus victor redeat magnificus ad Dei honorem,
regni salvationem et totius utilitatem ecclesie Angli-
canæ; unde omnibus qui pro eisdem domino rege, suo and indul-
gences granted.
exercitu, sibi et suis adhærentibus, in suis Missis et
processionibus præfatis devote oraverint, ut est dictum,
xl. dies de injuncta sibi pœnitentia Deo propitio mi-
sericorditer relaxavit.

Interim navigium regis in singulis portibus Angliæ Equipment of the fleet
præparatur; festinavit namque quod, si moram faceret
in partibus transmarinis, pacem cum rege Franciæ per
propinques et affines eo ipso facilius ordinaret. Et
super hoc suum passagium festinavit. Comites igitur
Arundellæ, Sariaburie et Gloucestræ, qui castrum de
Dunbarre obsederunt, ad requisitionem Scotorum obsi-
dionem castri removerunt, et eo libentius quia tunc The siege of
Dunbar
ended and
a truce
granted to
the Scots.
eis vacaret cum domino suo rege ad partes externas
proficisci. Sicque concessa fuit eis treuga annualis et
amplius prout in indenturis super hoc factis plenius
continetur; quorum copia in alio libro inter Incidentia
annotatur.

*Prima profectio regis Angliæ ad regem Franciæ
debellandum.*

Eodem anno, circa festum Nativitatis Sancti Johannis The first ex-
pedition to
France,
at Mid-
summer.
Baptistæ, rex Angliæ Edwardo primogenito suo totius
regni curam et custodiam committebat; et die Jovis

A.D. 1338.
July 16.
The king
goes to
Antwerp,
and renews
negotia-
tions.

Disturb-
ances in
England.

Orders
given for
the repres-
sion of them.

The king of
France
refuses all
terms
offered.

proximo ante festum Sanctæ Margaretæ virginis, videlicet xvii^o kalendas Augusti, versus partes transmarinas pelagum est ingressus; apud Andewerpe in Brabannia applicuit; regina Angliæ secum tunc temporis existente; ubi comes Gerlyæ, sororius suus, et dux Brabanniæ ipsum et suos honorifice susceperunt; pluriesque scripsit Philippo de Valesio pro pace perpetua inter regna reformanda. Sed ipse, in sua malitia perseverans, nolebat amoris nec pacis tractatui consentire; quin immo galiotas et naves guerrinas in Angliam destinavit, qui loca plurima prope littus maris situata hostiliter invaserunt. Igitur, rege extra regnum agente, multi malefactores, pacis regni et ecclesiæ perturbatores, varia facinora perpetrantes, falsas querelas foventes et feloniarum auctores, et in consumptionem et depressionem plurimum conspirantes, communitatem regni sæpius perturbarunt. Quorum malitiis propter quietem populi rex voluit obviare, custodi Angliæ et aliis officiatis ad regni regimen deputatis, et sua brevia mandavit continuo et præcepit, ut, nemini facto favore, delinquentes hujusmodi punirentur, ac etiam archiepiscopis et episcopis per suas litteras mandavit, ut per censuras ecclesiasticas malefactores hujusmodi corripere et punirent, ac per omnem juris rigorem contra eosdem procederent, quousque a cœptis desisterent debite poenitentes.

Interim, dum hæc agerentur, nuntii¹ regis Angliæ, qui erga cardinales et consilium regis Franciæ pro pace reformanda moram diutinam faciebant, reversi sunt, nuntiantes se nullam aliam mensuram aut responsum a rege Franciæ habuisse, nisi quod rex Angliæ nunquam tantam terram infra regnum Franciæ optinebit, quantam per suam palmam poterit operire; et quod nunquam moram unius diei in regno Franciæ com-

¹ "Episcopi Wintoniensis, Licet-
feldensis et Coventriæ, Arch.
Cantuar. Joannes de Shoredich;

"sic Wal. Hypodig. et Stow; v.
"et Antiq. Britan. in Stratford."
C. in margin.

parabit, quin ipsum in crastino expugnaret, et ab eodem expelleret et fugaret. Ex ista siquidem responsione rex Angliæ plurimum lætabatur, quia eo ipso credidit suam causam in proximo terminari; unde plures nobiles alienigenas sibi confederavit, maxima summa pecuniæ mediante; et, quia jus suum voluit omnibus fieri manifestum, epistolam quandam, jus suum et causam adventus sui in regnum Franciæ continentem, domino Benedicto papæ XII^o destinavit. Et quia epistola hæc per quosdam æmulos regis subtracta et concealata ad papæ notitiam non pervenit, consimilem epistolam, verbis saluatoriis dumtaxat diversificatis, dominorum cardinalium collegio per quendam Longobardum, Nicholinum de Flisco, militem sibi valde familiarem, transmisit.¹ Qui lucide proposuit prædicta negotia in consistorio coram papa et cardinalibus, ita ut omnes mirabantur; et, quia dies ista non sufficebat ad totum negotium exponendum, papa sibi diem crastinum assignavit. Eadem vero nocte furtive sublatus est de lecto suo et versus regem Franciæ per quinque dietas est abductus. Hoc comperto, papa sub pœna perpetuæ dampnationis inquiri fecit consiliarios hujus sceleris et factores; et compertum est quod seneschallus papæ istam prodicionem adinvenit. Qui statim, ut cognovit quod opera sua sunt detecta, seipsum nocte subsequente nequiter interfecit; captique sunt alii circiter xxx^{ta} et amplius hujus sceleris valitores, qui omnes suspensi sunt in propriis domibus per fenestras. Excommunicavit etiam papa omnes præfatum regem Angliæ nuntium contra suum libitum impediētes vel retinētes usque ad octavam generationem; et si promoti fuerint privavit, si vero promovendi omnes et singulos inhabilitavit; et ad hæc armatos in diversis partibus mundi ad ipsum perquirendum destinavit, et

A.D. 1294.
Edward makes alliances and sends a report of his claims to the pope.

His messenger is carried off, by the contrivance of the pope's steward, who commits suicide on being detected.

The pope punishes the accomplices.

¹ *transmisit*] The story occurs in nearly the same words in the *Annales de Melis*, ii. 387, 394.

A.D. 1330.
Birth of
Lionel of
Antwerp

sic tandem reductus est et sanus et salvus domini summi pontificis præsentia præsentedatus.

Fire in the
king's
lodging.

Anno Domini mccc°xxx°ix°, regni regis xiii°, apud Andewerpp in Brabannia rege commorante, regina Angliæ peperit filium Leonellum nominatum; ubi quadam nocte prope regis cubiculum ignis non modicus est accensus, qui regem et reginam expulit fere nudos; cujus rabiem domum devorantem plebis diligentia temperavit. Et sunt plerique qui hoc asserebant præsagium futurorum. Et quia mentionem fecimus epistolæ causam et processum juris regis exprimentis, ipsius copiam hic decrevimus inserendam, ut per ipsam informati regis æmulis valeant veridici respondere:—

Littera missa cardinalibus per regem Angliæ.¹

July 16.
The king's
letter to the
cardinals,
declaratory
of his claims
on the king-
dom of
France, as
laid before
the pope.

“ Amabilem Deo patrum, sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ
“ cardinalium, collegio venerando, Edwardus Dei gratia rex
“ Angliæ, dominus Hiberniæ et dux Aquitaniæ, salu-
“ tem et sinceræ dilectionis affectum. Sanctissimo patri
“ domino summo pontifici post debita reverentiæ munera
“ scripsimus in hæc verba:—‘ Jus naturæ primævum, pariter
“ cuncta animalia docens, contra violentas injurias licen-
“ tiam defensionis indulget, statuens universaliter jure fac-
“ tum quod quisque, vim injuriamque propulsans, suam
“ faciat ad tutelam. Sane cum dudum animosa guerrarum
“ pericula, injuriosa dampnorum discrimina, nobis mota
“ fuerint et illata, quæ toti mundo sunt notoria, ex nostra
“ etiam intimatione frequenti apostolicæ sedi facta satis pro
“ constanti supponitur beatitudini vestræ nota; nos quoque
“ habentes cor pacificum, novit Deus, pro vitandis illis et
“ pacifice subducendis, optulimus voluntarie prosequenti
“ reverenter et humiliter forte nimis amabiles vias pacis.
“ non sine magno nostrorum jurium interesse, ut neglecta
“ prosecutione alia cujuslibet juris nostri, tempore illo justi
“ doloris, quo propter accensam furoris soldani Babiloniæ
“ rabiem et crucis hostium aliorum, ex causa jurati contra

¹ See Fodera, ii. 1086; Walsing- | ingburgh, ii. 316, &c.; Robert of
ham, ed. Riley, i. 201-208; Hem- | Avesbury, pp. 28, 29.

" eos passagii et solempniter publicati, in partibus trans- A.D. 1292.
 " marinis peribant et pereunt Christiani, et crescunt im- July 12.
 " maniter injuriæ Crucifixi; possemus, sicut debemus et He recounts
 " propensius anhelamus, intendere causæ Christi quæ negli- his attempts
 " gitur, immo verius impeditur in magnum cujuslibet at a pacific
 " Christicolæ regis et maximo demerentis infamiam et settlement
 " ignominis magnæ notam. Sed nescimus veniat quo pacto
 " quod de pacificis oblati humiliter, de quibus surgere de-
 " buit pacis amor, in eo qui nos sola voluntate prosequitur
 " majoris iracundis majorisque duritiæ crevit tumor.
 " Contra nos tamen illum non provocat, Deo et nostra
 " conscientia teste nobis, aliquod factum nostrum vel at-
 " temptatum per nos aliquod contra eum, immo vident
 " oculi mundi, publici testes nostri, præfatus persecutor
 " noster, Francorum regem se nominans, dampnosa injuriis
 " quot et quantis nos et jura nostra vulnerat et defalcet.
 " Ipse quidem regni Franciæ, quod ad nos omni suc- Philip of
 " cessorio jure legitime pertinere dinoscitur, est invasor Valois has
 " et illicitus usurpator, regnum ipsum, quod debuit nobis usurped the
 " vocatis vel defensis legitime debito juris ordine compe- French
 " tere, non veritus occupare, cum ubi essemus et quod crown.
 " persona nos essemus cujus principaliter interesset notorie
 " certum esset, et in regno ipso jus nostrum foret tam
 " notorium quam communi jure fundatum; supposito sicut
 " evidentiæ facti notorii præsupponit, quod celebris recor-
 " dationis Philippus olim rex Francorum, pater claræ
 " memoriæ Caroli regis Franciæ immediate defuncti, et
 " serenissimæ dominæ Isabellæ reginæ Angliæ matris nos- Explanation
 " træ, maternus fuerit avus noster, cum eidem Carolo of Edward's
 " tempore mortis suæ ex descenditibus secum ab eodem title.
 " Philippo masculus superstes proximior fuerat nullus nobis,
 " et persona fœminea dicti regni, per jus in eodem regno
 " servatum antiquitus, non sit capax, quod jus regni præ-
 " fati favorem in viam causæ finalis attendens, ne regnum
 " ipsum sub fœminea fragili gubernatione labatur, et
 " propter hoc, personam mulieris excludens, non excludit
 " personam masculi, per sic exclusam fœminam descen-
 " dentis, ne fiat juribus semper odibilis prorogatio odio-
 " rum, personæ videlicet ad personam, sexus ad sexum,
 " causæ ad causam, odii ad favorem, ne contra legum
 " traditiones communes fœmineum genus, ubi maxime de
 " odio agitur, concipiat masculum. Ad hoc etiam per jus

A.D. 1339.
July 16.
Argument
on the law of
succession.

memoratum a regno fragilitas muliebris excluditur, ut
regno salubrius consulatur, et proximior masculus admit-
tendus alius admittatur, potissime ad jus illud quod
primordialiter a matre sic exclusa non oritur, sed in
nepotem propagatum ab avo originaliter derivatur; alio-
quin sequeretur et alia iniquitatis absurditas per proro-
gationem odibilem supradictam, quod excluderetur col-
lateralis conjunctio, et remotior vocaretur, cum tamen
ipso jure gentium naturali fratres et sorores eorumque
filii in successione mutua collateralibus aliis alterius
lineæ præferantur; et inde dictum jus pro regum favore,
et odii foemineæ inhabilitatis ad regnum, exoritur tam
juris quam descendantium, [ne] per foemineam masculorum
injuriā occasio nasceretur. Neo est putandum quod
memorati juris intentio sit iniqua, ut matrem et filium
ratione contraria simul dampnet, immo contrario juris
ejusdem judicio quo mater a successione repellitur filio
gradum matris ingresso successio tunc defertur, simi-
litudine filii qui gradum parentis deficientis ingre-
ditur, ut ad patris successionem cum patris etiam
admittatur, ut sic merito tristes mater præfato rigore
regia hereditate nudata, substitutione taliter sibi facta
de filio gaudeat consolata, nec afflictioni afflictionem
accumulet, quod sancta consideratio legis horret, sicut
videmus etiam ubi onus afflictionis præamabile non in-
tulit lex [sed] casus in lege, scilicet quæ consuetudinariam
legem dampnat, bona concedentem alii naufragorum qua
ratione quod in expresso legali pro vitanda afflictionis
adjectione corrigitur, multo fortius in tanto prohibetur.
Legi vero regni Franciæ sufficiat plus quam plene matri
non suo vitio sed naturæ facto quæ foeminam fecit illam,
radices regias succidisse, quodque mater expresse per
legem ipsam exheredationis propriæ, quasi quoddam nau-
fragium patitur, absque eo quod ex legis præfate con-
sequenti tacito omni jure contrario cum filio exheredato
iterum naufragetur, et sine culpa poena inveniatur augeri:
cum ubi etiam culpa est debeat demoliri. Aliter, etiamsi
pro eo quod mater ex jure non admitteretur ad regnum,
repelli jure filius intelligeretur a regno, Judæorum reg-
num contra fidei firmamentum legitime non pervenisset
ad Jesum, Qui tamen natus Dei ministerio non virili con-
sortio, ex foemina regali prole Davitica, Maria Virgine,

" ad regnum hujusmodi non admissa, nec etiam admit- A.D. 1229.
 " tenda, per certam fidei veritatem Rex verus et legitimus July 12.
 " existit Judaeorum; absit ergo quod Christus filius David, Parallel
 " regalia successio, legalis observantiae sive nodi fuerit frac- from the
 " tura sive solutio, cum legem non venerit solvere sed history of
 " implere. Hoc autem excellentissimum legitimæ succe- Jewish.
 " sionis exemplum rationabiliter imponit silentium loqua-
 " citati contrariae juri nostro in regno Franciæ memorato,
 " ne quoad legitimum gradum et ordinem succedendi
 " separemur in constitutione vel interpretatione juris,
 " quos quoad hoc parificat idemptitas rationis. Nedum
 " autem debita nostri vocatio nostraque defensio, ubi de
 " tanto nostro agebatur præjudicio, est obmissa, sed etiam
 " nostri procuratores, qui in Franciam ierant ut pro nobis
 " et nostro jure legitime comparerent, non solum fuerunt
 " in judicio non admissi, sed etiam mortis horribilis com-
 " minatione repulsi; et sic nostrum æmulum memoratum
 " factum duodecim parium Franciæ non excusat, qui quoad
 " nos quibus ætatis tenellæ miuoritas tunc favebat, relictis
 " partibus judicium ex hoc functi partibus sunt præ-
 " donum. Quorum processum, factam in nostrum præ-
 " judicium, ipso jure nostra fecit invalidum minor ætas;
 " qui quoad majorem efficacem non fuisset, taliter defen-
 " sione sublata quæ competit homini eo jure naturæ, quod
 " tolli nequit a principio nec a jure. Notum est etiam
 " communiter ubique, qualiter in Aquitania nostro ducatu
 " semper invaserit et colliserit jura nostra, et terras
 " nostras invadens et dissipans quas capere poterat, aliis
 " nostris [terris] quas occupavit adjungens, et, jura sibi
 " dicens ad libitum, Dei timore postposito, sibi tenens.
 " Scotis etiam, quos nostræ coronæ subjecerant jura tem-
 " porum antiquorum, sed per iniquam rebellionis dementiam
 " contra naturalem dominum calcitrantes contumaciter in
 " nostros prædecessores et nos læsæ majestatis criminis rei
 " erant, ut contra nos injuriæ nihil omitteret, ad nostras
 " injurias fœdere se adjunxit, in tanto crimine tantæ nostræ
 " injuriæ fovens, qui jure sanguinis et naturæ debuit potius
 " nos juvare. Cumque præmissa omnia non impleverunt de
 " nostris injuriis votum suum, collectis undique viribus,
 " quicquid potuit, ut nos iræ suæ torrens absorbent, aggre-
 " gavit, tollere nos de mundo sollicitus, ad aliud non in-
 " tendens, forsitan ex intento factoque suo contra jura nos-

Other
 grounds of
 complaint
 against
 Philip of
 Valois.

A.D. 1329.
July 16.
The king
represents
his own
patience.

trum contra se metitus intentum, quod colligere vel metiri
nequivit per alicujus nostri actus indicium nedam actum.
Donum insuper impensum nobis divini muneris segre
ferens, aestimare visus est suam injuriam in Angliæ regno
nostro nos vivere super terram, etsi quantum dabat Do-
minus prospere saltem per omnia pacifice quoad eum,
quodque serviens nobis populus, vel verius cui servimus,
nostris temporibus Dei dono fuerit gloriosus. Hæc autem
non statim audita vel cognita nos moverunt, sed illa sub
dissimulatione transivimus, nulli parcens oneri vel honori
ut contra nos persecutio sua injuriaque quiesceret, nos-
trumque cum eo pacificum tempus esset, donec propin-
quando nobis viderimus gladium nostræ ac nostrorum neci
et exterminio præparatum. Sed nunquid aliquis est qui
credat quod animus nobis cognitus principis tantæ po-
tentia, et sic, ut præmittitur, occupata, nobis fuerit
negligendus, qui suæ viribus voluntatis armatus, potentia
undique vocata vallatus, solum ut possit liberius pro sua
voluntate nos persequi, juratam deserit causam Christi?
Quid ergo pro suo jure suaque securitate non licuit
regi sui status sui que populi periculum jam videnti, dicat
qui noverit, quid non liceat homini de vitandis injuriis
dampnisque certanti illisque præsertim quæ ad vitæ
statusque radices securim ponere properabant. Levisne
timor dici poterit aut vanus, qui pro nobis se potuit
conjunctorum nobis illustrium fortiumque constantia corda
concutere, multo fortius debuit et nos terrere quos solos
periculorum concepta molimina concernebant? Propter
hoc igitur, jure naturæ dictante, facti tam nostri quam
nostrorum jurium, non voluntarii sed necessarii defen-
sores, ac opportunis cautionibus attendentes, juxta rei
militaris documenta probata illustrium, quia potentia
magnæ pericula conspirata periculosius expectantur, in-
laribus illis nuper currentibus ad nostræ lucis et salutis
occursum consultius venimus in occursum, ne contra nos
discriminose forte procederent, sed sui ortus præfocaren-
tur in loco eorum, freti consilio et auxilio nobis oblato,
quos nobis consanguinitas et affinitas conjungebat, et ad
quos simul spectabat nobiscum periculis nostræ destruc-
tionis occurrere, illaque consiliis et auxiliis præcavere,
ponentes in manu Deo, tanquam in manibus apostolicæ
sedis vestræ, vel aliorum bonorum virorum communium,

" imponere quondam volumus quantum potuimus justificatam A.D. 1289.
 " causam nostram, ut ipse, rectum ab alto prospiciens, sen- July 12.
 " tentiam justam ferat, et in sui gladii viribus exequatur. His war is
 " Nec credimus, alme pater, quod arbiter quivis rectus, vel one of self-
 " etiam iudex justus, sic interpretetur aut torquent factum defence.
 " nostrum, ut quod pro nostrorum tuitione et assentione
 " jarum et in tanto discrimine nostram fecimus ad de-
 " fensionem, [alterius quam non intendimus, non agimus nec
 " agimus, putet injuriam vel offensam]. Immo credimus
 " vel quin potius certi sumus quod facti nostri intentio
 " attendetur, et quia ubi ac propter quid fiat debita con-
 " sideratione librabitur, et justis statere iudiciis attendetur
 " vel appendetur; et, sicut sanctio legis docet non factum
 " ex dicto sed dictum pensetur ex facto. Non est equidem
 " juris presumptio nobilis quod supponit factum ab homine
 " fieri suo jure, non benigna interpretatio vel civilis, qua-
 " lem fieri semper dicitur censura legalis, si nostri juris
 " usum notoriam nostraeque defensionis compendium dispen-
 " diam offensionis illicite quis diceret alienis. Cesset igitur
 " tur quiescimus omnis conjectura in actibus nostris certis
 " quae locum duntaxat sibi vendicat in non certis. De-
 " nique diceret forsitan accusator, calumpniosus nostrae actio-
 " nis interpres, quod suscepimus hominis, contra quem fertur
 " processum ecclesiam vel non parentis ecclesiae, vicariam. Touching
 " the vicariate
 " of the eccle-
 " sia.
 " Non dicit quod fratris et affinis vicibus fungimur non
 " ad juris habendum titulum sed necessarium nobis poten-
 " tiae solum usum, ut necessario fulti praesidio ubi nunc
 " sumus nos a congestis in nostram ruinam periculis de-
 " fendamus, et pro nostrorum justa iurium assentione cer-
 " temus. Non dicit quod intendimus nos defendere, pro
 " nostro jure certare, non ecclesiam impugnare vel ejus
 " impugnationi favere, pro cuius utique ubique staremus
 " honore, nullius habita ratione periculi, sicut catholicam
 " excellentiam regum decet. Cum tamen, ut omnis series
 " juris censeat, intentio ut cujuscumque actionis finalis causa
 " vel ratio sit principaliter attendenda; et ex notitia
 " voluntatis atque propositi surgat distincta certa cogni-
 " tio operis accusati, solumque de gressibus hominum realis
 " actio non verbalis conceptio ponderetur; non dicit quod
 " de materia ista facimus scutum contra eum, qui nostro
 " capiti preminabatur, quodque fecerimus medici sapientie
 " exemplo, qui materiam morte plenam, currentem ad partes

A.D. 1339.
July 16.

The king's
defence
against mis-
representation.

“ corporis ubi vita se recipit, divertere facit ad membra
“ in quibus materia nequit esse suspecta, quæ ad proximum
“ fuerat interitum præparata. Sic loquitur, sancte pater, sic
“ loquitur qui in suis insidiis nos invenire quærebat in-
“ cautos et penitus imperitos; sed proculdubio cautius et
“ tutius fuit nobis juxta militarem theoricam edocentem
“ quod motu guerræ periculum plus evitat qui eam a suæ
“ terræ limite persequatur, contra notorium hostem nos-
“ trum pro jure nostro nos congregari, ex terris potentum
“ potentibus sociatis, quam in proprio nostro solo. Non
“ igitur apud vestre viscera misericordie sanctitatis locum
“ inveniat detrahentium informatio semula vel sinistra, facta
“ de filio qui suorum hereditario jure majorum in vestro-
“ rum prædecessorum vestra et apostolicæ sedis gratia et
“ obedientia semper inconcussa persistit et persistet. Immo
“ si quævis de filio taliter facta suggestio pulsaverit vestre
“ beatitudinis forsitan aures, non prius de vestra dignatione
“ sancta credulitas illi detur quam auditus sit filius qui
“ tangetur, qui confidit et indesinenter intendit ante sanc-
“ titatis vestre judicium omni præsidens creaturæ, quod
“ negare hæresim est probare, justam dicere vel justam
“ facere quamlibet causam suam. Illud nempe deum
“ dicimus ad nostre intentionis majorisque devotionis evi-
“ dentiam subjungentes, quod si sit aliquis de nobis fœdere
“ nature conjunctis nobisque ad defensionem nostram ad-
“ junctis, qui per viam obedientie apostolicæ sedis vestre
“ non ambulet sicut debet, dare intendimus, quam non
“ parum utiliter dare posse confidimus, operam indefec-
“ sam, ut omni dimisso devio ad viam obedientie redeat
“ omnemque faciat semitam suam rectam. Unum rursus
“ quod a multis audivimus, petita venia cum reverentia
“ non tacemus, quod alias inauditum quanto consideratur
“ attentius pungit acutius mentem nostram, videlicet quod
“ adversarii nostri manus, notorie nunc ut prius ad nostrum
“ tantum laborantis exitium cum guerram faceret, nemo
“ sibi sicut nec ipse alii nisi nobis de Christi patrimonio sit
“ armatus. Quod certe reges Angliæ nostros prædecessores
“ illustres Christi pugiles, fidei athletas, sanctæ Romanæ
“ matris ecclesiæ amantissimos zelatores, ejusque mandato-
“ rum devotissimos servatores, vel nos etiam nec scimus
“ nec credimus meruisse. Et licet propter hoc dicatur a
“ plurimis non a nobis, quod talis contra nos facta sub-

"ventio quoad nos actus patris vel matris non existit sed
 "vitrici vel novercae, nihilominus tamen constanter asseri-
 "mus quod sumus et perseveranter erimus vestras sancti-
 "tatis vestraeque sedis devotus et humilis filius, non pri-
 "vignus, ex quo non sine ratione speramus quod nostra
 "humilitas, facta major et firmior per illud quod non me-
 "ruit nocumentum, vestras paternae caritatis et gratias
 "invenire debeat exuberantius incrementum, ut quod nobis
 "insontibus intulit quae processerit asperitas punitionis,
 "sequens debeat et compense vestras lenitas unctionis.
 "Hunc autem nostrae justitiae et contra nos injuriae sic
 "multiplicatae processum praeminentiae vestrae sancti cul-
 "minis intimamus, ut vestra summa sanctaque mensura
 "boni et aequi, cujus a Deo sibi competit dare claves ape-
 "rire et claudere in terra positae portas caeli, prout exigit
 "plenitudo suae potestatis et praecellentiae sui fori, quantum
 "fuerit rationis favere debeat nostro juri, parati semper
 "nedum a vestro sancto cunctis presidente judicio, immo
 "et a quolibet alio de veritate contrarii, si quis eam nove-
 "rit, humiliter informari; et qui sponte rationi subicimur
 "aliam datam nobis intelligi veritatem cum plena et humili
 "complectemur gratitudine."

A.D. 1328.
 July 14.
 He com-
 mends him-
 self and his
 cause to the
 pope.

"Quia vero vos patres conscripti estis in partem sollicitudi-
 "nis et concilii dicti domini summi pontificis condignis meritis
 "evocati, sibi que lateraliter ad dandam plebi Christi salutis
 "scientiam assidetis, ista vestrae cupimus patere notitiae, ut,
 "cognita causae nostrae justitia, veritati possitis impendere
 "quod debetis, ad quod circumspectionem vestram providam,
 "quae solet sine personarum acceptione jura singulorum aequo
 "libramine ponderare, votivis precibus excitamus. Et si
 "forsitan in facto nostro quicquam iniquum appareat, cau-
 "telam exproccens sanioris consilii, a vobis super hoc cupi-
 "mus salubriter informari, parati in agendis singulis cedere
 "rationi. Datum apud Andwerppe, xvi^o kalendas Julii,
 "anno regni nostri xiii^o, et Incarnationis Dominicae m^occc^o-
 "xxx^oviii^o."

He invokes
 the aid of
 the cardinals.

Jure igitur regis Angliae praedicti sic litteratorie
 summo pontifici suisque cardinalibus notificato, ex-
 heredationem suam ulterius sustinere recusans, cum
 mille ducentis hominibus armatis octingentis ad arma,
 ii. milibus sagittariis, idem rex Angliae de Dei confidens

Numbers of
 the king's
 force.

A.D. 1330.
Sept. 20.

He marches
from Valen-
tienes, and
crosses the
Oise.

Flight of
Philip.

Alliance
with the
Flemings.

Edward
calls himself
king of
France.

miserecordia et suo jure, die Lunæ in vigilia Sancti Matthæi apostoli et evangelistæ, anno antedicto, de civitate Valentiana versus Franciam cepit dirigere gressus suos; et sic comburendo spoliandoque patrias diversas regni Franciæ, pertransiens flumen Doyse, expectabat congressum cum Philippo de Valesio se habiturum et dictum Philippum et magistrum arcu-balistariorum regis Franciæ se nominantis, sed mini-me adimpletum. Timore enim Edwardi regis Angliæ percussus, Philippus de Valesio, se regem Franciæ nominans, fugam iniit, mille equos miserabiliter demersos et in marisco volutatos reliquit; quod pro discon-fitura Philippi de Valesio in toto mundo divulgatum est. Rex vero Angliæ opera misericordiæ Dei in ipso demonstrata duci Cornubiæ filio suo primogenito, Angliæ tunc custodi, et archiepiscopo Cantuariensi litteratorie deinceps scribere non tardavit. Flandrenses autem ex antiqua concordia in non modica summa pecuniæ sacrosanctæ sedi apostolicæ Romanæ obligati, si aliquando contra regis rectos heredes regni Franciæ insurgere[nt] bellicose, ex communi et unanimi assensu provida deliberatione statuerunt, cum domino Edwardo rege et directo herede regni Franciæ contra Philippum de Valesio regni Franciæ occupatorem illicitum amicabilia fœdera conservare, timentes ne, clarescente jure ipsius, ipsi antiquæ concordie rei effecti, pœnæ appo-sitæ subjacerent. Rex quoque Angliæ eorumque rati-onibus requisitus acquievit, atque arma sua, impres-siones sigillorum suorum majoris et minoris, litterarum-que suarum stilum variavit, et deinceps se regem Angliæ et Franciæ nominavit; unde quidam metrice sic dicebat in persona regis Edwardi sive regnorum etc:

"Anglia jure patris mihi cedit, Francia matris;
"Essem regnorum sic rex de jure duorum."

Anno Domini m^occc^oxxx^oix^o factum est parliamen-
tum Londoniis in Turri, ubi concessum est regi pro

defensione juris sui ad regnum Franciæ subsidium, A.D. 1292.
videlicet nonus agnus, nonum vellus, nona garba, per Grant of the ninth year.
biennium in tota Angliā.

Anno sequenti, in vigilia Johannis Baptistæ, rex A.D. 1294.
cum magna classe pugnavit contra regem Franciæ in Victory at Sluys.
mari apud Sluys juxta Flandriam, et vicit gloriose.

Anno Domini M^oCC^oXLVI^o, in partibus Normanniæ, A.D. 1294.
apud Cressy in Normannia, commissum est grave bel- Victory at Cressy.
lum inter regem Franciæ et regem Angliæ, duobus Aug. 26.
ibidem regibus interfectis, rege Majoricarum et rege
Boemiarum, et duobus ducibus, scilicet Lorinhiæ et Bur-
boniæ, et sex comitibus ex parte Gallicorum cum mul-
titudine copiosa. Facta est hoc victoria sabbato die
præcedenti festum Sancti Augustini doctoris.

Eodem anno in Angliā, rege subsecutente Calcesiam, Victory at Neville's Cross.
captus est rex Scotiæ David Bruys, et Londonias duc- Oct. 17.
tus, in crastino, Sancti Michaelis in monte Tumba,
prope Dunelmiam, in loco qui nunc dicitur Nevyle's
Cross.

Anno Domini M^oCC^oXLVII^o, circa festum Sancti A.D. 1347.
Jacobi, pestilentia venit gravis in Angliam in parti- The plague began at Melcombe in July.
bus Australibus, incipiens per quosdam applicantes de
mari in villa quæ dicitur Melcombe, et duravit per
duos annos.

Anno Domini M^oCC^oXLVI^o,¹ Edwardus princeps in A.D. 1346.
partibus Aquitanniæ, pugnans contra regem Franciæ Battle of Poitiers.
Johannem vocatum, in campo de Peyters, ipsum regem
cepit cum multis nobilibus, et anno sequenti ad An-
gliam secum duxit. In quo bello de Gallicis hominum
armatorum mortui sunt ad duo milia et —.

Anno Domini M^oCC^oXL^o Edwardus princeps rediit A.D. 1394.
ad Vasconiam, ubi recepit fidelitatem omnium. Quo Four kings in London.
anno venerunt ad Angliam quatuor reges ex amicitia
quam habebant ad regem Edwardum; rex Franciæ
Johannes qui moritur Londoniis eodem anno; rex

¹ M^oCC^oXLVI^o M^oCC^oXLIII. MSS.

A.D. 1364.
Charles of
Blois falls
at Auray.

Cipri, rex Scotorum et rex quidam paganorum, cum rege Cipri, venit videre Edwardum. Eodem anno mortuus est Carolus Walloys, dux Britannia vocatus, victus in campo apud Orrery per dominum Johannem comitem Montisfortis, cui de jure debebatur ducatus Britannia.¹ Hic primo desponsaverat Mariam filiam regis Edwardi tertii; secundo desponsavit sororem regis Anglorum Ricardi II^{di}.

A.D. 1366.
Simon Lang-
ham Arch-
bishop of
Canterbury.

Anno Domini M^oCCCLX^oVI^o, moritur dominus Simon archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, et Willelmus Edington eligitur in archiepiscopum; sed ipso nolente Wyntoniensem ecclesiam dimittere pro Cantuariensi, eligitur Simo Eliensis, prius abbas Westmonasterii, postea sacerdos cardinalis et tandem Portuensis.

A.D. 1367.
Wars of the
Prince of
Wales in
Spain.

Anno Domini M^oCCCLX^oVII^o. Edwardus princeps Wallia de Wasconia intravit Hispaniam, cum Petro rege Hispania a regno expulso per fratrem suum Henricum bastardum; et eundem Petrum regno restituit victorioso, et reversus est ad Wasconiam. In illo itinere multi nobiles mortui sunt de Anglicis in Hispania, non gladio sed fluxu ventris. Idem princeps eodem modo infirmatur infirmitate incurabili qua eum tenuit usque ad mortem illius. Eodem anno natus est principi filius apud Burdegalam Ricardus dictus, quem duo reges de sacro fonte receperunt.

Birth of
Richard II.

A.D. 1376.
Death of
the prince
of Wales.

Anno Domini M^oCCCLXX^oVI^o moritur Edwardus princeps Wallia, militia Anglorum decus et flos, in festo Sanctae Trinitatis, quod festum singularissime venerabatur, semper hoc desiderans in illo festo vitam finire.

A.D. 1377.
Death of
Edward III.

Anno Domini M^oCCCLXX^oVII^o, circa festum Sancti Johannis Baptistae nocte Dominica, moritur gloriosissimus Anglorum rex Edwardus, anno regni sui LI^o, aetatis vero LX^oVI^o. Hic pra omnibus regibus Anglorum

¹ John IV. de Montfort. His second wife was Johanna Holland, daughter of Sir Thomas Holland,

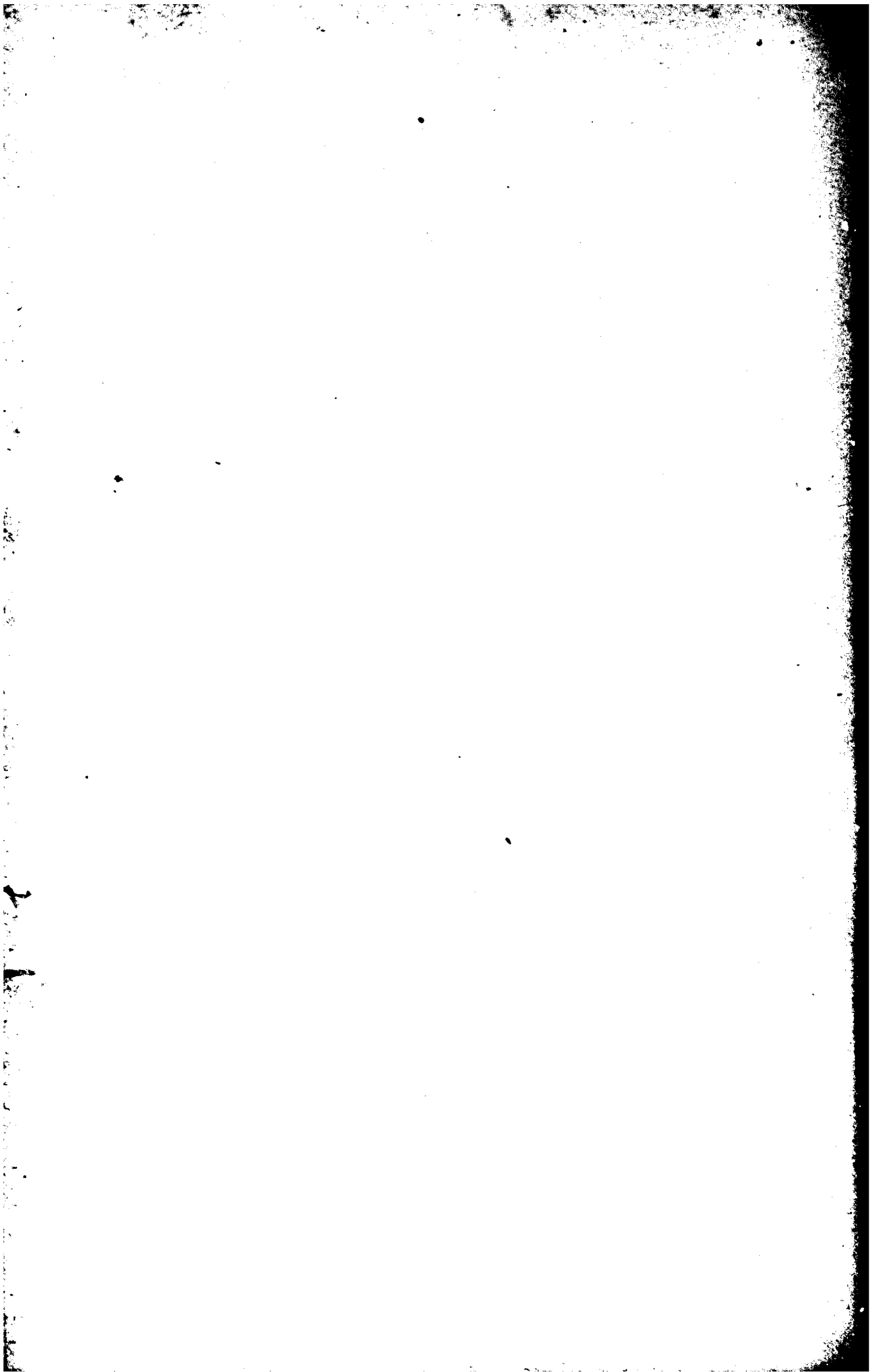
earl of Kent, and half sister of Richard II.

devotissimus erat Virgini beatæ, quam semper habuit A.D. 1277.
protectricem.

Eodem anno coronatur in regem Angliæ Ricardus ^{Coronation of Richard II.}
filius Edwardi principis Walliæ in crastino Sancti Swy-
thini, anno ætatis suæ XI^o.¹

¹ The Trinity Transcript closes
with the following note: "Ro-
bertus de Bridlington prior 4th
scriba, propheta aliquando dici-
tur; sepultus jacet in clauastro
de Bridlington. Quære an

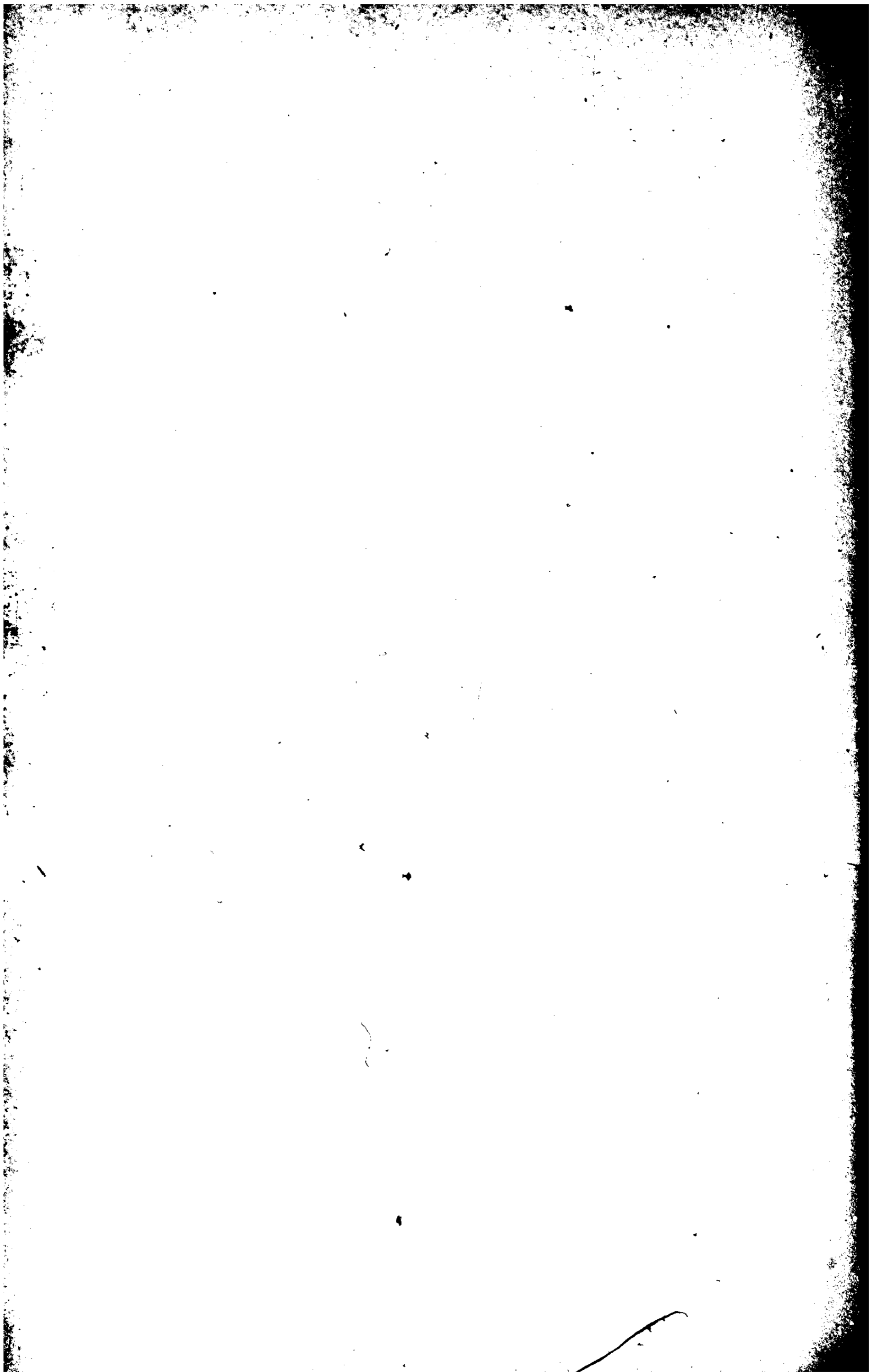
"scriptor fuerit hujus historie."
The short notices from 1339 on-
wards are inserted in confused order
in MS. H. They were probably
mere occasional jottings added at
the end of the original MS.



**CHRONICLES OF THE REIGNS OF
EDWARD I. AND EDWARD II.**

V.

**MONACHI CUJUSDAM MALMESBERIENSIS
VITA EDWARDI II.**



MONACHI CUJUSDAM MALMESBERIENSIS VITA EDWARDI II.

Edwardus post conquestum primus, anno regni sui xxxv^o in die Translationis Sancti Thomæ naturæ debitum solvens, suscepit regnum filius ejus Edwardus secundus, juvenis et fortis robore, ætatis suæ annum agens circiter vicessimum tertium. Hic propositum patris sui nondum consummavit,¹ sed in alia consilium mutavit. Petrum de Gaveston, qui nuper præcepto patris regis terram Angliæ abjuraverat, revocavit. Fuerat autem dictus Petrus, vivente rege Edwardo sene, juvenis Edwardi, tunc principis Walliæ, camerarius familiarissimus et valde dilectus, quod manifeste satis apparuit non multo post. Dominus enim rex juvenis domino Petro, ab exilio reverso, de consilio et assensu quorundam magnatum terræ, videlicet Henrici de Lacy comitis Lincolnis et aliorum, comitatum Cornubiæ contulit et donavit. Ipse etenim comes Henricus de Lacy, cum dubitaretur an rex prædictum comitatum a jure quod cum corona habebat posset separare, proposuit regem posse, nam sic et alii reges bis antea fecerant. Major tamen pars baronum terræ non consensit, tum quia Petrus alienigena erat a Vasconia oriundus, tum propter invidiam. Invidebant enim ei magnates terræ, quia ipse solus haberet gratiam in oculis regis et quasi secundus rex dominare-

A.D. 1297.
July 7.

Accession of
Edward II.

Piers Gaveston made
earl of Cornwall with
the consent
of a minority of
the barons.

¹ consummavit] consumavit, MS.

A.D. 1307.
Gaveston's
unpopu-
larity stimu-
lates the
affection of
the king,
who marries
him to his
niece.

tur, cui subessent omnes et par nullus. Invidebat etiam illi quasi tota terra, major et minor et senex, et mala de eo prædicabant; unde et nomen ejus valde diffamatum est. Nec tamen voluntatem regis a Petro poterant separare, quin etiam quando plura audiret rex quæ gratiam ejus conarentur extinguere, tanto magis invalescebat amor et crescebat affectio regis erga Petrum. In tantum etiam ut ad partem Petri fortificandam et amicis stipandam, filiam sororis suæ, quæ fuit filia quondam Gilberti comitis Gloucestræ, dominus rex dicto Petro collocavit [in] matrimonium. Sane hæc copulatio matrimonialis partem ejus non modicum valebat; favorem namque amicorum sibi vehementer augebat et odium baronum refrænabat.

Burial of
Edward I.

Interea convocati sunt archiepiscopi, comites et ceteri terræ magnates ad sepeliendum corpus regis nuper defuncti; et sepultus est dictus rex honorifice Londoniis apud Westmonasterium juxta patrem suum Henricum tertium.¹ Post hæc ad majorem Petri famam

A tourna-
ment at
Walling-
ford, Dec. 2.

augendam et nomen celebrandum, auxiliante et consulente domino rege, nomine domini Petri proclamatum est celebriter quoddam torneamentum in villa videlicet Walyngfordiæ, quæ est de dominico comitis Cornubiæ. Dies etiam præfigitur, dies scilicet sabbati proxima post festum Sancti Andree. Hoc itaque torneamentum comites et barones in odium Petri magis excitabat. Adveniente igitur die præfixo ex una parte conjuncti sunt comites tres vel quatuor cum manu valida, comes videlicet Warenniæ, comes Herfordiæ, comes de Arundel, et barones non pauci; ex parte domini Petri

This in-
creases
Gaveston's
unpopu-
larity.

comes nullus erat nominatus expressus, sed omnes fere milites juniores et robustiores regni, qui prece vel pretio poterant conduci, partem domini Petri juvabant. Unde et in illo torneamento pars ejus superiorem manum habebat, ac optata reportabat, quamvis campus

¹ Edward was buried October 27.

alteri parti remaneret. Nam ipsius Iudi lex esse dinoscitur, quod qui plus perdit et qui saepius ab equo deicitur, probior et fortior iudicatur.

A.D. 1192.
December.

Ex hijs et alijs indicio crescebat odium; erat enim Petrus homo valde elatus et superbus in gestu. Nam omnes quos sibi pares regni consuetudo esse dictabat, humiles et abjectos, nec ipsum in probitate quicquam attingere posse reputabat. Econtra comites et barones Angliæ ipsum Petrum, quia alienigenam et humilem quondam armigerum, ad tantum decus et honorem provectum, nec sui prioris status memorem, despiciebant. Unde et apud omnes fere qui in regno erant pro ludibrio habebatur. Rex autem continuum amorem erga eum habebat, in tantum ut exiret a curia regis præceptum publicum ac quis eum nomine proprio vocaret, videlicet dominum Petrum de Gavestone, sed comitem Cornubiæ nominaret.

Charters & monuments.

He is regarded as an upstart.

The King's favour.

Deinde cum redissent nuntii qui ad dominum Philippum regem Franciæ missi fuerant, pro matrimonio copulando inter filiam dicti regis Franciæ et regem Angliæ, ac optata reportassent, dominus rex Angliæ ad transfretandum se paravit et navigio parato mare cum suis intravit. Regnum autem in manu Petri in custodia deputatur. Mira res, qui nuper ab Anglia exul erat et ejectus, ejusdem terre jam factus est gubernator et custos. Celebratis itaque de more nuptiis, rex Angliæ cum conjuge sua lætus in Angliam est reversus.

A.D. 1192.
He is supposed to have begun the King's visit to France.

The King's marriage.

Post hæc fiunt preparatoria coronationi regia. Venerant archiepiscopi, episcopi, comites et barones. Venerunt igitur omnes, sed burgenses singularum civitatum aderant. Die Sancti Mathiæ apostoli coronati et consecrati sunt rex et regina. Episcopus Wyntoniensis coronam capiti regis apposuit, sed hoc de mandato et consensu archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, cum ad ejus dignitatem et ecclesiæ suæ noscatur pertinere, factum est, ipso archiepiscopo quominus adesset vel infirmitate

The coronation, Feb. 22, by the bishop of Winchester.

A.D. 1298.
Feb. 25.
Confederacy
against
Gaveston.

Hugh le
Despenser
supports
him.

The Earl of
Gloster
neutral.

The Earl of
Lincoln
turns
against him.

General
alarm and
threaten-
ings of civil
war.

præpedito vel nondum a transmarinis partibus in Angliam reverso. Finita igitur solempnitate et festive celebrato convivio rediit unusquisque ad propria.

Nunc primum insurrexerunt contra Petrum de Gavestone omnes fere comites et barones Angliæ, invicemque jurejurando astricti sunt, a cœptis nunquam desistere donec Petrus terram Angliæ evacualet, et comitatum Cornubiæ dimitteret; nullusque magnatum partem Petri sustinuit excepto rege et Hugone le Despenser. Comes autem Gloucestris neutram partem promovit: cum Petro non fuit ne pares suos offenderet; cum baronibus esse non potuit quia fratrem suum in lege expugnare non decuit. Sed et prædictus Hugo Despenser omnibus baronibus exosus factus est, eo quod ipsos pro communi utilitate regni laborantes deseruerat et, magis studio placendi et cupiditate lucrandi quam ex alia justa causa, parti Petri adhæserat. Ille vero qui Petrum prius favore et amicitia præ ceteris excepto rege foverat et dilexerat, inter omnes barones maximus ejus inimicus factus est et persecutor. Hic erat Henricus de Lacy comes Lincolnis, et hoc non ex vitio comitis sed ex ingratitude ipsius Petri noscitur accidisse.

Hæc seditiosa dissensio inter dominum regem et barones orta per totam Angliam jam divulgata est, sed et tota terra pro tali tumultu valde desolata est: omne enim regnum in se divisum desolabitur. Homines mediocres pacifici, pacis amatores, guerram et pacis exilium valde formidabant; prædones vero qui prædam captabant et ad aliena manum extendere, bellum non pacem affectabant. Rex vero civitates suas et castra muniri fecit et reparari, sed magnates ex parte sua hoc idem fecerunt. Per totam terram vero in comitatibus, hundredis, civitatibus, burgis et villis, convocationes et inprovisiones factæ sunt, et quibus quilibet armis, necessitate inveniente, uteretur ex debito provisum est et ordinatum. Certissime enim puta-

S. Luke, ii.
17.

batur dissensionem jam ceptam sine magna ruina A.D. 1265.
sedari non posse.

Post hæc videntes hii qui ex consilio regis erant, ex tali discordia toti terræ imminere discrimen, et precavescentes in futurum, ne furor adhuc recens radices suas ita extenderet, quod inveteratus de facili extinguere non possit, elaboratum est ab eisdem ut rex et barones sui in amicitiam et concordiam revocarentur. De communi igitur consilio vocantur comites, barones et alii magnates terræ tractaturi¹ de pace, conveniuntque Londoniis non sine manu armata, prodicionem metuentes; ubi rex eos exspectabat. Igitur cum diu res ipsa voluta et revoluta esset nec tamen finem acciperet; multi enim volentes utrique parti placere, vacillabant, ex quorum consilio et discretionem negotium dependebat; tandem post multos et varios circuitus, cum in aliud consentire non possent, promissum est et concessum baronibus per regem quod Petrus de Gavestone terram Angliæ egrederetur. Per archiepiscopos etiam et episcopos sententia² excommunicationis in Petrum lata est si ultra terminum statutum in partibus Angliæ moraretur. Terminus itaque positus est, dies videlicet Sancti Johannis Baptiste, quo et eodem festo per anni revolutionem elapso idem Petrus eandem terram prius abjuraverat. Adveniente igitur die præfixo, dominus rex et Petrus cum multo comitatu ad portum Bristolis sunt profecti; ibidemque post modicum a rege licentiatas Petrus cum multa familia in partes Hiberniæ se transtulit et recepit, totaque terra ex præcepto domini regis Angliæ suæ dominationi et potestati subdita est.

Hiis itaque peractis nec adhuc verus amor successit, nec vera concordia. Estimabant enim comites, in om-

A council is summoned for the purpose of reconciliation.

May.
The king allows Gaveston to be banished.

June.
The king conducts him to Bristol and sends him to Ireland.

¹ tractaturi] tractatus, MS. The council was summoned for March 3, but postponed to the 25th of April; the sentence against Gaveston

was issued on the 15th of May.

² sententia] sententiam, MS.

A.D. 1306.
Gaveston's
banishment
proves as
costly as his
presence.

nibus gentis adhuc se esse circumventos, et priorem laborem inanem et cassum, propositum namque eorum exitum non sumpsit optatum. Voluissent certe comites quod Petrus Anglia recessisset, ita quod amplius in familiaritate regis non permansisset, nec terra diutius sumptibus suis sicut prius gravaretur; antecedebat enim fere regem in expensis. Defecit itaque propositum comitum. Nam Petrus in Hibernia jam moram faciens, omnes redditus illius terræ, qui ad regem Angliæ pertinebant,¹ ex voluntate regis et præcepto, in suos usus assumpsit et consumpsit, sicque novissimus error priore factus est peior.

The Earl of Gloucester marries the daughter of the Earl of Ulster.

Interea² Gilbertus comes Gloucestris, filius quondam comitis Gilberti, filiam comitis de Holvestere duxit in uxorem. Ad nuptias convenerunt multi magnates et nobiles, proposuerantque rotundam tabulam ibidem tenuisse; sed pavor circumventionis, timorque prodicionis, quosdam invasit fecitque quominus cepta procederent.

The king draws over the barons to his side.

Videns itaque rex barones suos quasi murum ex adverso consistere, et propter hoc propositum suum non posse procedere, conatus est fœdus eorum rumpere, et potentiores ad se inclinare. Igitur paterna et patriæ fretus³ cautela, blandiuntur enim Anglici cum vires oneri sufficere non vident, unum post alium donis, promissis et blanditiis, ad suum nutum reduxit, in tantum ut vix unus ex baronibus remaneret qui prius decreta et concessa defenderet. Solus autem comes de Warewyk flecti non potuit. Dicebat enim sana conscientia se a placitis recedere non posse. Sed cum omnes dissimularent ipse solus stare non potuit. Nec tamen expresse consensit. Interea multi tractatus et consilia habita sunt de defensione terræ Scotiæ et ex-

except the Earl of Warwick.

¹ *pertinebant*] *pertinebat*, MS.

² *Interea*] The marriage took

place at Michaelmas; see vol. i. pp. 156, 264.

³ *fretus*] *fetus*, MS.

pugnatione Roberti de Bruta, cujus tamen effectus A.D. 1192.
fuerunt nec in palam venit neque de facto apparuit. Geoffrey

Dum hæc ita agerentur et jam appropinquaret autumpas, viderenturque barones cum rege unanimis, Petrus de Gavestone clam propter insidias adversariorum per partes Wallie ab Hibernia in Angliam reversus est. Sententia vero quæ contra eum lata erat, si amplius in Anglia moraretur, procurante rege, auctoritate apostolica remissa est.

Rex itaque, sciens Petrum jam rediisse, obviam ei venit ad Costriam, ibique de reditu suo letus grater valde eum tanquam fratrem suum honorifice suscepit. Revera fratrem suum semper appellaverat. Nullus autem baronum ausus est amplius vel contra eum manum extendere, vel de reditu suo querelam deponere; claudicabat enim cæterus eorum, et pars eorum, in se divisa, infirmata est. The king meets him at Chester.

Sic igitur qui his antea dampnatus erat in exilium, jam exultat reversus ad solium. Comes autem Lincolnensis, qui anno præterito inter omnes barones exilium Petri maxime procuraverat, amicalis compositor jam factus est et mediator; ad cuius preces sollicitas et continuas comes de Wareana, qui, ab eo tempore quo torneamentum de Walyngford finem accepit, hilarem vultum Petro nunquam exhibuit, necessarius amicus jam factus est et fidelis adjutor. Ecce quam frequens et subita magnatum mutatio. Quibus sine¹ fide adhibemus in borea, contrarium reperimus in Austro.² Amor magnatum quasi ludus in alta, et vota divitum pennis³ simillima. The earl of Lincoln mediated.

Petrus vero ad pristinum statum jam reversus deterius se cepit habere quam prius. Comites et barones despiciebat, et turpia cognomina similiter addebat. Officia et potestates ab aliis auferebat, et suis famili- The earl of Warenne reconciled.

¹ sine] sans, suggested by Hearn; |
perhaps "si fidem" is meant.

R 1681.

² Austro] Auster, MS.

³ pennis] pennie, Hearn.

L

A.D. 1292.
The earl of
Lancaster
offended.

aribus pro libito conferebat.¹ Unde magnates terre ceperunt hæc pro malo habere, et præcipue comes Lancastrie, quia unus ex familiaribus suis procurante Petro ejectus erat ab officio suo. Idcirco cave tibi, Petre, quia comes Lancastrie retribuet tibi simile.

The king
and his
favourite
keep Christ-
mas at
Langley.

Ipse igitur dominus rex de præsentia Petri valde gavisus est, quasi qui recepit amicum ex longa peregrinatione revertentem, lætos dies agitabat. Instante vero Nativitate Domini, dominus rex et Petrus ad locum quem rex ipse valde dilexit cum tota familia iter direxit. Locus autem ille Langeleye dicitur, qui juxta villam Sancti Albani situatur. In hoc igitur loco festa natalitia celebrarunt, cotidie colloquentes ac mutua conversatione et diu affectata præsentia priorem absentiam plene redimentes.

A.D. 1310.
The barons
meet in
London, but
refuse to
attend the
king except
in arms.

Transacto natali solatio conveniunt² Londoniis edicto regio barones universi, qui cum ad locum consuetum parlamenti nostri venire differrent, et rex in consuetæ moræ causam requireret, nuntiis regis tale dederunt responsum, dicentes quod ad mandatum regis et domini naturalis venire tenebantur ex debito, sed dum capitalis inimicus eorum, qui regnum turbaverat et ipsos, regio lateret in thalamo, accessum eorum non fore securum, ac hoc nec in hoc regis præcepto fore parendum uno ore protestabantur, addentes quod, si se regio conspectui repræsentare oporteret omnimodo, non inermes ut facere solebant, sed armati copiam sui facere promiserunt. Nec ob hoc offensam se regia majestas sentiret aut læsam dum unusquisque naturali viam affectu tenetur eligere tutiorem.

Claverton
sent away
for a time.

Tandem rex de suorum consilio Petrum ad satis tuta loca profectum³ dimisit ad tempus, ut ceptum negotium vel finem caperet optatum, vel saltem mora

¹ *conferebat*] conferrebat, MS.

² This assembly met Feb. 8, 1310, at Westminster.

³ *profectum*] profectum, MS.

ejus non faceret imperfectum. Extunc convenerunt A.D. 1214. March. Deliberations of the lords.
 comites et barones, causamque vocationis audituri, regem adierunt; inter quos multa interlocutoria habita sunt, quae non in communem venire notitiam. Sed cum per multos dies protelatum esset consilium, hoc demum ex parte baronum audiui fuisse petatum, scilicet quod cum status regis et regni a tempore quo bonae memoriae Edwardus rex senior diem clausit extremum valde declinasset in devium, ac per hoc totum regnum lederetur non modicum, petebant quod Proposal to elect ordainers.
 ex consensu et assensu domini regis et suorum baronum eligerentur duodecim viri discreti, bonae opinionis et potentes, quorum arbitrio et decreto status reformaretur et consolidaretur; et si quid in regni gravamen redundaret, eorum ordinatio destrueret; si vel in aliquo casu regno esset prospectum, eorum discretionem plenarie foret consultum.

Rex igitur, super hiis habita deliberatione, quia videbantur sibi in quibusdam suspecta, diutius differebat The lords insist on the appointment and threaten to withdraw their allegiance.
 inexpedita; sed barones unanimes viriliter instabant multa allegantes, plurima minantes, ac demum quasi uno ore in hiis residebant, dicentes quod, nisi rex petita concederet, jam non ipsum pro rege haberent, nec fidelitatem juratam sibi servarent, maxime cum ipse iusjurandum in sua coronatione praestitum non¹ servaret, cum in lege et naturali ratione caveatur, quod frangenti fidem fides frangatur eidem. Hiis et aliis allegatis rex, artiori habito consilio, cum videret rem jam in arto positam, nec sine discrimine vel scandalo The king sanctions the election of the ordainers.
 necessitatem posse evitari, electiones, ordinationes et quicquid salvo honore regio pro communi utilitate regni crederent statuendum, expresse concessit, et scriptis sigillo suo roboratis confirmavit.

¹ non] om. MS.

A.D. 1310.
March.
Election of
ordainers.

Electi sunt¹ igitur ordinatores de potentioribus et discretioribus totius regni, et tempus² jurisdictionis sive ordinationis faciendæ et publicandæ limitatum est. Quibus sub tali forma concessis et consilio finito secessit unusquisque ad propria.

The king
summons
the hosts for
war against
Scotland,
for June 24.

Post paucos dies dominus rex de consilio suo Robertum de Brutz expugnare disposuit. Fecit enim edicto regio per totum regnum proclamari, quod videlicet omnes qui regi exercitum ducenti ad bellum certum patrocinium ferre tenebantur, die Sancti Johannis Baptistæ apud Berewyk super Twedo præsto regi assisterent, debitum servitium et auxilium ibidem impensuri. Unde viri ecclesiastici, episcopi, abbates et priores, qui pro baroniis quas de rege tenebant in capite, et pro quibus ad diversa servitia domino regi ex fidelitate et homagio præstitis tenebantur³ astricti, pro talibus oneribus præcipue⁴ compensabant non modicum thesaurum, sed prout quisque convenire poterat cum thesauro, regis infundentes ærario.⁵ Quidam autem comitum et baronum huic præcepto regis minime obtemperarunt. Comes enim Lincolnensis custodiam terræ a rege acceperat, iccirco venire non poterat; comes de Warewyk et alii barones, circa ordinationes prædictas occupati, quominus adessent fuerant impediti; comes vero de Lancastre, comes de Pembrok, et comes de Hereford, in odium Petri præceteris invecti regem in Scotiam non sunt secuti. Profectus est igitur rex, a tribus comitibus tantum comitatus, comite videlicet Glouverniciæ, comite Wareniciæ et comite Cornubiæ, qui vocatur Petrus. Alii

Some of the
lords dis-
obey the
summons,
especially
Warwick,
Lancaster,
Pembroke,
and Here-
ford.

¹ *Electi sunt*] The ordainers were elected March 20, 1310; and the number was twenty-one, not twelve as mentioned above; Parl. Writs, II. ii. 26.

² *tempus*] episcopis, MS.

³ *tenebantur*] tenebatur, MS.

⁴ *præcipue*] præcipuum, MS.

⁵ *ærario*] errario, MS.

tamen barones et milites, et peditum turba copiosa Walensium et Anglicorum, qui animum ad questum habebant intentum, regem e vestigio sequebantur ad bellum. Revera, ut dicebatur, simulatum erat hoc regis opus et fictum; non enim accessit rex finaliter in Scotiam ut Robertum de Brutz expugnaret, sed ut mandatum regis Franciæ caute declinaret. Mandaverat enim rex Franciæ regi Angliæ, ut pro terris quas in partibus transmarinis ab ipso tenebat, veniret sibi ut domino suo fidelitatem facturum, ut pro eisdem terris debita et consueta servitia similiter impensurus. Sed timuit rex; coniciebat pro certo quod, si ad mandatum regis Franciæ explendum accederet, Petro suo in Angliā inter inimicos suos dimisso, mora, carcer, vel si quid deterius est, forsitan eveniret. Talia prædicabantur in populo; si vera vel falsa sint, Deus scit,¹ nescio.

A.D. 1212.
The expedition was a mere pretext to excuse the king from going to France.

Intravit rex autem Scotiam cum exercitu suo, nullusque ei rebellis² inventus est, qui vel regi manum apponeret vel hominibus regis insidias pararet, nisi forsitan contingeret aliquos de exercitu causa foragii vel prædæ capiendæ longius abscedere. Tunc enim Robertus de Brutz, qui in insidiis semper latebat, omne malum quod poterat eis inferebat. Nam quadam die, dum sic quidam Anglorum et Walensium, qui parati sunt ad prædā, causa deprædationis exissent, necnon et equites quamplurimi simul cum eis pro tutela ab exercitu discessissent, subito supervenerunt homines Roberti de Brutz, qui in speluncis et locis nemorosis latuerant, ac gravem insultum nostris hominibus dederunt. Videntes autem equites nostri quod eis³ succurrere non possent, horrendo clamore ad exercitum reversi sunt; statimque prosilierunt omnes ad arma et ad succurrendum suis, inter hostes relictis, unanimiter properabant; sed sera fuit defensio quam nostrorum præcessit occisio. Nam "sero seram ponis stabulo post

Desultory warfare.

A foraging party surprised and overwhelmed.

¹ scit] sit, MS.

² rebellis] rebelles, MS.

³ eis] ei, MS.

A.D. 1310.
Escape of
the Scots.

"furta latronis." Antequam enim milites nostri venirent, trucidati sunt de Walensibus et Anglicis usque ad trecentum animas, hostesque reversi sunt ad spaluncas suas. Ex talibus insidiis frequenter invenerunt homines nostri multa mala. Robertus enim de Brutz, sciens se tam ex viribus quam ex fortuna sua regis Angliæ imparem, decrevit sibi magis expedire contra regem nostrum arma latenter movere quam in bello campestri de jure suo contendere. Revera dominum Robertum de Brutz affectarem laudibus extollere nisi reatus homicidii et nota proditionis cogeret me tacere; "reatus
"autem excludit omnem honorem." Verumtamen quo jure regnum Scotiæ ad se pertinere contendit in brevibus apparebit. Post finem Alexandri regis Scotiæ, in dubium venerat quis ei deberet succedere, erantque duo vel tres quorum quilibet se verum et proximum heredem asseruit. Sed ex decreto magnatum utriusque regni Johannes¹ de Baillol ut² proximus heres Alexandro successit, quem rex Angliæ, debita servitia negantem et fidem non servantem, regno privavit, receptisque fidelitatibus et homagiis a magnatibus illius terræ regnum in brevi totum occupavit. Porro, Johanne de Baillol excluso, Robertus de Brutz comes de Carryk jus succedendi ad se devolutum visus est vendicare, ac diadema sibi imponens contra regem et dominum suum cui fidelitatem præstiterat cervicem coepit erigere, quem rex Edwardus cum exercitu suo diu persecutus est. Sed capto Willelmo Waleys, Symone³ Frysel, Johanne de Arseles et aliis quampluribus, hic solus evasit, et mediante probitate et industria sua, decreto regis nostri suo tempore subici non potuit. Hic alter Æneas a captivitate Trojæ solus effugiens:

Explanation
of the ques-
tion of the
Scottish
succession.

Comparison
of Bruce
with Æneas.

Laudibus Ænea nisi crimina nota necarent
Attolli meruit sed eas mala tot macularunt.

¹ Johannes] Joannis, MS.

² ut] et, MS.

³ Symone] Symon, MS.

S. Matt.
xxvi. 28.

Perhendinavit itaque rex in Scotia per totam hiemem, et usque ad Nativitatem Sancti Johannis Baptistae, et castra sua ex omnibus necessariis muniri fecit et restaurari. Circuivitque per civitates, villas et castra, et omnium optinuit munitiones. Robertus autem de Brutz stetit a longe ut videret finem. Non enim in tali vicino videbatur sibi locus esse securus, sed semper appropinquante exercitu tenebat loca montana invia aquosa, ad quae non poterat talis exercitus faciliter pervenire. Et certe quamvis rex Angliae tam brevi manu per septennium Scotiam obsideret, Robertum¹ de Brutz suo carceri nequaquam manciparet. Verum occupatus erat rex circa duo, unum circa expunctionem Roberti de Brutz, in quo remissius² agebat, pro eo quod major pars baronum Angliae ad istud negotium non ferebat auxilium; aliud erat circa retentionem Petri de Gavestone, ad cujus expulsionem et exilium omnes fere barones Angliae unanimiter laborabant. In hiis duobus rex anxius et satis afflictus unum ob aliud non est consecutus. Versus:

Nam qui binas lepores una sectabitur hora
Uno quandoque, quandoque carebit utroque.

Quaeret autem aliquis unde tantam indignationem baronum meruerat Petrus; quae causa odii, quid seminarium irae et invidiae extiterit, vehementer forsan admirabitur, cum in omnium fere magnatum domibus optentum sit hodie ut unus aliquis de familia dominicae dilectionis gaudeat prerogativa. Sane ut reprobatio unius alios instruat, et ruina reprobati ad aliorum cedat documentum, causas odii et invidiae pro posse meo curabo exprimere.

Hic Petrus a Wasconia oriundus filius fuit cujus militis regis Edwardi senioris quondam familiare. Dum autem Edwardus junior adhuc esset princeps

A.D. 1291.
The king
stays in the
north until
midsum-
mer.Policy of
Robert
Bruce.Double aim
of the king.Explanation
of Gave-
stone's un-
popularity.His parent-
age.¹ Robertum] Roberto, MS.| ² remissius] remissus, MS.

A.D. 1311.
Gaveston's
rise and
pride.

Walliæ, dictus Petrus armiger juvenis in familiarem domus ejus assumptus est, et grata exhibitione¹ obsequiorum apud dominum suum summi favoris apicem optinuit in brevi. Et, ut paucis verbis multa concludam, rex noster, cum mortuo patre suo regnum Angliæ jam esset adeptus, Petrum de Gavestone comitem fecit Cornubiæ. Sed Petrus jam comes Cornubiæ olim se fuisse Petrum et humilem armigerum noluit intelligere. Nullum suum comitem, nullum suum parem reputabat Petrus nisi solum regem. Revera vultus ejus majorem reverentiam exigebat quam regia. Erat igitur baronibus fastus ejus intollerabilis et prima causa odii simul et rancoris. Nam vulgariter dicitur,

Si tibi copia, si sapientia, formaque detur,
Sola superbia destruet omnia si comitetur.

The king's
infatuation.

Credo igitur et constanter teneo quia, si Petrus ab initio prudenter et humiliter erga magnates terræ se gessisset, nunquam eorum aliquem sibi contrarium habuisset. Erat enim causa odii secundaria hæc, quod cum ab antiquo omnibus desiderabile² exstiterit habere gratiam in oculis regum, solus Petrus gratiam et vultum hilarem regis habuit et favorem, in tantum ut, si comes vel baro colloquium habiturus cum rege cameram regis intraret, in præsentia Petri nulli rex verba dirigebat, nulli faciem hilarem ostendebat, nisi soli Petro. Et revera ex talibus frequenter oriri solet invidia. Sane non memini me audisse unum alterum ita dilexisse. Jonathas dilexit David, Achilles Patroclum amavit; sed illi modum excessisse non leguntur. Modum³ autem dilectionis rex noster habere non potuit, et propter eum sui oblitus esse diceretur, et ob hoc Petrus maleficus putaretur esse.

Causa autem quare a comitatu Cornubiæ nitebantur eum expellere fuit hæc. Dominus Edwardus rex senior

¹ *exhibitione*] exhibitione, MS.

² *desiderabile*] desiderabilem, MS.

³ *Modum*] Modus, MS.

uni ex filiis suis Thome vel Edmundo comitatum Cornubie contulisse decreverat; sed mora amara prœveniens factum quod erat conveniens fecit imperfectum. Unde barones junioris regis ingratitude videntes, quia ignotum noto, extraneum germano, et advenam incolæ conabatur præferre, dominum illegitimum, comitem superbum, velle consilio prævium, nisi sunt mittere in exterminium. His maxime causis excitata erat contra Petrum indignatio baronum; et Petrus nihilominus magnanimus, tumidus et elatus permansit. Sed vereor ne superbia in ruinam et præcipitium ipsam

Prov. xvi. 18.

devolvat; scriptum est enim, ante ruinam exaltabitur eor; ille qui in altis habitat et humilia respicit superbiam super omnia detestatur. Hæc Luciferum miræ claritudinis angelum¹ ad yma dejecit; hæc reginam

Ester, i. 12.

Vasti a solio regni similiter abjecit; nec mirum si in superbia sua nec Deo nec homini foret acceptus. Nam in superbia et in abusione sublimes oculos distorquens in fastum, quadam pomposa et superciliosa facie despexit universos, et omnia quasi pro imperio agens magnates terræ, quibus necessarius² esse non potuit quin eorum auxilio magis indigeret, vix aliquando et indignatissime respexit. Et certe in filio regis satis esset intollerabile supercilium quod prætendit. Publice tamen scitur quod non erat filius regis nec regalem prosapiam quicquid attingens.

Imminente festivitate Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, conveniunt Londoniis ordinatores, quibus anno præterito commissa fuit potestas ordinandi, corrigendi et ad meliorem statum reducendi, si quid contra leges regni vel in commune dispendium fuisset attemptatum. Potestas enim eorum limitem habuit proximum futurum festum Sancti Michaelis. Ut ergo antequam exspiraret eorum juredictio, statuta et ordinata per eos in publicum venirent, vocaverunt dominum regem et alios

A.D. 1211.
Objection to
Gervase's
pretension
to the ear-
dom of Corn-
wall.

His intol-
erable pride.

June.
The or-
dainers
meet at Lon-
don, and in-
vite the king
to confirm
the Ordi-
nances.

¹ angelum] angelorum, MS.

² necessarius] necessarius, MS.

A.D. 1311.
The king
comes to
Blackfriars,
but goes to
Canterbury,
and returns
in August.

magnates terræ ut coram eis recitata vel infirmarentur vel approbarentur. "Quod enim omnes tangit ab omnibus debet approbari." Recessit igitur rex a Scotia, et venit Londonias, et apud fratres Prædicatores hospitio se recepit. Cum quidam autem procerum moram facerent, sine quorum præsentia res expediri non posset, dominus rex sacra loca visitare Cantuariam profiscitur, ac demum circa finem mensis Augusti revertitur.

His reluctance to confirm the Ordinances,

especially the article against Gaveston.

The ultimatum of the ordainers.

Omnibus itaque quorum interesse vertebatur adunatis, profertur in medium labor annalia, et capitula singillatim recitantur, et regis consiliariis copia porrigitur. Rex autem de consilio suo quædam sibi incommoda, quædam in odium suum adinventa protestatur, et se hiis assensum præbere non teneri arguit et causatur, cum in commissione concessa regia majestas fuisset excepta.¹ Sciebant tamen barones regis excusationes frivolas esse et fictas et ad exquirendas dilationes semper intentas; unde et ipsi viriliter instabant, et cum omnium incommodo regis magis commodum compensabant. Fuit autem inter ordinationes illas una quædam quæ magis inter ceteras regem affligebat, videlicet expulsio Petri de Gavestone et ejus exilium; sed rex ad hoc nullo sensu inclinari potuit vel induci. Ut tamen baronibus satisfaceret hoc offerebat; quæcunque, inquit, ordinata sunt, quæcunque statuta, quantumcunque in meum privatum incommodum redundant, ad petitionem vestram valeant atque perpetuo subsistant. Verum a persecutione fratris mei Petri desistatis, et comitatum Cornubiæ habere permittatis. Hoc sæpe et sæpius petebat sic rex, nunc illos blanditiis palpan, nunc autem minas adjiciens; sed barones viriliter instabant, plurima allegantes ut fideles regis regi consulentes, ac demum, quasi uno animo et una voce, hoc in calce sermonis adiciebant, quod aut Petrus,

¹ *excepta*] *excepta*, MS.

juxta arbitrium ordinatorum exilium subiret, aut unusquisque de capite proprio defendendo sibi consuleret. Videntes igitur hii qui de consilio regis erant quod, si dominus rex ordinatorum decretis et placitis non acquiesceret, turbaretur regnum et pacis sequeretur exilium; scientes etiam quod civile bellum nunquam finem habuisset acceptum, de quo bellum de Lewes manifestum reliquit exemplum et bellum de Evesham eternam servabat memoriam, in quo pro tempore justitie nobilis ille comes Leycestrie Symon occubuit; considerabant etiam quam dura inter regem et barones suos et quam periculosa foret dissensio, quod totius terre sequeretur desolatio, quod inter dubios eventus vix evitaretur regis captio, et, sicut Roboam qui consilium seniorum respuens consilio juvenum adhaesit, incaute solip formam privaretur et regno; hæc et hiiis similia considerantes qui consules regis esse dicebantur, attentius instare coeperunt pro regno, pro populo, pro semetipso regem interpellantes, quatinus suorum dignaretur¹ acceptare consilium, inevitabile protestantes evenire periculum quod sibi et suis perpetuum afferret obprobrium, nisi decretis baronum assentiret, nisi ordinationes eorum sine fraude concordaret.

Rex igitur, suorum monitis et precibus inductus, ordinationes, provisiones et statuta, quocunque nomine censeantur, pro se et suis successoribus inviolabiliter et in perpetuum rata teneri consensit. Directa est igitur copia ordinationum sub magno sigillo ad quemlibet comitatum, et ibidem publice proclamantur, et ab omnibus proclamari præcipiuntur. Quas hic ideo intersetere nolui, quia seriem hujus materie rescinderem² vel fastidium legentibus afferrem:³ sed, si quis eas sibi dixerit ignotas, inter alia statuta suo loco reperiet insertas. Verum quia ordinatio illa quæ Pe-

A.D. 1211.
The king's
advisors, in
order to
avoid a civil
war, press
him to yield.

He confirms
the Ordina-
tions.

Copies circu-
lated.

¹ dignaretur] dignaretur, MS.

² rescinderem] rescindere, MS.

³ afferrem] auferrem, MS.

A.D. 1311.
Importance
of the article
against
Gaveston.

trum de Gavestone ejecit ab Anglia pluribusque inter alias magis videbatur accepta, inspicientes enim ordinationes statim ad illam recursum habebant, cum tamen in ordine prima non esset, sed decimum vel ulteriorem locum optineret; et ut ipsa ordinatione perfecta manifeste appareat ipsius exilii causa, ideo in hac meae narrationis serie, quia multum concordat materis statutum illud, de verbo ad verbum prout fuerat in audientia publicatum, interserui sub forma quæ sequitur:—

A copy of the
Twentieth
Ordinance.

“ Quia notum est¹ et per examinationem prelatorum, comitum, baronum, militum et aliorum bonorum et legalium hominum regni repertum, quod Petrus de Gavestone dominum regem male duxit, domino regi male consuluit,² et ipsum ad male faciendum deceptorie et multiformiter induxit, contractando sibi totum thesaurum regis, quem etiam extra regnum elongavit; attrahendo sibi homines qui secum morarentur contra omnes gentes, et per thesaurum regis quem sic adquisivit, de die in diem dominando supra statum regis et coronæ in destructione regis et regni; specialiter elongando cor domini regis a suis legiis hominibus, consilia eorum despiciendo, bonos ministros legem facere non permittendo et bonos ministros amovendo, tales autem de sua familiaritate, tam alienigenas quam alios constituendo, qui ad suum præceptum et velle justitiam offendant [et] legem terræ, acceptando terras et tenementa contra suum homagium de corona, nedum ante ordinationes ad profectum regis et regni ab ordinatoribus concessas sed etiam post, contra dictorum ordinatum provisiones et decreta.

“ Sustinet etiam prædones et homicidas ipsique cartas domini regis de pace acquirit, et sic aliis malefactoribus magis delinquendi præbet audaciam. Conducit regem in terram guerræ sine cōmuni assensu suorum baronum, in periculum regis et destructionem regni; albas cartas sub magno sigillo regis facit consignari in captionem et exheredationem regis et coronæ; et callide false et prodi-

¹ *Quia notum est*] This is a Latin translation of the 20th Ordinance; | sec Statutes of the Realm, i. 162. “
² *consuluit*] consiluit, MS.

" tunc fecit hæc omnia prædicta in magnum dedecus¹ et
 " dampnum regni, exheredationem coronæ, in destructionem
 " populi multimodis;

A.D. 1291.
 Copy of the
 Ordinance
 against
 Gaveston.

" Insuper habentes respectum ad facta nobilissimi regis
 " patris domini nostri regis qui nunc est, [cujus] edicto
 " dictus Petrus regnum Angliæ abjuravit et exulavit, qui et
 " voluit quod dominus noster rex filius suus pro omni
 " tempore societatem illius abjurasset;

" Inaspicientes etiam quod postea communi assensu totius
 " regni pariter et regis prospectum erat, quod Petrus idem
 " regnum evacuet, et evacuavit, et quod per communem
 " assensum non rediit, sed durat per consensum aliquo-
 " rum, qui sub conditione, si post regressum suum bene se
 " gereret, ad hoc consentiebant; et nunc certissime reportus
 " est male genitus;—

" Quamobrem et propter sua malefacta prædicta, et propter
 " alia quæ verisimiliter domino regi et populo contingere
 " possent, et ad bonam concordiam inter dominum regem et
 " suos subditos nutriendam et multimodas discordias et peri-
 " cula evitanda, nos ordinatores, ut ordinatores et virtute
 " dictæ commissionis regis, concessimus quod Petrus de
 " Gavestone, tanquam publicus hostis regis et regni, a regno
 " penitus eiciatur et exuletur, necnon ab Angliæ sed etiam
 " Wallia, Scotia, Hybernia, Wasconia, et ab omni terra tam
 " ultra mare quam citra mare dominationi regis Angliæ sub-
 " jecta, pro omni die et sine reditu. Et quod citra festum
 " Omnium Sanctorum proxime futurum regnum Angliæ et
 " omne regis² dominium relinquat et penitus evacuet, et
 " portam apud Doverum sibi damus in forma prædicta. Nec
 " liceat sibi alibi terram exire vel in alio sinu maris portam
 " arripere. Et si dictus Petrus in regno Angliæ vel alibi
 " in dominio regis nostri ultra statutum diem faciat moram,
 " tunc fiat de ipso tanquam de inimico regni, regis et
 " populi. Et quicumque contra hanc ordinationem venerit,
 " ad tardationem dicti exilii, fiat de ipsis prout visum fuerit
 " expedire cum super hoc fuerint convicti."

Sentence
 against him.

Et Petri quidem exilium ex decreto ordinatorum sic
 erat.

Post festum Omnium Sanctorum, quia rex ordina-
 tionibus baronum stare juraverat, Petrum in exilium

¹ dedecus] dedecus, M.S.

² omne regnum domini, Harmer.

A.D. 1311.
November.
Gaveston
goes into
exile with
testimonial
letters from
the king and
others.

ire disposuit, quia in brevi satis competenter sibi providere disposuit. Antequam tamen Petrus terram Angliæ egrederetur, de consilio quorundam qui parti suæ adhærebant, litteras regis bonæ conversationis et fidelitatis testimoniales a rege impetravit et optinuit; et hiis litteris rex sigillum suum apposuit, et multi magnates similiter fecerunt, qui magis reprehensione digni quam ex hoc facto laudandi fuerunt. Inter quos comes Gloucestris Gilbertus, juvenis et precibus regis inductus, prædictis litteris testimonium præbuit. Nam et illas sigillo suo roboravit, sed postea saniori ductus consilio, et prætextu minoris ætatis excusatus, errorem suum revocavit, et impressionem sigilli sui a litteris illis extorsit.

He goes to
Flanders.

Petrus igitur tali testimonio munitus clam propter adversarios secessit in Flandriam, omni fere populo ignorante ad quas partes divertisset. Post hæc comites juxta ordinationes domini regis ulterius disponere volentes, complices et fautores Petri a curia regis sub pœna incarcerationis recedere decreverunt, ne et ipsi animum regem ad revocandum Petrum de cetero instigarent. Ad hæc rex ultra modum commotus, quod nec unum familiarem juxta proprium votum retinere sibi liceret, sed sicut providetur fatuo, totius domus suæ ordinatio ex alieno dependeret arbitrio, in odio comitum revocavit Petrum, per animam Dei jurans ex solito quod libere proprio uteretur arbitrio.

His parti-
sans
banished
from court.

The king's
indignation.

Gaveston
returns
again,
secretly.

Et Petrus quidem ad regis mandatum statim reversus est in Angliam, quia regem Franciæ suspectum habebat, per Flandriam. Sed quamvis periculosa sibi foret Francia, periculosior futura sibi fuit Anglia. Evenit enim sibi quod quidam ait,

“ Incidit in Scillam cupiens vitare Caribdim.”

He goes to
York with
the king.

Reversus igitur Petrus caute ambulabat, et nunc in camera regis, nunc apud Walyngford, nunc in castello de Tyntagel latere putabatur. Cum autem appropinquaret Natale Domini dominus rex et Petrus ad partes borales sunt profecti, et apud Eboracum festa

natalitia celebrarunt. Et dominus rex studiose indies A.D. 1312.
 cum omni consilio suo de statu Petri et pace tracta- The king's anxiety for his safety.
 bat; et quia non erat Petro tutus locus in Anglia, Hibernia, Wallia, Wasconia nec Francia, de mora Petri tractare disposuit in Scotia, donec impetus baronum cessaret, vel Petro decentius et alibi provideret; sed inane studium vix habuit initium. Cum enim Robertus de Brutz de fidelitate Petro servanda et conditione pacis requireretur et invitaretur; cum etiam sibi multa He negotiates with Bruce, who declines to trust him.
 offerrentur¹ ac denum ipsum regnum² Scotiæ tranquille et imperpetuo domino Roberto permetteretur, hoc modo regis mandato fertur respondisse, "Quomodo
 " rex Angliæ pactum mihi servaret, qui legiis suis
 " hominibus, quorum fidelitatem et homagia recepit,
 " quibus etiam mutuo fidem servare tenetur, promissa
 " etiam juramento vallata non custodit? Non est ad-
 " hibenda fides homini tam vario: non me decipiet
 " sua promissio." Sic cassata spes regia, sic eluduntur regis promissa.

Audientes autem comites et pro certo jam scientes The archbishop publishes a sentence of excommunication against Gaveston.
 quod rediisset Petrus, videntes autem quod non procederet ordinatio quam statuerant circa eum, congregati sunt cum primate³ suo Roberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo. Et primas quidem,⁴ sicut erat spiritu fervens et pacem regni zelans, gladium suum arripuit et Petrum anathemate percussit, ut sic lata sententia evacuaretur gratia; nam qui iuste ligatur raro efficaciter operatur. Et barones ex parte sua non minus laborant ad quærendum remedia, fueruntque ad defensionem ordinationum principaliter intenti et invicem jurejurando similiter astricti comites subscripti; League of the earls against him.
 Thomas comes Lancastria, Adolmarus comes Penbroke, Humfridus comes Herfordiæ, Edmundus comes de Arundel, et Gwydo comes Warewyke. Hii quinque

¹ offerrentur] offerentur, MS.

² regnum] regem, Hearne.

³ primas] primato, MS.

⁴ quidem] quid, MS.

A.D. 1312.
Their con-
spiracy
against him.

Complicity
of the earl of
Gloucester.

Policy of
Lancaster.

Gaveston's
horses and
arms seized
by Lan-
caster at
Newcastle.

The tactics
of Lan-
caster.

comites armis strenui, genere præclari, et copiosa arma-
torum multitudine vallati, circa captionem Petri una-
nimiter consultant. Quid autem in illo consilio fuerit
decretum vel quibus insidiis molirentur in Petrum diu
quidem latuit; sed quid ibidem actum fuerit ex post
factis satis apparuit; et caute quidem et provide actum,
ut ita lateret eorum propositum ne divulgata intentio
immunem præstaret in vitio.¹ Secesserunt igitur comites
ab invicem unusquisque in viam suam, et comes Glou-
cestriae, quamvis in hoc proposito socius non esset,
ratum tamen habere promisit quicquid comites facerent,
quicquid in hac expeditione disponderent. Comes autem
Lancastriae ad partes boriales se transtulit, et ceteri
comites, ne ex visu armorum terreretur provincia, fece-
runt per diversa loca proclamari torneamenta, ut sub
tali prætextu colligerent quos sibi necessarios esse, et
sic moverunt se de loco ad locum donec transirent
Eboracum, et comes Lancastriae circa solis occasum
aggressus est iter suum.

Sic Thomas de nocte volat, sub luce moratur,

Ut lateat, modicum cursum ne fama loquatur;

et hac cautela nisus ad Novum Castrum subito venit
et improvisus, ubi dextrarii et magni caballi ipsius
Petri vel verius domini regis morabantur. Erat etiam
ibidem copiosa multitudo armorum, in quibus erat fidu-
cia² Petri defendendi et resistendi se. Sed hæc omnia
cepit comes, et custodibus ejectis suis hominibus et
hæc omnia custodienda mandavit, ut regis erant fide-
liter restituerentur et regi.

Accidit itaque modicum post hæc ut dominus rex
et Petrus ab invicem separarentur; unus apud Scarde-
burghe, alter apud Knaresbrugg morabatur. Quod
cum perpendisset comes Lancastriae, disposuit se in
medio esse ne unus ad alterum posset habere regres-
sum, et ceteri comitum interim obsiderent Petrum.

¹ in vitio] innicio, MS.

² fiducia] fudicia, MS.

Cum igitur videret Petrus obsidionem jam coeptam, auxilium regis interceptum, castrum victualibus destitutum et socios minus sufficientes ad bellum, misit ad comitem Penbrokiae se reddere volens sub conditione; et erat conditio hæc videlicet quod dictus comes Petrum usque ad gulam Augusti servaret illæsum, et, si placeret ei quod interim comites disponerent, bene quidem; sin autem, restitueretur in pristinum statum, scilicet ad castrum unde exierat et ad sororem quam prius reliquerat.¹

A.D. 1312.
May.
Conditional
surrender
of Gave-
ston.

Comes autem de hac captione gavisus, sociis inconsultis, immo ex proprio capite sumpto consilio, cepit Petrum, et placuit conditio, et ad Petrum servandum sub forma prædicta obligavit regi terras et tenementa. Nam et hujus rex conscius erat, quia de consilio regis res ipsa prodierat; speravit enim ante prædictum terminum sufficiens præstare Petro subsidium: quia si Petrus exspectasset Augustum, ad libitum, ut dicitur, rediisset arbitrium. Nam papa et rex Franciæ ordinassent remedium, quia rex Angliæ donasset Wasconiam eis in feodum.

The sur-
render
accepted
and ap-
proved by
the king.

Comes igitur Adolmarus cum vinculato suo Petro recessit a borea, ad Angliam² tendens interiora, et cum circiter quinque dietas vel amplius peregisset, tandem in comitatum³ Northamptoniensem deveniens, vocato Petro dixit, "Fatigatus es ex itinere, et opus esset tibi recreatione; est autem hic juxta villa modica, locus amœnus et ampla ædificia. Ego vero [circa] quædam negotia ad tempus recedam; ibidem morare donec veniam." Et Petrus quod comes optulit gratanter accepit; et misit eum ad dictam villam cum custodia; sed non vidit comes Petrum amplius in Anglia.

The earl of
Pembroke
leaves
Gaveston
in North-
ampton-
shire.

Cum autem didicisset comes Warewykyæ omnia quæ agebantur circa Petrum, accepta manu valida,

The earl of
Warwick's
proceedings.

¹ reliquerat] relinquerat, MS.

² Anglia] Angliam, MS.

³ comitatum] comitatu, MS.

A.D. 1312.
June.
He arrests
Gaveston.

accita etiam tota patria, clam tendit ad locum ubi cognovit esse Petrum, et valde mane una sabbatorum^{s. Mark xvi. 2.} veniens ad villam intravit portam curiæ et circumdedit cameram. Exclamavit autem comes voce magna, "Surge proditor, captus es." Et Petrus audiens comitem, videns etiam manum comitis superiorem et custodiam cui deputatus non resistantem, induens vestimenta sua descendit de camera. Capitur igitur Petrus et non sicut comes, immo sicut latro, producit; et qui solebat palfridos ascendere jam pedes cogitur ire.

He is
brought to
Warwick
and impri-
soned there.

Cum autem transissent a villa ad modicum jussit comes præberi Petro jumentum ut eo velocius maturaret iter suum. Et¹ Petrum sequebantur cornua tonantia, populus clamans et vox horrida. Jam Petrus deposuit cingulum militiæ, sicut fur et proditor tendit Warewykæ, et ibidem veniens mittitur in carcerem. Modo suis vinculis Petrum subjugavit quem canem Warewyk Petrus appellavit.

The earl of
Pembroke,
intercedes
with the
earl of
Gloucester.

Et Petrus quidem servabatur in carcere, oratio^{Acts xiii. 1.} autem fiebat sine dilatione ab Adolmaro comite ad barones pro eo. Statim enim ut cognovit captum esse Petrum, accessit ad comitem Glovernæ plorans et orans quatenus injuriam sibi illatam vindicaret, et Petrum omnimodo sibi restitueret. Addidit etiam quod, nisi comes succurreret, obprobrium sempiternum subiret,

Gloucester's
answer.

et terras quas obligaverat amitteret. Et comes Glovernæ ita fertur respondisse, "Domine comes, injuria tibi illata comiti Guydoni non est imputanda. Quod enim fecit consilio et auxilio nostro fecit; et si, ut tu dicis, terras tuas obligasti, ipsas utique perdidisti. Nichil ergo ulterioris restat consilii nisi ut discas alias cautius negotiari." Comes autem, ut vidit preces suas sic esse repulsas, confusus abscessit et venit apud Oxoniam: congregatæ universitati clericorum ostendit causam suam, et transcriptum obliga-

Pembroke
lays the case
before the
University
of Oxford.

¹ Et] et, ius. MS.

tionis legi fecit coram omnibus clericis et burgensibus A.D. 1312.
June.
similiter adunatis, deposuit querelam coram eis, ut Suspensions
entertained.
vel sic ad recuperandum Petrum consilium communi-
carent et auxilium, vel ut justitiam suam ostenderet
ne quis forsan de se aliter præsumeret. Habebatur
enim apud quosdam suspectus, quasi in captione Petri
tam durum peccatum dolo confirmasset, ut Petrum
facilius morti traderet, quem longa obsidione forsan
non cepisset. Sed nec clerici nec burgenses rem ad The people
of Oxford
decline to
interfere.
se non pertinentem tractare vel attemptare cura-
bant.

Altera autem die non longe post captionem Petri, Gaveston
condemned
in a meeting
of the earls.
reliqui comites Warewykyæ conveniunt, et de morte
Petri tractantes sic tandem diffiniunt, quod propter
affinitatem comitis Glovernæ nec ut fur suspenderetur
nec ut proditor protraheretur, sed sicut nobilis et
civis Romanus capitalem poenam pateretur. Comes
autem Warewykyæ acutum nuntium emisit ad Petrum,
mandans ei ut consuleret animæ suæ, quia hæc foret
dies ultima quam visurus esset in terra. Et nuntius
accelerans mandatum statim accessit ad Petrum :
" Consule," inquit, " tibi, domine, quia morte morieris
" hac die." Et Petrus, ubi nomen mortis audivit, modi- His lamen-
tation at the
news.
cum suspirans ingemuit; " O," inquit, " ubi sunt dona
" mea quibus tot familiares amicos acquisieram, et
" quibus potestatem sufficientem habuisse putaveram?
" Ubi sunt amici mei, in quibus erat fiducia¹ mea,
" corporis tutela et tota salutis substantia; quorum
" juventus valida, probitas invicta et virtus ad ardua
" semper accensa? qui etiam in bello pro me stare,
" carcerem intrare, et mortem promiserant non vitare.
" Certe superbia mea, elatio quam nutrit eorum una
" promissio, regis favor et regis curia, duxerunt me
" in hæc tædia. Non habeo subsidium, vacat omne
" remedium, fiat voluntas comitum."

¹ *Fiducia*] *fiducia*, MS.

A.D. 1313.
June 19.
He prays for
mercy to
Lancaster,
who sends
him to exe-
cution.

Circa horam tertiam¹ educitur Petrus de carcere; et comes de Warewyk Petrum vinculatum reliquit comiti Lancastriæ, et Petrus, ut comitem illum vidit, procidens in terram oravit dicens, "Generose comes, miserere mei." Et comes, "Tolle," inquit, "tolle eum, per Deum perducetur." Et qui viderunt lacrymas continere non potuerunt. Quis enim continere se posset cum videret Petrum, nuper gloriose² militantem, nunc autem misericordiam in tam flebili fine petentem. Eductus Petrus de castro properavit ad locum ubi passurus erat supplicium; et ceteri comites sequebantur a longe ut viderent finem, nisi quod comes Guydo remansit in castro suo.

S. Matt.
xvi. 2.

He is be-
headed.

His head
brought to
the earl of
Lancaster.

His body
taken to
Oxford.

Cum autem venissent ad locum qui Blakelowe dicitur, pertinens ad comitem Lancastriæ, missus quidam a comitis latere jussit Petrum in prædicto loco remanere; et statim jussu comitis traditus est Walensibus duobus, de quibus transfodit hic corpus, amputavit ille caput. Et nuntiatum est comiti quod res sic se haberet.³ Ille autem non credidit donec caput ipse videret; et post rem sic consummatam reversi sunt comites in viam suam. Fratres autem Jacobini collegerunt⁴ Petrum, et caput corpori consuantes detulerunt illud Oxoniam; sed quia innodatus erat sententia non sunt ausi sepelire corpus in ecclesia.

Exitus hic Petri qui, dum conscendit in altum,
Labitur in nihilum qui fuit ante nichil.

A warning
to courtiers.

Ecce Petrus nuper in aula regis ceteris nobilior, nunc propter importunitatem sui gestus jussu comitis Lancastriæ jacet decollatus.⁵ Videant amodo curiales Anglici ne, de regio favore confisi, barones despiciant. Sunt enim membrum regis principale, sine quo nil grande poterit rex aggredi vel consummare. Ergo qui

¹ June 19; Cont. Trivet, ed. Hall, p. 9.

² *gl'cioso*] *gl'ricosa*, MS.

³ *haberet*] *habere*, MS.

⁴ *collegerunt*] *colligerunt*, MS.

⁵ *decollatus*] *decolatus*, MS.

barones parvipendunt regem utique contempnunt et
læscere majestatis se reos ostendunt. A.D. 1122
June.

Sed quare jussu comitis Lancastrie occiditur Petrus
magis quam aliorum comitum dubitabit aliquis in
posterum. Sciat autem in occisione Petri comites
Anglie arduum negotium assumptisse, nec diebus
nostris aliquando simile contigisse. Occiderunt enim
magnum comitem quem rex adoptaverat in fratrem,
quem rex dilexit ut filium, quem rex habuit in socium
et amicum. Opus ergo erat ut ille magnus esset qui
tale factum defenderet. Unde Thomas comes Lancas-
trie, sicut omnibus generosior, ita et ceteris potentior,
periculum hujus rei in se assumpsit, et Petrum post
tria exilia, quasi post tres monitiones legitimas, non
obtemperantem, occidi mandavit. Great im-
portance of
the act.

Lancaster
put forward
as the
author
of it.

Hic comes Thomas dominum regem in secundo gradu
consanguinitatis contingebat, utpote qui ex duobus
fratribus qui primum faciunt gradum descendebant,
ex rege scilicet Edwardo seniore et fratre ejus Ed-
mundo comite Lancastrie. Mater ejus erat regina
Navarie, et soror ejus regina Francie, et filia sororis
sue regina nunc est Anglie. Sic utroque parente
regios habens natales generosior apparet quam ceteri
comites. Per vires patrimonii potentiam ejus atten-
dere potes. Habebat enim quinque comitatus in An-
glia, videlicet comitatum Lancastrie, Leycestrie, et
comitatum de Ferers ex parte patris; comitatum Lyn-
colnie et Saresburie ex parte uxoria. Ecce domina-
tio tot comitatum olim nobilium redigitur in unum.
Potest nunc solus Thomas quod aliquando comes
Edmundus, dominus de Longespeye, dominus de Lacy,
et dominus de Ferers singillatim potuerunt. Nec credo
ducem vel comitem, sub imperio Romano militantem,
de terrarum proventibus tantum facere posse quantum
Thomas comes Lancastrie. Descent and
great posi-
tion of the
earl of Lan-
caster.

His five
earldoms.

Post consummationem Petri, cum vox publica mor-
tem ejus auribus singulorum inculcasset, lætata est

A.D. 1312.
Joy at the
fall of Gav-
eston.

terra, gavisī sunt omnes habitantes in ea. Confidenter dicam mortem unius hominis, nisi gravasset rem publicam, nunquam antea tot et tantis gratanter acceptam. Gaudet terra, gaudent incolae, Petro mortuo pacem invenisse: soli familiares ejus, et maxime quos ipse promoverat, mortem domini sui regre ferebant. Nam multa multis contulit, de stabulo ad cameram quosdam ascendere fecit, de quibus quidam militant qui nunquam militasse decreverant; et ut paucis multa concludam,

De causa Petri gaudent omnes inimici,

Atque dolent pauci nisi qui sunt ejus amici.

Confederacy
of the earls
at Wor-
cester.

Post tres pluresve dies conveniunt Wygorniae praedicti comites, ut de praedictis tractarent et adversus futura consulerent. Sciebant enim quod, cum res in regis veniret notitiam, tanquam ob illatam sibi injuriam, si liceret ei, procederet ad vindictam. Idcirco cauto et provide inter eos prospectum est, quod, si processum eorum jure tueri¹ non possent, saltem se et sua armorum suffragiis unanimiter defenderent. Nam vim vi repellere lege permittitur, et quod quis ad tutelam sui fecerit jure fecisse videtur.

The king's
utterances
on receipt of
the news.

Postquam notificatum est autem regi quod mortuus est Petrus, contristatus valde condoluit, et post modicum astantibus dixit: "Per animam Dei, ut fatuus egit. " Nam de consilio meo ad manus comitum nunquam pervenit. Hoc² est quod semper inhibui. Nam et " quae nunc facta sunt prius quam fierent excogitavi. " Quid sibi fuit de comite de Warewyk, quem con- " stat Petrum nunquam dilexisse? Sciebam certe quod, " si eum apprehenderet, de manibus ejus nunquam " evaderet." Hoc verbum regis leviter prolutum, cum tandem deveniret in publicum, plures excitavit [ad] risum. Sed certus sum regem ita doluisse de Petro, sicut aliquando dolet pater de filio. Nam quanto magis procedit dilectio, tanto magis dolet infortunio. In

¹ tueri] teneri, MS.

| ² Hoc] Hæc, MS.

planctu¹ David super Jonatan amor ostenditur, quem
2 Sam. i. 26. dicitur super amorem mulierum dilexisse. Fatetur et
 sic rex noster; superaddit dum mortem Petri vindi-
 care disposuit. Nam accitis consiliariis suis quærit
 consilium quid super istis foret agendum, ratum tamen
 habens propositum illos destruere qui occiderunt Pe-
 trum. Et erat cum rege comes Penbrokyse, cujus in-
 tererat comites debellare, et dominus Hugo le Despenser
 apud regem latuit, qui plus quam Petrus forte deme-
 ruit. Henricus de Beaumont adhuc est in curia, qui
 juxta ordinationes recedere debuisset ab illa; Edmun-
 dus de Maulee et alii milites qui nuper fuerunt Petri
 familiares. Hii siquidem regem instigabant ut ex
 fidelibus suis exercitum colligeret, et adversarios suos
 audacter impeteret. Nam triumphum secure reportaret
 ex quo pro jure suo legitime tractaret. Addunt etiam
 infideles vincere non posse, quos constat domino suo
 fidem non servare; protestantes a sæculo inauditum
 simile delictum in aliquem regem esse commissum, et
 cum pro quovis crimine minori² possit satisfieri, cri-
 men læsæ majestatis non poterit purgari. Alii vero
 sanioris consilii, bene scientes futura metiri,³ nullo
 sensu præbebant assensum, ut rex cum baronibus
 iniret conflictum. Nam si rex caperetur hoc foret
 absurdum; nec regi proficeret destructio⁴ comitum,
 maxime cum Robertus de Brutz jam totam Scotiam
 occupaverat, et terram Northumbrorum ad tributum
 compulerit; plus expediret terram defendere quam
 terræ defensores velle destruere. Placuit tamen regi
 prius consilium, quia magis secessit⁵ ad votum suum;
 quod enim juxta velle consulitur frequenter apud
 homines magis acceptatur. Ad hoc etiam naturaliter
 regem inducebat indignatio quam contra comites pro
 morte Petri conceperat; magnanimitas in paucis ex-

A.D. 1312.
 His real
 grief and
 purpose of
 revenge.

Rex propo-
 nit vindic-
 tum.

He forms a
 party
 against the
 curia.

Moderate
 counsels.

The king
 prefers the
 more violent
 course.

¹ *placuit*] *placuit*, MS.

² *crimine minori*] *crimior*, MS.

³ *metiri*] *meturi*, MS.

⁴ *destructio*] *distructio*, MS.

⁵ *secessit*] *se gessit*, Hearn.

A.D. 1312. Apprehensions of the other favourites. perta, et suggestio malorum hominum nimis assidua. Nam hii qui post mortem Petri ad regem confugerant, guerram magis quam pacem procurabant. Timebant enim quod, si rex placitis baronum adquiesceret, hoc in dampnum eorum forsitan redundaret. Semper enim trepidat qui sibi conscius exstat.

Reflections on flattery.

Certe adulatorum figmenta milites decipiunt et ad finem desperatum frequenter perducunt. Bene cum magnatibus ageretur, si verum a falso discernere, si simulationes a vero iudicio separarent. Sed nescio qua depravatione naturæ aures divitum delicatæ gratius acceptant mendacis linguæ blandicias quam apertæ testimonium veritatis. Nam juxta poetam,

Cum quis adulator facilem placaverit¹ aurem,
Continuo cunctos superat cum vera loquentur.

Its prevalence at court.

Hujus pestis detestanda frequentia hodie nimis regnat in curia.

The king's purpose of vengeance.

Rex igitur noster in ultionem Petri quosdam de baronibus impugnare proponit; nam comitem Warewyk aut capite privabit aut bonis confiscatis perpetuo deportabit. Milites vocat ad arma, milites conducit in castra, forestarios et sagittarios congregat, pedites in expeditionem pugnae venire procurat.

Warlike preparations for parliament.

Interim autem barones et comites ad parliamentum² suum publico citavit edicto. Ipsi vero, propriæ salutis non inmemores, ad parendum regis mandato hoc modo se præparant. Comes Lancastriæ mille loricatos, mille et quingentos pedites secum adduxit. Comitiva comitis Herfordiæ turba Wallensium vallata, silvestris et fera, non erat vilis nec modica. Comes Warewykyæ homines suos de Arderne animosos valde properanter³ mandavit adesse, et ceteri barones qui erant ex parte comitum, unusquisque pro posse suo communem vallavit exercitum, et sic profecti sunt ad parliamentum.

¹ *placaverit*] *placuerit*, MS.

² *parliamentum*] Sept. 30 to Dec. 16, 1312; Parl. Writs. II. i. 79.

³ *properanter*] *præparanter*, Hearne.

Venientes autem¹ Londonias non statim accesserunt ad regem, sed nuntios suos provide miserunt, qui adventum eorum domino regi nuntiarent et causam vocationis humiliter inquirerent.

A.D. 1212.
October.
Arrival of
the earl.

Cum ergo didicisset rex adventum comitum et formam adventus eorum, consilium suum convocat ut instans negotium consulte disponat; volens etiam inquirere an cum comitibus expediret congregari, vincere sperarent necne². Quidam vero, quibus de viribus utriusque partis jam liquide constabat, conflictum ad præsens penitus dissuadebant. Nam quicquid de rege accideret, pars regis sine dubio periret, cum regis³ exercitum pars adversa in duplo superaret; et hoc forsitan ad terrorem dicebant, quia pacem bello præferre volebant. Et erant eodem tempore cum rege Lodowycus frater regis Franciæ et quidam cardinalis qui secum venerat de partibus transmarinis. Hii omnem opem et operam concordiam formandi cotidie inhibebant.

The king's
delibera-
tions.

Mediation
of Lewis of
Evreux and
cardinal
Arnald.

Comes autem Gloucestris mediatoris partes sustinuit, et regem de pace et concordia erga barones suos habenda frequenter convenit: "Amici tui sunt," inquit comes, "quos inimicos vocas. Amici tui sunt quos imprudenter expugnas. In commodum tuum cedit quicquid faciunt. Pro commodo tuo multa satis expendunt. Rex, si barones tuos destruis, honorem tuum certe contempnis. Nec tamen hoc pati tenentur, nec in aliquo delinquant si propria jura tuerentur." Et rex comiti sic respondit: "Non est qui vicem meam doleat; non est qui pro jure meo adversus istos contendat. Tu vero, nepos meus et dux meus et notus meus, avunculum tuum deseris, et adversariis ejus amicum te facis. Protestor amicos meos non esse qui res meas et jus meum nituntur expugnare. Si michi jure regio sicut aliis regibus

Intercession
of the earl
of Glou-
cester.

Sam. xiii.

¹ autem] sunt, MS.

² necne] unde c., Hearne.

³ regis] rege, MS.

A.D. 1312.
October.
Speech of
the king in
answer to
the earl of
Gloucester.

" uti liceret, non hominem exulatum ex quacunque
" causa de regia potestate ad pacem possem revocare?
" Hoc jure propria sua auctoritate me privarunt, nam
" cui pacem concesseram crudeliter necarunt. Et comes
" Lancastrie michi proximus agnatus, cui possent
" sufficere quinque comitatus licet aliena non raperet,
" apud Novum Castrum homines meos invasit, et quæ-
" dam mei juris secum asportavit; quod si minor aliquis
" fecisset furti posset argui, et vi bonorum raptorum
" judicio recte condemnari. Et comites ad parlia-
" mentum vocati in dedecus regis cum magno exercitu
" veniunt armati. Unde cum mea rapuerint et ho-
" mines meos occiderint, satis est verisimile quod michi
" nolunt deferre, sed coronam rapere et alium sibi
" regem præficere." Et comes, " Domine, si quid in¹
" injuriam tuam comites præsumpserint, decet emen-
" dari; et si² satisfacere fuerint parati, merito debent
" reconciliari. Est enim sententia vulgaris³ ut nemo
" in admittenda satisfactione sit difficilis. Expedit
" igitur comites prius conveniri et amicabiliter de gra-
" vaminibus per eos vobis illatis interpellari, ut ex
" responsione eorum appareat an jure vel injuria res
" finem acceperit.⁴ Est enim apud omnes consuetudo
" ut lenia permittantur, quæ si non proficiant aspera
" subsequantur."

The earl's
advice.

Defence of
the hostile
earls.

Et annuit rex. Accessit ergo comes ille mediator ad
comites, et querelam regis ac causas injuriarum seriatim
exposuit. Ipsi vero super hiis consulti ita respon-
derunt: " Nos domini regis nostri Angliæ barones, et
" secundum possibilitatem humanæ condicionis per
" omnia fideles, in privationem juris regalis nichil
" præsumpsimus, nichil attemptavimus, nec in præ-
" judicium vel incommodum ejus unquam aliquid ex-
" cogitavimus. Verum est quod proditorem quendam

¹ in] om. MS.

² si] sibi, H., conjecturing tibi.

³ vulgaris] vulgare, MS.

⁴ acceperit] acceperat, MS.

" exulantem, et post exilii decretum in terra latitantem, A.D. 1212
October.
" occidi mandavimus, et hoc non in dedecus regis nec Their plea
of justifica-
tion.
" contra pacem ejus; nec propria auctoritate hoc feci-
" mus, sed juxta ordinationes legitimas, assensu regis
" et suorum baronum editas et promulgatas, processimus,
" quas nec rex sola voluntate sua revocare potuit
" vel immutare. Nichil enim sine consilio et com-
" muni assensu regis et suorum baronum potest statui;
" igitur eadem ratione nec dissolvi. Nam secundum
" leges civiles nichil tam naturale quam unumquod-
" que dissolvi eo genere quo ligatur, et alibi 'omnis'¹
" 'res per quascunque causas nascitur per easdem
" 'dissolvitur.' Patet igitur quod pax regia ipsi pro-
" ditori concessa non valuit, quia rex ipsam pacem
" contra ordinationes concessit, quas solo et proprio
" arbitrio tollere non potuit."

Dugest 50,
xvii. 55.

Comes de Lancastre ad objecta sibi per regem respondit quod in prædam vel rapinam nunquam concessit; homines regis non invasit; bona regis nequam asportavit, sed apud Novum Castrum veniens multa, quæ ad regem pertinere cognovit, quasi pro derelicto habita, et occupare volentibus exposita, ut dominum regem conservaret indemnum, occupavit et ad opus regis, inventorio de omnibus confecto, custodiendo mandavit.

Particular
defense of
the earl of
Lancaster.

Ita responderunt omnes unanimiter quod non in contemptum regis, sed propter quosdam sibi suspectos ad parlamentum muniti venerunt, cum juxta consilium sapientis nec nudi debere contendere nec inhermes nos inimicis opponere. Ex hiis dictis satis apparere in coronam regiam se nichil deliquisse; protestantes eis in mentem nunquam evenisse alium regem sibi præficere voluisse. Et in calce sermonis hæc simul adiciunt; "Manifeste," inquit, "jam liquet quia
" dominus rex occasiones querit adversus nos. Cum

The earls
account for
their coming
to parliament
in arms.

¹ omnis] omnes, MS.

A.D. 1312.
October.
They com-
plain of the
king's beha-
viour.

and ex-
pound the
mutual ob-
ligations of
fealty.

November
13.
Birth of an
heir to the
crown.

“ enim jam per quinquennium et amplius, pro confir-
“ matione regni, pro augmentatione honoris regii, satis
“ ultra vires expendimus, satis tamen incassum la-
“ boravimus. Quia dominus rex omnia in dedecus
“ ejus excogitata, omnia in odium ejus adinventa con-
“ queritur. Utinam dominus noster quod¹ bonum est
“ in oculis faciat; unum autem sciat quod cum homines
“ ejus simus fidem ei servabimur; sed quamvis a
“ nobis fidelitatem receperit et homagium, æquum et
“ ipse nihilominus juramentum servare tenetur illæsum.
“ Et si forsitan ab hoc pacto vellet recedere, nos absque
“ fidei læsione nequaquam teneremur acquiescere. Ro-
“ boam filius regis Salomonis, quamvis regnum jure
“ hereditario sibi competeret, quia tamen barones suos
“ justa petentes non admisit, decima parte regni con-
“ tentus, reliquam partem penitus amisit. Igitur si
“ dominus rex affectione qua decet comites et barones
“ suos tractaverit, si rancorem quem contra nos sine
“ causa concepit benigne remiserit, et proditores a
“ curia sua dimiserit, sibi ut regi parebimus, sibi ut
“ domino serviemus.”

Sub tanto rerum strepitu, dum varii rumores hinc
inde volarent, dum unus pacem, alter guerram prædi-
caret, natus est² regi filius formosus et dudum affec-
tatus. Impositum est autem ei nomen patris ejus,
nomen Edwardus; et natus puer iste in festo Sancti
Bricii, quod annuatim celebratur post festum Sancti
Martini. Hæc adoptata nativitas tempore accepto^{2 Cor. 1. 2.}
nobis advenit, quia duo effectus Deo disponente feli-
citer implevit. Dolorem namque regis quem ex morte
Petri conceperat valde mitigavit, et certum heredem
regno providit. Nam, si rex decessisset sine prole,
pro certo mansisset corona sub lite. Vivat igitur juvenis
Edwardus, et, avitis patribus assimilatus, quod singulos
ditabat solus optineat. Regis Henrici secundi sectetur

¹ quod] quid, MS.

² natus est] Nov. 13, 1312.

industriam, regis Ricardi notam probitatem, ad regis A.D. 1212.
Henrici proveniat aetatem, regis Edwardi recolat sapi- November.
entiam, viribus et specie referat cum corpore patrem. Good wishes.

Audiens igitur rex responsiones comitum, prudentes The king
allegationes et probabiles excusationes eorum, adver- promises
tens etiam manum validam ex parte baronum, et per redress of
hoc suum impediri propositum,¹ simulatam affectionem grievances.
præterendit, et votis eorum parere promisit. Unde ne
nil videretur egisse, mandat baronibus sub forma con-
cordiæ ut petitiones eorum exponerent, et quicquid
dictaret ratio indubitanter reportarent. At illi dixe- The barons
runt se nichil aliud petere velle nisi ut rex ordina- ask for the
tiones, quarum effectus in magna sui parte jam erat confirmation
suspensus, sicut ante promiserat, confirmaret, et mor- tion of the
tem Petri proditoris suis fidelibus et legiis hominibus ordinance.
benigne remitteret.

Et dominus rex sic ad petita respondit: "Excepto The king's
" fiscali privilegio ordinationes concessi, et ad hoc con- exceptions.
" cedo; mortem Petri remitto, sed proditorem nequa-
" quam appello." Et comites hanc regis indulgentiam
parvi momenti fore dixerunt; "nam, si rex mortem
" Petri remittit, suam sectam non remittit, sed uxori The barons
" aut filiis accusationem non tollit. At si proditoris insist on
" mentionem faceret, nulli ulterius secta competeret. his treating
" Et si rex comitatum Cornubiæ aliquo colore inten- Gaveston as
" dit repetere, profecto requiritur ut Petrus tanquam a traitor.
" proditor obisse dicatur. Nam extra hunc casum
" non poterit rex comitatum acquirere, nisi per Pe-
" trum vel si decessisset sine prole: sed neutra con-
" ditio potest proficere, quia Petrus moritur prole
" superstite. Igitur, nisi proditor Petrus habeatur,
" ordinationibus multum derogatur, nec comitatum
" Cornubiæ poterit rex de jure repetere."

Sed rex baronibus ita respondit: "Regi," inquit, Edward's
" variare non convenit, nec sine causa revocare quod reply.
" prius indulgetur.² Omne crimen per nos fuit Petro

¹ *propositum*] *præpositum*, MS.

² *indulgetur*] *induleitur*, MS.

³ *Petro*] *Petrum*, MS.

A.D. 1312.
December.
The nego-
tations are
futile.

"remissum, ergo proditorem eum reputare non pos-
sum, quia beneficium principis decet esse mansu-
rum. Petant igitur barones quicquid petendum
juste putaverint; obsequar in omnibus eorum arbi-
trio, sed Petro proditionem nullatenus imputabo."
Et sic hac vice sub hiis finibus contentio recedit, sed
neutra partium optata reportavit. Revera omne stu-
dium regis erat ut negotium protelaret, ut sic labori-
bus et expensis barones afficeret. Unde et cito post
rex a Londoniis recessit, et versus Wyndulsore iter
arripuit ut reginam visitaret quæ nuper peperit.

The king
goes to
Windsor.

A.D. 1313.
March.
A parlia-
ment called,
but the king
does not
come.

Effluxerunt itaque dies anni usque ad Quadragesi-
mam,¹ et circa festum Annuntiationis beatæ Mariæ
sperabatur rex colloquium cum baronibus Londoniis
habiturus, et habita concordia regni negotia cum
comitibus dispositurus. Sed² rex morbo ut putabatur
ficto detentus ad diem non venit; unde nec ipsa dis-
sensio ad huc finem accepit. Post Pascha misit rex
Franciæ viros magnos et honoratos nuntios in An-
gliam,³ qui regem Angliæ invitarent ad convivium
quod paraverat filio suo in festo Pentecosten. Voluit
enim rex Franciæ filio suo regi Navariæ vel cingu-
lum militiæ tradere vel⁴ regni diadema capiti ejus
imponere. Unde rex noster statim de suo itinere dis-
posuit et necessaria provideri mandavit. Miserunt
comites ad eum, consulentes ei ne regnum suum peri-
culo exponeret, ne ita inconsulte mare transiret, max-
ime cum terra ipsa esset quasi in se divisa, et hostis
oppugnaret civitates et castra. Robertus enim de
Brutz Eboracum⁵ jam etiam appropinquavit, et Lon-
donias adire disposuit; nec videtur impossibile, ex quo
non est qui velit resistere. Verumptamen rex a
proposito suo non recessit, sed in brevi transfretare

Embassy
and invita-
tion from
France.

The barons
urge the
king not to
go.

¹ The parliament sat from March 18 to April 7; and again from May 6 to May 9; Parl. Writs, II. i. 80, 91.

² Sed] si, MS.

³ Angliam] Anglia, MS.

⁴ vel] om. MS.

⁵ Eboracum] Eboracen, MS.

disposuit. Unde nepotem suum comitem Gloverniae A.D. 1212.
May.
The earl of
Glovernia
report. custodem regni constituit, et aliis comitibus sub hoc tenore recripsit, mandans et rogans quatinus una cum dicto comite ad regni¹ curam intenderent, et quicquid ius diceret aut ratio in reditu suo certissime reportarent. Unde et festam translationis beati Thomae terminum praefixit in quo Deo dante redire disposuit, et tunc presentibus eis plenarie compleret quod promisit.

Hiis itaque peractis, rex et regina, cum ceteris Visit of the
court to
France. electis navem accedentes, tendunt in Franciam, et ibidem venientes in maximo honore suscipiuntur per totam patriam. Regem nostrum et reginam salvos reducat Deus in Angliam, illos autem destruat qui regnum pervertunt et regiam familiam.

Eccce nunc rex noster Edwardus sex annis completo The king
has reigned
six years and
has done
nothing
great. regnavit, nec aliquid laudabile vel dignum memoria hucusque patravit, nisi quod regaliter nupit² et prolem elegantem regni heredem sibi suscitavit. Alia fuerunt³ initia regis Ricardi, qui nondum elapso triennio regni sui probitatis suae radios longe intusque dispersit; nam Messanas civitatem⁴ Siciliae⁵ uno die viriliter subiecit, et terram Cypri in quindecim diebus potenter subjugarit. Deinde apud Acon et in aliis partibus transmarinis quomodo⁶ se habuerit historia Latino et Gallico sermone digesta laudenter percurrit. O si rex noster Edwardus initio regni sui bene se habuisset, et consilio malorum hominum non adquevisset,⁷ ex antecessoribus suis nobilior illo nequaquam fuisset. Dita-
verat enim Deus ipsum omnium virtutum dotibus, parem immo excellentiorem fecerat aliis regibus. Nam si quis ea quae regem nostrum nobilitant⁸ vellet describere, parem in terra non poterit invenire. Gene-

¹ regni] regi, MN.

² fuerunt] fuerunt, MS.

³ civitates] civitates, MN.
comitatum, Henric.

⁴ Sicilia] Sicilia, MS.

⁵ quomodo] om. MS.

⁶ adquevisset] adquevisset, Henric.

⁷ nobilitant] nobilitant, MS.

A.D. 1313.
May.
The great
advantages
which the
king pos-
sessed.

rositatem ejus aviti patres ostendunt, quorum succes-
siones se jam ad decem gradus extendunt. Divitias
habuit in principia regni sui, terram locupletem¹ et
favorem populi. Gener factus est regi Franciæ, proxi-
mus cognatus regis Hispanniæ. Si adhæsisset baro-
num consilio Scotos humiliasset pro nichilo. O si
armorum usibus se exercitaret, regis Ricardi probita-
tem præcederet. Hoc enim deprecatur materia habilis,
cum statura longus sit, et fortis viribus, formosus
homo decora facie. Sed quid moror ipsum descri-
bere? Si tantam dedisset armis operam quantam im-
pendidit circa rem rusticam, multum excellens fuisset
Anglia; nomen ejus sonuisset in terra. O qualis
sperabatur adhuc princeps Walliæ! Tota spes evanuit
dum factus est rex Angliæ. Petrus de Gavestone
regem duxit in devium, terram turbavit, consumpsit
thesaurum, tribus vicibus exilium subiit, et postea
rediens caput perdidit. Sed adhuc remanent in regis
curia de familiaribus Petri et ejus familia, qui pertur-
bant pacem totius patriæ et regem inducunt vindic-
tam quærere. Da pacem, Domine, diebus nostris, et
rex cum baronibus fiat unanims.²

How he was
misled.

Death of
archbishop
Winchelsey.

Hiis temporibus mortuus est Robertus de Wynchelse
Cantuariæ antistes,³ cujus memoria in benedictione est,
qui templum Domini in vita sua roboravit, et in diebus
suis ecclesiam protexit. De ipso enim specialiter dici
potest, "non est inventus similis illi qui conservaret
"legem Excelsi." Ascendit namque ex adverso et op-
posuit se murum pro clero. Exiit aliquando edictum
ab Edwardo Cæsare ut taxarentur fructus ecclesiæ, et
sicut talliabatur populus, ad tallagium compelleretur
et clerus. Porro Robertus primas Angliæ præceptum
regis non est passus procedere. Dicebat enim omni
juri fore contrarium, ut in bonis clericorum haberet

His great-
ness.

Ecclus. xlv.
20.

Ezek. xiii. 5.

S. Luke, ii.
1.

¹ locupletem] locuplete, MS.

² unanims] unanime, MS.

³ Archbishop Winchelsey died
May 11, 1313.

rex imperium, quos etiam lex imperialis multis privilegiis insignivit et ab omni exactione liberos esse statuit. Hoc etiam volunt statuta canonum; et ipsi ethnici manifestum nobis reliquerunt exemplum, quando Egiptii præ magnitudine famis servituti regis se subjecerunt, pontifices et ceteri templorum ministri liberi remanserunt. Sed rex exasperatus, et adversus primatem et totius Angliæ clerum vehementer commotus, publica voce promisit curialibus ut in nullo penitus deferrent clericis, sed, sive religiosis seu sæcularibus obviarent, ipsos ab equis protinus deicerent et in usum proprium equos assumerent, et indistincte nullis parcerent nisi regia protectione gauderent. Verumptamen Cantuariæ archiepiscopus magis coepit esse tumidus et securus, unde in sarculum suum percussit, et in grassantes ulterius processit, et omnes regiam protectionem impetrantes excommunicavit. In tantum autem excrevit laicorum audacia ut nec ulli parcerent in archipræsulis curia quin etiam ipsum archipræsulem ab equo deicerent, et omnem suppellectilem diriperent, unde archiepiscopus patienter ferre injuriam pedes coactus est ire per patriam. Denique rex ad poenitentiam ductus, et graviter se peccasse confessus, curialium repressit audaciam et liberam manere jussit ecclesiam. Iterum orta dissensione inter regem et archipræsulem, The second
quarrel.
procurante rege vocatus est ad curiam Romanam, et ibi per biennium fere remansit, et fructus suos biennales confiscatos amisit. Deinde mortuo rege in Angliam rediit, et ecclesiam suam pacifice usque huc gubernavit. Nunc autem naturæ debita persolvens, cælestem migravit ad patriam, Cantuariensem ut creditur ornaturus ecclesiam.

Anno igitur septimo regis intrante,¹ in festo Translationis beatæ Thomæ conveniunt Londoniis comites

A.D. 1313.
May.
Recapitulation of the
archbishop's
quarrel with
Edward I.

The second
quarrel.

July.
Parliament.

¹ The second parliament of 1313 met on the 8th July; Parl. Writs, II. i. 94.

A.D. 1313.
July.
The king
does not
arrive until
the earls had
left, and
summons a
new parlia-
ment for
September.

et barones juxta promissum regis adventum exspectantes, ibidemque fere per quindenam commorantes, neque regis copiam habuerunt, neque de regis reditu certos nuntios acceperunt. Unde comites, laboribus et expensis satis fatigati, sine die ad propria sunt reversi. Circa gulam Augusti rediit dominus rex, et quasi de recessu comitum molestus, scripsit comitibus rogans quatinus moram suam excusatam haberent, et in festo Sancti Mathæi si placeret ad parliamentum redirent, et tunc communi consilio quicquid faciendum, quicquid corrigendum esse prospicerent, communiter repararet.

Question-
able policy
of the king.

Sed quid prosunt regi procrastinationes assidue? Dicunt quidam, ut adversarios suos cogat expendere, vel mortem comitis forsitan exspectat quem alias superare non sperat. Sane peccat qui hoc audet asserere; immo non apparet verisimile ut rex ipse tam necessarij mortem affectaret amici. Quis magis regi succurreret in summa necessitate, quam cognatus ejus Thomas Lancastriæ? Certe non socius ejus ipse rex

His mis-
chievous ad-
visers.

Franciæ, nec Petrus, si viveret, comes Cornubiæ. Revera quicquid dolose actum est in curia regis processit ex consiliariis ejus, sed consilium eorum est inefficax et machinatio peritura. Maledictus favor eorum quia pertinax, et indignatio eorum quia dividuntur tandem a curia et dispergentur in ignominia. Justum est enim ut suos auctores teneant peccata ne maleficia remaneant impunita. Gen. xlv. 7.
C. d. 2. 175.

September.
A new par-
liament.

Ad festum Sancti Mathæi conveniunt¹ Londoniis comites prædicti, et manserunt in eodem loco per aliquod tempus, nec regi mittentes, nec mandatum a rege recipientes. Ut autem per eos non staret quominus concordia fieret, miserunt ad dominum regem petentes quatenus sæpe promissa consummaret, et baronibus suis sub fide non ficta rancorem remitteret.

¹ The third parliament of 1313. met Sept. 23, and sat till Nov. 18; Parl. Writs. II. i. 102, 115.

Rex vero non statim annuit, sed potius ex solito negotium protulavit. Tandem quia vox publica testimonium præbuit, et rex ipse per exploratores suos manifeste cognovit, quia aut¹ petitioni comitum satisfaceret, aut sibi suisque tutius esse ante tempus occurrere quam post vulneratam causam remedium querere; multa etiam instantia cardinalis et domini Lodowici precibus inductus, mandavit comitibus et baronibus quatinus, omni suspicione rejecta et securitate quam vellent petita et obtenta, ad præsentiam suam accederent, et benivolentiam ejus multociens requisitam pro libito reportarent.

A.D. 1155.
October.
After some delay the king consents to receive the comita.

Comites igitur in crastinum dominum regem adiun-
runt, ipsumque flexis genibus sicut decuit salutarunt. Quos ipse benigne suscipiens protinus erexit, et singulatim singulos in osculo suscepit, ab omni delicto prius eis imposito penitus absolvit, rationabiliter petita et in posterum petenda similiter concessit, et hæc omnia jurejurando et scripto, magno sigillo confirmatis, roboravit. Rex etiam ad majoris fœderis signum comites invitavit ad prandium; ipse vero altera die in mensa comitis Lancastriæ. Hic etenim mos inolevit in Anglia ut pax confirmetur ad convivia. Sic ergo mors Petri remittitur, et comes de Penbroke reconciliatur, et de ceteris amicis regis factum est sicut rex voluit; sed Hugo Despenser gratiam habere non potuit. Caveat sibi de comite Lancastriæ, et terram evacuet si velit evadere. Tota terra versa est in ejus odium; pauci lugerent ejus infortunium. Multis in officio suo injuste nocuit; plures magnates et viros divites exheredavit, et utinam amitteret quod sic adquisivit ut puniretur in quo deliquit. Summe Deus, auctor justitiæ, falsos et perfidos a rege remove; inter regem et barones hoc fœdus initum, Te protegente, servetur in posterum.

He pardons them and promises redress.

Point of reconciliation.

Hugh le Despenser excluded.

His unpopularity.

¹ aut] autem, MS.

A.D. 1313.
October.
Historical
warnings
against op-
position to
the king.

Quæret forsân aliquis quid comites fecissent si regem in promissis difficilem invenissent. Credo constanter quod regem captum sub custodia posuissent, donec eos auctores discordiæ penitus destruxissent. Nonne sic comes Symon de Mountefort regem Henricum tenuit et filium ejus Edwardum carceri mancipavit? Sed non est tutum contra regem cervicem erigere, quia tristes exitus frequenter solet afferre. Nam Symon ille comes Leycestriæ¹ tandem apud Evesham occubuit in acie; comes de Ferrers terras perdidit; comiti Marescalliæ rex ipse successit; quilibet istorum regi restitit, et quilibet istorum in fine succubuit.

Grant of a
subsidy.

Sic igitur rege et baronibus suis sub forma prædicta in amicitiam revocatis, comites et ceteri magnates terræ dederunt regi in subsidium guerre suæ vicesimum denarium totius Angliæ, cetera autem ordinanda in futurum distulerunt ad proximum parliamentum; et comes Herfordiæ remansit de regis familia, ceteri vero comites reversi sunt ad propria.

Election of
a new arch-
bishop.

Quia prius mentionem feci de morte Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, nunc de ejus successore, et quomodo successit, adverte. Mortuo namque archipræsule, prior ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariæ, et ejusdem loci conventus, processerunt ad electionem, unanimi consensu elegerunt magistrum Thomam de Cobham virum nobilem, divini et humani juris professorem; qui statim iter arripens mare transiit et juri suo proseguendo operam dedit. Duæ tamen causæ impediabant eum. Adhuc² enim languente primate miserat papa bullam suam qua³ reservavit sibi dispositionem archiepiscopatus et electionem futuri pontificis. Misit et rex Angliæ summo pontifici, orans ut clericum suum Wygorniensem episcopum ad sedem archiepiscopalem duceret⁴ promoven-

Thomas
Cobham
chosen.

The bishop
of Worcester
named
by the king
to the pope.

¹ *Leycestria*] Lancastriæ, MS.
² *Adhuc*] Ad hoc, MS.

³ *qua*] quam, MS.
⁴ *duceret*] ducet, MS.

dum. Hiis de causis impediabatur electus, nec eligentium sibi proficere potuit assensus, quin rege¹ instante et multa ut creditur pecunia interveniente, dominus papa archiepiscopatum conferret, et dictum episcopum ecclesie Anglicane praeferret.

A.D. 1112.
October.
The pope provides Walter Reynolds.

O quanta inter electum et praefectum erat differentia! Nam electus ipse flos Cantiae, nobilis generis, rexerat in artibus, in decretis, et magister erat theologus, sedi Cantuariensis ecclesiae satis ydoneus. Dictus vero episcopus nuper erat simplex clericus et minus competenter litteratus, sed in ludis theatralibus principatum tenuit, et per hoc regis favorem optinuit. Unde in familia regis assumptus post modicum tempus factus est regis thesaurarius, et de thesauraria Wygorniensis episcopus, postmodum cancellarii gessit officium et ecce, nunc promotus est in archiepiscopum.

Sad contrast between Oobham and Wynolda.

Mirantur quidam de viri fortuna, sed ego magis miror de domino papa, cur tam excellentem personam respueret, et inydoneum scienter assumeret, cum de utriusque meritis patenter sibi constaret. Sed domina pecunia omne negotium consummat in curia. Consuetudinem et mores Romanae curiae, si forsan ignoras, adverte. Amat causas, lites, jurgia, quia expediri non possunt sine pecunia; et causa quae curiam semel ingreditur pene immortalis efficitur; et haec fuit causa quare, omisso quolibet medio, licuit ad papam appellare. Quilibet etiam sola contentus esse debet ecclesia, sicut cavit capitulum *de multa*; excipiuntur tamen sublimes personae, dispensationem accipiunt indistincte, sed omnes qui pecuniam dare sufficiunt. Haec miranda vanitas, haec curiae detestanda cupiditas, totum orbem in sui scandalum excitavit. Multis retro temporibus exstitit inauditum, ut citramontanus eligetur in papam; post haec nunquam eveniat ut tam vicinus homo cathedram papalem ascendat. Octo annis

Previous career of the new primate.

Influence of money at the papal court.

Theory of appeals.

Scandal of Simony.

Decr. Greg.
IX., lib. iii.
p. 5. c. 28.

¹ rege] regem, MS.

A.D. 1313.
Administra-
tion of
Clement V.

Its useless-
ness.

Special
hardships
of England.

Desolation
of cathed-
rals.

The world
could do
without
such popes.

Is not the
pope guilty
of Simony?

et amplius papa Clemens quintus universalem rexit ecclesiam, sed quicquid profuit homini evasit memoriam. Apud Vienniam consilium congregavit, et Templarios disposuit, indulgentias pro Terra Sancta concessit, infinitam pecuniam congegit, sed Terræ Sanctæ nichil omnino profuit. Regibus concessit decimas, pauperum spoliavit ecclesias. Melius esset rectoribus papam non habere quam tot exactionibus indies subjacere. Sed an hoc possit facere non est meum discutere, quia instar sacrilegii est de potestate principis disputare. Inter omnes mundi provincias sola Anglia² dominum papam¹ sentit onerosum; nam ex plenitudine potestatis multa præsumit, nec princeps nec populus sibi contradicit; omnes pingues redditus sibi reservat, atque rebellantes statim excommunicat; veniunt legati et terram spoliant, veniunt bullati et præbendas vendicant. Omnes decanatus alienigenis contulit ubi lex indigenas² præferri statuit. Residentia decanorum jam nunc aboletur, et canonicorum numerus valde desolatur. Nonne sicut papa spiritualia moderatur, et sic princeps imperatorum in temporalibus dominatur?³ Cur igitur papa magis præsumit in clericis, quam ipsa majestas et dominatio imperialis in laicis? Imperator enim sine causa a nullo quicquam exigit; dominus papa passim cum vult mutat, confert et repetit. Domine Jesu, vel papam tolle de medio, vel potestatem minue quam præsumit in populo, quia privilegium meretur amittere qui concessa sibi abutitur potestate. Quid dicam de clericis qui hiis diebus accedunt ad curiam, et multa refusa pecunia tanquam in foro venali dignitates emunt et præbendas? Si dicamus Simoniam committi, ipse papa non poterit excusari, quia Simonia ultro citroque est obligatoria; sicut

Cod. A. m. 12.

11. Decr.
c. xi. q. 2.
c. 63.

¹ papam] ipsam, MS.
² indigenas] indiginas, MS.

³ Hearne read the MS. thus:
Nomen sicut papam, &c.

II. Decr.
c. l. q. l.
c. 6.

Digest s. v.
15.

enim eminentem ligat sic et vendentem condempnat. Sed forsā dicet papa se supra leges esse et per consequens legibus ligari non posse. Sed non debet¹ facere quod necesse habet alios prohibere, ne inde nascantur injuriæ, unde jura debent procedere. Ego tamen ad præsens dominum papam excuso; nec ipsum excedere credamus in aliquo, quia vel honoris gratia datur, vel ad elemosinam papæ redigitur quicquid ex hoc causa confertur; unde liberalitas domini papæ sic excitatur, sed venditio nusquam contrahitur. Nam si quis honoris gratia in auditorio quicquam tribuit, non tamen propter hoc ipsum conducit; alioquin non ex mandato sed ex conducto competeret actio. Probet autem se ipsum homo et secum diligenter deliberet, an si impetrare vel non impetrare magis expediat, quia gehennæ ignis exspectat incendium, qui læsa conscientia tendit ad judicium.

A.D. 1212.
The source
of justice
should not
be corrup-
ted.

A plea for
the system.

Let every
man take
heed to him-
self.

Interea Robertus de Brutz partes Northumbrorum violenter invasit, villas et burgos succendit, homines occidit, animalia eorum abegit, et multos ad tributum coegit. Nam cives et incolæ, videntes se sui regis defensione carere, et sævitiam Roberti de Brutz non posse sufferre, fecerunt pacem cum eo quam poterant, de termino in terminum solvendum certum tributum. Erat autem tributum quod modico tempore sic extorserat, quasi quadraginta milia librarum. Muros etiam villarum et castrorum in Scotia funditus destruxit, ne supervenienti genti Anglorum munitioni forent in posterum. Cepit autem duo castra regis Angliæ munitissima, Edeneburghe scilicet et Rokesburghe; unum per prodicionem cujusdam Vasconis qui erat cognatus Petri de Gavastone, cui rex noster custodiam castri tradiderat. Ipse perjurus et proditor adhæsit Roberto de Brutz et castrum prodidit.² Alterum castrum captum erat per industriam Jacobi Dugelas, qui erat ex

A.D. 1314.
Scottish
ravages in
the north.

Robert
Bruce de-
stroyed forti-
fications in
Scotland.

Edinburgh
and Ros-
burgh taken.

¹ *debet*] debere, MS.

| ² *prodidit*] perdidit, MS.

A.D. 1314.
Douglas
takes Rox-
burgh.

Bruce
besieges
Sirling.

Agreement
to surrender
if not re-
lieved be-
fore June 24.

February.
Intelligence
brought to
the king.

He sum-
mons the
earls.

They insist
on a parlia-
mentary
determina-
tion.

parte Scotorum. Nam ipse Jacobus quadam nocte clam ad castellum accessit, et scalas latenter allatas ad murum apposuit; et sic per eas murum ascendit, et custodibus dormientibus vel incautis socios introduxit; et quos reperiebat invasit et castrum cepit, et eodem modo castrum de Berewyke cepisset nisi quidam canis vigiles excitasset. Deinde Robertus de Brutz ad obsidendum castrum de Stryvelyn se convertit. Hoc quidem castrum dominus Edwardus rex Angliæ senior cum toto exercitu suo per tres menses et amplius obsedit antequam capere posset. Videns igitur custos castri obsidionem jam ceptam, victum eorum insufficientem, Robertum et Scotos in¹ insidiis semper latentes, treugas accepit sub hoc pacto, quod aut procuraret regem Angliæ ad defendendum castrum venire, aut, si regem ad hoc inducere non posset, castrum indilate relinqueret; et hoc petium sic initum fide media confirmatur, et dies Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptiste pro termino assignatur.

Circa principium Quadragesimæ venerunt nuntii ad regem narrantes municipiorum Scotiæ destructionem, castrorum captionem et murorum in circuitu dirupcionem. Venit et constabularius de Stryvelyn indicans regi quale petium necessitate compulsus inierat; procuravit regem exercitum in Scotiam ducere, castrum suum et terram defendere.

Audiens hæc rex vehementer doluit, et pro castrorum captione lacrimas continere vix potuit. Mandavit igitur comitibus et baronibus quatinus in auxilium suum venirent, et proditorem qui se regem facit expugnarent. Responderunt comites melius fore ad parlamentum omnes convenire et ibidem unanimiter diffinire quid in hoc negotio oportet agere, quam si ita inconsulte procederent; nam et ordinationes hoc volunt. Dixit autem rex instans negotium magna

¹ in] et, MS.

acceleratione indigere, et ideo parlamentum expectare non posse. Dixerunt comites ad pugnam sine parliamento venire nolle, ne contingeret eos ordinationes offendere. Consilarii vero et domestici regis quidam consuluerunt regi, ut debita servitia ab omnibus exigeret, et audacter in Scotiam tenderet. Certum est quod tot in auxilium venirent quibus nec Robertus Brutz nec Scoti resisterent. Quid comes Gloucestriae, quid comes de Penbroke, quid comes de Herford, Robertus de Clifford, Hugo Despenser et regis familia et ceteri barones qui sunt in Anglia? Omnes hii venient cum suis militibus: non est magna cura de reliquis comitibus. Rex igitur debita servitia ab omnibus exegit, et commeatui necessaria provideri mandavit. Præmisit quoque comitem de Penbrok cum manu militari, qui insidias Scotorum diligenter exploraret, et viam regis in Scotiam præpararet.

A.D. 1314.
The king declines to wait.

He can rely on several of the earls.

The earl of Pembroke sent forward.

Omnibus itaque necessariis collectis, rex et alii magnates terræ cum magna multitudine curruum et quadrigarum profecti sunt in Scotiam. Cumque dominus rex ad Berewyk pervenisset, aliquantulam moram fecit ut venturum exercitum expectaret. Comes autem Lancastriæ, comes Warenniæ, comes de Arundel et comes de Warewik non venerunt, sed milites instructos qui debita servitia pro eis impenderent ad exercitum præmiserunt. Instante jam festo Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, sexto vel septimo die præcedente, rex noster cum universo exercitu suo a Berewyk exivit, et versus Stryvelyn iter arripuit. Erant autem armatorum amplius quam duo milia excepta peditum turba copiosa. Fuerunt in societate illa satis sufficientes¹ ad penetrandum totam Scotiam, et iudicio aliquorum, si tota Scotia collecta fuisset in unum, non expectaret regis exercitum. Revera hoc fatebatur tota comitiva, quod tempore nostro talis exercitus non ex-

July 10.
The king arrives at Berwick.

The malcontent earls stay behind.

March towards Stirling.

¹ sufficientes] sufficienter, MS.

A.D. 1314.
June.
The king
marches as
confidently
as if he were
a pilgrim to
Compos-
tella.

ivit ab Anglia. Multitudo quadrigarum, si seriatim
extensa fuisset in longum, occupasset spatium viginti
leucarum.

Rex igitur, de tanta et tam clara multitudine con-
fusus et animosus effectus, de die in diem festinanter
ad locum præfixum est profectus, non tanquam exer-
citus ducturus ad bellum sed magis profecturus ad
Sanctum Jacobum. Brevis erat mora capiendi somp-
num, sed brevior erat mora sumendi cibum; unde equi,
equites et pedites, labore et fame fatigati, si minus
bene rem gererent non erant culpandi.

June 23.
Skirmish
near Stir-
ling.

Comes autem Gloucestræ et comes Herfordiæ pri-
mam aciem regebant. Die itaque Dominica, quæ erat
beati Johannis vigilia, cum jam quandam silvam præ-
terissent et castrum de Stryvelyn jam appropinqua-
rent, ecce Scoti quasi fugientes errabant sub nemore,¹
quos miles quidam Henricus de Boun² cum Walensibus
persecutus est usque ad introitum nemoris. Gestabat
enim in animo quod, si Robertum de Brutz ibidem
inveniret, vel morti traderet vel secum captum addu-
ceret. Cum autem eo pervenisset, Robertus ipse a
latebris silvæ statim exibat;³ vidensque prædictus
Henricus quod multitudini Scotorum resistere non pos-
set, redire volens ad socios equum retorsit; sed Ro-
bertus ei restitit et securi quam manu gerebat caput
ipsius contrivit. Armiger autem ejus, dum dominum
suum tueri vel vindicare conatur, a Scotis opprimitur.

Unlucky
beginning.

The owl of
Gloucester
unhorsed.

Initium malorum hoc! ipso eodem die satis acre
bellum geritur, in quo comes Gloucestræ ab equo de-
icitur, in quo Robertus de Clifford turpiter in fugam
convertitur, sed et homines nostri dum Scotos perse-
quuntur,⁴ multi ex utraque parte perimuntur. Quia
vero inclinata erat jam dies convenit totus exercitus
ad locum ubi ipsa nocte reclinaret. Sed nulla erat

¹ *nemore*] more, MS.

² *Boun*] Down, Henric. See
Cont. Trivet, p. 14.

³ *exibat*] exhibit, MS.

⁴ *persequuntur*] persequuntur,
MS.

quies; totam enim illam duxerunt insomniam. Putabant namque Scotos potius insultum dare de nocte quam bellum expectare de die. Mane autem facto certo certius compertum est Scotos paratos ad praelium cum magna multitudine armatorum. Unde homines nostri, milites scilicet veterani, et hii qui magis erant experti, consilium dederunt ipso die non esse punnandum, sed diem crastinum magis expectandum, tum propter solempne festum tum propter laborem praeteritum. Utile quidem et honestum erat consilium apud juvenes reprobatum, inhers et ignavum putatum.

A.D. 1214.
June 24.
Preparations for battle.

The veterans propose delay.

Comes autem Gloucestriae consiluit regi ne ipso die in bellum prodiret, sed propter festum potius vacaret, et exercitum suum valde recrearet. Sed rex consilium comitis sprexit, et prodicionem et praevagationem sibi imponens in ipsum vehementer excanduit.¹ "Hodie," inquit comes, "erit liquidum quod nec proditor nec praevagator sum," et statim paravit se ad punnandum. Interim Robertus de Bruta socios monuit et instruxit, panem et vinum praebuit, et modo quo potuit confortavit; ubi vero didicit acies Anglorum in campum devenisse totum exercitum suum eduxit de nemore. Circiter quadraginta milia hominum secum produxit, ipsosque in tres turmas divisit, et nullus eorum equum ascendit, sed erat unusquisque eorum levi armatura munitus, quam non faciliter penetraret gladius. Securim habebant ad latus et lanceas ferebant in manibus. Ibant etiam quasi sepes densa conserti, nec leviter potuit talis turma penetrari. Cum autem ad hoc ventum esset ut congredi simul oporteret, Jacobus Douglas, qui primae turmae Scotorum praerat, aciem comitis Gloucestriae acriter invasit. Et comes ipsum viriliter² excepit, semel et iterum cuneum penetravit, et triumphum utique reportasset si fideles

The earl of Gloucester gives the same advice.

The king insists on battle.

Bruce's array.

Douglas attacks Gloucester.

¹ excanduit] excandavit, MS. | ² viriliter] ipsum, ins. MS.

A.D. 1314.
June 24.
Fall of the
earl of
Gloucester.

socios habuisset. Sed ecce, subito irruentibus Scotis, equus comitis occiditur et comes in terram labitur. Ipse etiam defensore carens et mole corporis nimis oneratus faciliter exsurgere non potuit, sed inter quingentos armatorum quos suis sumptibus duxerat ad bellum, ipse fere solum occubuit. Cum enim viderent dominum suum ab equo dejectum, stabant quasi attoniti non ferentes auxilium. Maledicta militia¹ cujus summa necessitate perit audacia.

Rumours
about this.

Heu! viginti milites armati satis subvenissent comiti, sed inter quingentos fere non profuit unus. Confundat eos Dominus! Alii dixerunt comitem Gloucestriae ex incauto processu subito periisse. Certabant enim inter se ipse et comes Herfordiae quis in acie alterum deberet praecedere,² et comes Herfordiae dicebat hoc sibi de jure competere eo quod constabularius sit Angliae. Alius dicebat progenitores suos semper in acie primos exstitisse, et hoc ideo ad se pertinere de consuetudine. Porro dum in hunc modum uterque certaret, et acies Scotorum acriter appropinquaret, prosiluit comes Gilbertus inordinate volens de primo congressu triumphum reportare; sed ecce irruentibus Scotis comes excipitur et equus ejus statim occiditur; quia defensore caruit ab equo dejectus, et multis vulneribus confossus³ turpiter occubuit. Heu! viginti milites armati satis subvenissent comiti, sed inter quingentos fere non profuit unus. Confundat eos Dominus!

He had dis-
puted prece-
dence with
the con-
stable.

He is killed
without
succour.

Giles of
Argentine
tried to
help him
and fell with
him.

Ægidius de Argentum, miles strenuus et in re militari multum expertus, dum frænum regis regeret et casum comitis aspiceret, acer et anxius illuc properavit subvenire comiti, nec potuit. Fecit tamen quod potuit, et cum comite simul occubuit, honestius arbitrans cum tanto viro succumbere quam fugiendo mortem evadere;

¹ militia] malitia, Hearne.

² praecedere] procedere, MS.

³ confossus] confessus, MS.

nam qui in acie pro re publica perimuntur semper
per gloriam vivere intelliguntur. Eodem die Robertus
de Clifford, Paganus Typetot, Willelmus Mareschal,
milites præclari, potentes et strenui, a Scotis oppressi
ibidem occumbunt.

A.D. 1314.
June 24.
Other lords
killed.

Videntes hii qui cum rege nostro erant aciem comitis
contritam et socios ejus paratos ad fugam, dixerunt,
periculosum est diutius morari sed tutius fore regem
reverti. Ad quorum dicta rex campum reliquit et
versus castrum properavit. Porro dum vexillum regis
abire conspicitur totus exercitus cito dispergitur. Du-
centi milites et amplius, qui nec gladium eduxerant
nec ictum quidem protulerant, in fugam conversi sunt.

The king
quits the
field.

Flight of
the army.

O gens inclita multis retro temporibus invicta, cur
fugis pedites quæ vincere solebas equites? Apud
Berewyke, Dounbar et Foukyrk, triumphum repor-
tasti, nunc Scotis peditibus terga dedisti. Sed quicquid
dicant alii, non erat tecum manus Domini. Sic Bena-
dab fortissimus rex Syriæ fugatur per pedissequos
principum Samariæ.

Shame to
England.

1 Kings, xx.
14

Dum igitur gens nostra fugeret, dum vestigia regis
arriperet, ecce quædam fossa multos absorbuit, magna
pars nostrorum in ipsa periit. Veniens namque rex
ad castrum et credens ibidem habere refugium, tan-
quam hostis repellitur; pons attrahitur et porta clau-
ditur. Unde custos castri a plerisque prodicionis
expers non esse credebatur, et tamen in acie armatus
quasi pro rege pugnaturus ipso die videbatur. Verum
nec custodem absolvo, nec prodicionis accuso, sed con-
silio Dei fateor evenisse regem Angliæ castrum non
intrasse, quia si tunc admissus fuisset sine captione
nequaquam evasisset.

The ditches.

The king
refused ad-
mittance at
Stirling
Castle.

Cum rex sic se repulsum vidisset, nec aliud refu-
gium jam superesset, versus Dounbar iter arripuit, et
ibidem veniens navem ascendit. Ad portum de Bere-
wyke cum suis applicuit. Alii vero navem non ha-
bentes per terram veniunt. Milites arma exuunt et

He flies to
Dunbar and
thence to
Berwick.

A.D. 1314
June.
Fright and
slaughter.

The chief
captives.

The Scottish
love of booty
saved the
English
from total
destruction.

Parallel
with the
battle of
Courtrai in
1302.

Immense
loss of
treasure.

nudi fugiunt; Scoti semper persequuntur¹ a tergo; quinquaginta miliaribus duravit persecutio. Multi quidem ex nostris perimuntur, et multi similiter capiuntur. Nam incolæ terræ, qui prius pacem finxerant, nunc homines nostros passim trucidabant, quia proclamatum erat per dominum Robertum de Brutz captivos ducere et capientes lucrum sentire. Unde Scoti satagebant valde magnates capere ut multam pecuniam possent extorquere. Capti sunt itaque comes de Herforde, Johannes Gyffard, Johannes de Wylyntone, Johannes de Segrave, Mauricius de Berkelee, barones certe magnæ potentiæ, et multi alii quos non oportet numerare, quorum multi de redemptione conveniunt, et pecuniam solventes absoluti sunt. Non profuit ibidem cognitio, quia difficilior erat redemptio. Quingenti et amplius putabantur mortui qui captivi ducti sunt et postea redempti. Porro inter omnia adversa hoc quidem exercitui nostro prospere contigit, quod, dum gens nostra fugæ præsidium quæreret, magna pars Scotorum ad spolia diripienda se convertit. Quia, si omnes Scoti pariter persecutioni nostrorum intendissent, pauci ex nostris Scotos evasissent. Unde dum Robertus de Brutz cum suis quadrigas nostras invasit, plurima pars Anglorum ad Berewyke salva pervenit. Siquidem a sæculo recordor inauditum talem exercitum coram peditibus tam subito dispersum, nisi cum flos Franciæ coram Flandrensibus apud Courtrai cecidit, ubi nobilis ille comes Artagensis Robertus occubuit.

O dies ultionis et infortunii, dies perditionis et opprobrii, dies mala et execranda, nec in anni circulo computanda; quæ famam Anglorum maculavit, et spoliavit Anglicos, et Scotos ditavit, in qua pretiosa supellex nostrorum diripitur, quæ ducentarum millium librarum æstimatur! Tot boni procures, juvenus

¹ *persequuntur*] *persequentur*, MS.

valida, tot equi nobiles, tot arma bellica, pretiosæ vestes et vasa aurea, dies dura et brevis hora abstulit hæc omnia.

A.D. 1814.
June 24.

Quæret forsân et dicet aliquis quare percussit nos hodie Dominus, quare subcubuimus coram Scotis, cum viginti annis præteritis semper victoriam habuerimus; revera casus antiquorum exemplum præbent, et actus Hebræorum manifeste respondent. Medorum rex Serses potentissimus, dum Græcis bellum indiceret in classe numerosa et multitudine contumaci, vix licuit victo sola cum nave reverti. Israel dum Benjamyn expugnaret propter scelus commissum in Gabaa, de numero et fortitudine confidens, bis in prælio creditur, bis coram Benjamyn in fuga convertitur. Sic homines nostri, qui in superbia et abusione venerunt, in ignominia et confusione redierunt. Certe superba nostrorum præsumptio Scotos fecit gaudere triumpho.

Parallel
defeat of
Xerxes.

Parallel
victory of
the Benja-
mites.

Judges 13.
21, 25.

De superbia modernorum, et quis fructus inde proveniat, modicum si placet lector advertat. Hodie pauper et tenuis, qui nec obolum habet in bonis, majorem se contempnit, et maledictum pro maledicto referre non metuit. Sed ex rusticitate forsân hoc accidit. Veniamus igitur ad eos qui se putant eruditos. Quis putas majori rixa in alium excandescit¹ quam curialis? dum forte rancore tumescit inferiorem non respicit; parem fastidit, majori par fieri semper intendit. Nam armiger militem, miles baronem, baro comitem, comes regem, in omni fere cultu antecedere nititur et laborat. Porro dum sumptus deficit, quia patrimonium non sufficit, ad prædam se convertunt, vicinos spoliant, subditos² expilant, et in ipsos Dei ministros infamem quæstum exercent. Hinc est quod magnates terræ vel cadunt in bello, vel moriuntur sine filio, aut sexus fœmineus hereditatem dividit, et nomen patris imperpetuum evanescit.

Prevalence
of pride and
insolence:

even
amongst
educated
men.

This is one
cause of the
extinction of
the noble
houses.

¹ excandescit] excadescit, MS. | ² subditos] subitos, MS.

A.D. 1314.
September.
Parliament
at York.

The earls
urge the
king to con-
firm the
ordinances.

He does so.

Change of
ministers.

Hugh le
Despenser
in retire-
ment.

The war-
like proceed-
ings stayed
until the
prisoners
are released.

Long im-
prisonment
of Scots in
England.

Post hæc rex de consilio suorum relictâ Berewike sub custodia tendit, Eboracum, et ibidem cum comite Lancastriæ et ceteris magnatibus habuit consilium, et de suis infortuniis quærit remedium. Dixerunt comites ordinationes observatas non esse, et iccirco regi deterius accidisse; tum quia rex ordinationibus stare iuraverat, tum quia archiepiscopus omnes contravenientes excommunicaverat. Unde nichil bene posse fieri protestantur nisi ordinationes plenius observentur. Rex vero ad omnia pro communi utilitate ordinata paratum se dixit, et se ordinationes observare in bona fide promisit. Dixerunt comites nil videri actum dum aliquid superesset¹ agendum, sed [si] ordinationes debeant observari, oportet eas executioni demandari. Rex executionem concessit; nihil comitibus denegavit. Igitur cancellarius, thesaurarius, vicecomites et alii officarii removentur, et juxta tenorem ordinationum novi subrogantur. Voluerunt etiam comites quod Hugo Despenser, Henricus de Beaumont et quidam alii curiam regis evacuarent, donec ad obicienda responderent interrogatis, et super objectis satisfactionem præstarent convicti; sed hoc ad instantiam regis differtur. Hugo tamen Despenser latitare compellitur.

De expungnatione Roberti de Brutz et recuperatione Scotiæ ad proximum parliamentum distulerunt, quia comes Herfordiæ et alii barones in vinculis detenti nondum redierunt. Lugebat autem soror regis maritum suum comitem Herfordiæ, et dominus rex dedit ei omnes captivos Scotiæ. Nam tempore regis Edwardi senioris quidam capti fuerant qui usque ad præsens tempus sub carcere remanserunt; inter quos erat uxor Roberti de Brutz, episcopus de Glasgau, et quidam comes juvenis, et alii milites Scotorum quindecim et amplius. Elaboratum est interim ut comes postliminio² rediret, sed promittitur, nisi multa con-

¹ *superesset*] *superessec*, MS.

| ² *postliminio*] *post limino*, MS.

ferret; et multa quidem offeruntur, sed plura satis et quæ vires ejus excederent exiguntur. Tandem post varios circuitus sic actum est, ut Robertus de Bruta uxorem suam et ceteros captivos Scotorum reciperet,¹ et comitem Herfordiæ sine mora restitueret; et hac permutatione sic facta rediit comes noster ad propria.

A.D. 1214.
Arrangements for exchange.

Post Natale Domini paucis evolutis diebus dominus rex corpus Petri de Gavestone, sui quondam specialis amici, ab Oxonia ad Langeley fecit transferri. Jam enim de capitatione ipsius biennium transivit et amplius, et usque nunc apud fratres Oxoniæ jacuit inhumatus. Proposuerat namque rex, ut dicitur, prius mortem Petri vindicasse, deinde corpus ejus sepulture tradidisse. Sed jam revocati in amicitiam sunt ex quibus videbatur rex petere vindictam. Rex apud Langeley, ubi fratribus Prædicatoribus jam pridem domum construxit, corpus sui Petri honorifice sepelivit.

Parliament of Peter Gavestone at Langley.

Deinde ad Purificationem beatæ Mariæ conveniunt Londoniis comites et barones universi, de statu regis et regni et de expungnatione Scotorum tractaturi.² Et in primis ejecerunt a consilio regis Hugonem Despenser, et Walterum de Langetone episcopum Cestrie, olim thesaurarium domini regis Angliæ. Postea removerunt a curia regis familiam superfluum, regi et terræ nimis onerosam, ut dicebatur. Ex illa remotione expense regis cotidianæ in decem libris sunt diminutæ. Cæpit igitur parliamentum pacifice tractari et usque ad finem Quadragesimæ fere protelari.

A.D. 1214.
February.
Parliament.
Hugh le Despenser and bishop Langton removed from council.

In hoc parlamento, quia negotiatores in vendendis victualibus per patriam transeuntibus modum excesserunt, comites et barones, rei publicæ prospicientes, huic morbo medelam apposuerunt; unde in bobus,

Legislation on prices.

¹ *reciperet*] *recipere*, MS.

² The parliament met on the 20th of January, and sat till the 9th of E 1681.

March; Parl. Writs, II. i. 187, 189, 149.

A.D. 1313.
March.
Prices fixed.
Import of
Gascon
wine.

porcis et ovibus, in avibus, pulcinis et columbis, et in ceteris communibus victualibus certum pretium statuerunt. Provisum est et concessum ut Vascones vina sua ad portus Angliæ transveherent, et ibidem tonellum secundum pretium in parlamento taxatum venderent, nec Anglici ulterius tanquam forstallarii ad quærenda vina transfretarent. Hæc omnia per terram sic divulgantur et in comitatibus et¹ burgis publice proclamantur.

Maurice
Berkeley
made com-
mander at
Berwick.

Mauricius de Berkelee curam et custodiam villæ de Berewik accepit, unde ad eam tuendam sine dilatione iter arripuit. Est autem Berewyke villa fortis et bene murata in initio Scotiæ super mare posita, mercatoribus in tempore pacis satis accommoda; quæ si prodicione non fraudetur nunquam Scotiæ subicietur; obsidionem non formidat dum tamen Anglia sibi succurrat. Naves enim Anglicanæ totam terram circueunt, et in arte navigandi et in conflictu navali principatum gerunt; unde, si tota Scotia Berewyk invaderet, a parte maris timeri non oportet.

Prohibition
of export of
arms and
corn to
Scotland.

Exiit præterea a curia regis præceptum publicum, ne quis arma vel bladum vel aliquod genus victualium ad Scotos transferret; si quis autem hujus præcepti transgressor inveniretur, tanquam proditor et hostis publicus puniretur. Unde Johannes Bodetourtus cum manu armata ex parte una, et alii magnates ex altera, meatus marinos observabant, et ne quid in subsidium hostium differretur summo opere procurabant. Itaque opere et opera eorum in brevi sic actum est ut tanta esset apud Scotos bladi penuria quod pro centum solidis venderetur quarterium frumenti in Scotia.

Pembroke
and Badles-
mere sent to
the border.

Missi sunt etiam ad partes Northumbrorum comes de Penbrok et Bartholomæus de Badelesmere cum quintingentis armatis ad fines illos tuendos et ad frequentes insultus Scotorum propulsandos, ut sic virtus eorum

¹ et] om. MS.

undique lacescita, et machinatio eorum pro parte A.D. 1311.
refrænata, minus proficeret ad singula.

Dum hæc aguntur in Anglia Robertus de Brutz de Robert
aliis negotiis deliberat in Scotia. Nam exercitum Bruce
copiosum adunavit, et civitatem de Cardoil obsedit. besieges
Sane hæc urbs Scotis semper erat odiosa; hæc urbs Carlisle.
Scotis semper formidanda, incursus eorum frequenter
excepit et volatus eorum multociens impedivit. Hanc
igitur si capere posset, usque ad Novum Castrum
nullus sibi resisteret. Præmiserat¹ quoque fratrem Edward
suum Edwardum cum electa manu militum in Hiber- Bruce goes
niam, qui gentem illam adversus regem Angliæ ex- to Ireland.
citaret, et terram si posset suæ dominationi subiceret.
Et erat rumor quod, si ibidem ad votum proficeret, Designs on
statim ad partes Walliæ se transferret, et Walenses Wales.
similiter contra regem nostrum procuraret. Hæc enim
duo genera faciliter in rebellionem excitantur, et
jugum servitutis ægre ferentes dominationem Anglo-
rum execrantur.

Justiciarius autem Hiberniæ, Edmundus Botiler Edmund
nomine, audiens Scotos in terram de Hulvestre appu- Butler,
lisse, de fidelibus regis congregavit exercitum, et justice of
Scotis eorumque fautoribus fecit insultum. In primo Ireland,
autem congressu fugati sunt Scoti ad montana quasi drives the
greges ovium dispersi per pascua; habitant siquidem Scots to the
in montanis et nemoribus illius terræ Hibernienses hills.
silvestres, terras non colunt, sed de animalibus et
eorum lacticiniis vivunt; et, si quandoque panibus in-
digeant, ad villas Anglorum super maritima descendunt; Manners of
vendunt autem animalia et comparant sibi frumenta. the Irish.
Hos et eorum regulos associavit sibi Edwardus contra
Anglicos. Si comes de Hulvestre fuerit fidelis non
est enim timendum ab eorum insidiis.

Exivit interim falsus rumor per totam Angliam False report
quod exercitus noster in Hibernia Scotos disperserat, of victory in
quod Edwardus de Brutz perierat, quod vix unus ex Ireland.

¹ Præmiserat] promiserat, MS.

A.D. 1315.
The siege of
Carlisle
raised.

+

The weak-
ness of
England
accounted
for, by the
diminution
of great
earldoms.

The loss of
the earl of
Gloucester:

and of the
earl of
Warwick.

Scotis vivus remanserat. Unde Robertus de Brutz tum propter rumores desperatos, tum quia audivit comitem Penbrokyæ cum multis armatis noviter advenire, obsidionem reliquit, et versus Scotiam iter arripuit. Videntes hii qui erant infra civitatem quod exercitus Scotorum recederet, [exierunt] post eos, diu persequentes a tergo. Unde in illa persecutione multi ex Scotis perierunt, plures vero læsi, et quidam remanserunt captivi.

Mirabitur forsitan aliquis in posterum quomodo gens Scotorum audaciam resistendi concepit, et cur sic repente virtus Anglorum defecerit. Revera populus sine duce facile dispergitur, et membra deficiunt cum caput deprimitur. Olim reges Angliæ, dum contra hostes erigerent vexillum, quindecim comites et plures sequebantur ad bellum. Nunc autem quinque vel sex tantum regi nostro ferunt auxilium. Comitatus Cornubiæ, Marescalliæ et Cestriæ in manu regis sunt hodie. Comes Lyncolniæ nuper obiit, comes Gloverniæ in bello cecidit, et comes Warewykyæ infirmus occubuit.

De comite Gloucestriæ censeo dolendum quia tam potens et juvenis tam premature decessit, quod heredem de corpore suo non reliquit, et tamen uxor ejus comitissa per annum jam et amplius expectatur paritura: et licet nunc pareret non video quo jure puer hereditatem vendicaret, quia jure cavetur quod, si posthumus ultra undecimum mensem natus fuerit, hereditatem defuncti vendicare non poterit. Igitur si hereditas comitis ad sorores descendat, tres partes fieri continget, et scutum quod semper fuit integrum jam erit tripertitum. Sed comes Warewykyæ, unanimis² fuisset tota patria pro eo: consilio ejus [et] ingenio ordinationes prodierunt, et ceteri comites eo audito multa fecerunt. Heredem reliquit sed valde juvenem.

¹ *censeo*] *senseo*, MS.

² Hearne read the MS. "vici-
nus," and conjectured "si in

"vivi fuisset, fuisset tota patria
"pro eo."

Credo constanter quod hæc vindicta Dei, hæc mutatio dexteræ Excelsi, propter peccata et scelera nostra duces nostros præripiat, et populus terræ indefensus intreat.

A.D. 1315.
It was a
judgment of
God.

Temeritatis quidem argui possem si patriam meam, si proprium genus, infamarem, sed, si vera loqui licet aut convenit, gens Anglorum præ ceteris nationibus in tribus excedit, in superbia, in dolo et in perjurio. Modernos homines et maxime juvenes reputo superbos quia contumaces, et, cum superbia initium sit omnium malorum, abierunt hodie de vitio in vitium, de superbia in dolum et perjurium. In omni regno circa mare Græcum reperies multos de genere Anglorum, et vulgo dicitur et fama nuntiat quod in hiis præ ceteris dolus habitat. Est et species doli maxima et quidem frequens in Anglia; de hiis loquor qui mutuum accipiunt et statutis diebus debitum non solvunt. Nam dolo facit qui detinet quod eum restituere oportet. Omni malitiæ potest obviari, sed mali debitores non possunt castigari. Si non mutuo inimicus ero, si repeto amicitias perdo. Quid ergo melius est, non mutuando inimicum habere, quam¹ mutuam perdere et inimicitias nichilominus incurrere. Merlinus de vobis ait "væ genti perjuræ," ostendens propter perjurium² aliquod excidium nobis evenire.³

Ducet. 17.
i. n. 59.

Omnes fere lites et placita quæ agitantur in regis curia per assisas terminantur in patria. Porro cum ad assisam ventum fuerit, qui plus dare sufficit proculdubio optinebit. Heu omnis religio, omnis dignitas, et omnis potestas cedit pretio. Hinc quidam festive ait,

Corruption
of justice.

- "Manus ferens munera pium facit impium;
- "Nummus jungit fœdera, dat⁴ nummus consilium.
- "Nummus in praelatis est pro jure satis,
- "Vos qui judicatis nummo locum datis."

Per alia quedam signa apparet manus Dei contra

Other signs.

¹ quam] quasi, MS.

² perjurium] perjurum, MS.

³ "Væ perjuræ genti, quia urbs

"inclyta propter eam ruet;" Geoff. Mon. lib. vii. c. 4.

⁴ dat] dati, MS. Hearne conjectures datus.

A.D. 1313.
Floods:

destruction
of hay:

loss of
sheep and
other stock.

Rising of
Adam
Banastre
against the
earl of
Lancaster.

nos extenta. Nam anno præterito tanta fuit abundantia pluviae quod vix licuit hominibus frumenta colligere vel horreo salva recondere. Anno vero præsentis deterius evenit. Nam inundatio pluviarum omne fere semen consumpsit, adeo ut vaticinium Ysayæ jam videretur expletum esse; ait enim decem jugera vinearum faciunt lagunculam unam, et triginta modii sementis ¹ faciunt modios tres: et in plerisque locis fœnum tam diu sub aquis latuit quod nec falcari nec colligi potuit. Oves autem communiter perierunt et alia animalia subita peste ceciderunt. Valde autem nobis timendum est ne, si Dominus post hæc flagella incorrigibiles nos inveniat, homines et pecora simul disperdat; et constanter credo quod, nisi intercederet Anglicana religio, dispersi fuissetus elapso tempore multo.

Accidit interea ut quidam miles, Adam de Banastre ¹ nomine, de domo et familia comitis Lancastriæ, perpetrasset homicidium, et de venia desperans ac peccatum suum augmentans, insurgere cœpit contra dominum suum. Credidit enim regi placere si comitem infestaret, qui totiens regi restiterat, qui totiens regem initum ² coegerat ³ mutare consilium. Unde terras comitis cœpit invadere et præcipue comitatum Lancastriæ, et secundum relatum aliquorum, quasi a rege jussus, baneriam regis erexit, et sub hoc colore multos auxilios secum assumpsit, castella comitis latenter intravit, arma in exercitum Scotorum præparata et multam pecuniam simul asportavit. Erant autem quasi octingenti viri in auxilium ejus procurati, quidam pretio conducti, quidam mortis timore compulsi, quos vel oportuit patriam relinquere vel secum in arma concurrere. Audiens ergo comes proditoris insaniam, et considerans rem esse periculosam, statim præcepit militibus suis ut infidelem illum prudenter investigarent, et inventum

¹ Banastre] Hearne read his MS. Danastre, and suggested Danastre.

² initum] Hearne conjectured invitum.

³ coegerat] cogerat, MS.

prudenter invaderent. Ibant ergo armatorum quasi sexcenti in mortem Adæ de Banastre omnes accensi. Et cum venissent prope locum ubi congregaverat Adam exercitum suum, diviserunt se in duas turmas ut prima veniens hostes invaderet, quæ si non sufficeret, altera superveniens negotium consummaret.

A.D. 1312.
The earl's
plan for
seizing him.

Hoc postquam Adam de Banastre cognovit, cum fautoribus et complicitibus suis primam turmam acriter excepit, et ipsam sine dubio penitus dissipasset, nisi secunda turma recenter advenisset. Adam vero et sui sequaces adversarios accrescere videntes, et multo plures adesse putantes, jam vacillare ceperunt, et post modicum adversariorum impetum non ferentes fugam inierunt. Sed fugientes passim cæduntur a tergo. Porro persequentium tota fuit intentio, ceterorum signiferum Adam comprehendere, et vivum si possent comiti præsentare. Fugerat¹ autem in quoddam horreum, et ibidem latitabat, sed modicum; non enim diu latitare potuit qui totam patriam velut hostis publicus debellavit. Adversarii ejus domum obsederunt et ipsum ad deditionem sæpius monuerunt; sed ipse delicti sui conscius, et quocunque se verteret de morte securus, audaciam ex desperatione concepit, et se adversariis audacter opposuit, quosdam eorum occidit et plures ex eis male vulneravit. Tandem, quia sine magno periculo vivum capere non poterant, impressionem in eum facientes ipsum occiderunt, et caput ejus auferentes comiti detulerunt. Sic Ciba filius Botri dominum suum David regem expunxit, quem Joab princeps militiæ fugientem in Abbella capite privavit.

Adam plans
resistance,

but has to
fly.

He stands a
siege, and
will not be
taken alive.

He is killed,
and his head
brought to
the earl.

See. 11. 21.

Paganus de Torberville curam terræ de Glamorgan acceperat a rege, unde ministrationes prius constitutas novis subrogatis cepit amovere; quamobrem Leulinus Bren commotus est, nec poterat Pagano quicquam loqui pacifice. Erat autem Leulinus ille Walensis vir mag-

War be-
tween Parn
Torberville
and Llew-
lyn Bren.

¹ Fugerat] Fugiat, MS.

A.D. 1313.
Llewelyn's
utterances
against
Payn.

He is ac-
cused before
the king and
summoned
to Lincoln.

He deter-
mines to
rebel, sur-
prises Caer-
philly castle,
and burns
the outer
ward.

He ravages
Payn's dis-
trict.

nus et potens in partibus suis. Hic vivente comite Gloucestræ magnum officium sub ipso gerebat, et nunc præposito Pagano potestatem sibi sublatam ægre ferebat. Unde Paganum contumeliis frequenter aggreditur, et pluribus audientibus in has minas invehitur: "Veni-
"ent," inquit, "dies, et cessare faciam superbiam Pagani, reddam sibi vices quas impendit michi." Propter quod accusatus est Leulinus apud regem quod seditio-
sus esset, quod occasiones rebellandi quæreretur, et, nisi rex diligenter præcaveret, Leulinus de novo Walenses excitaret. Audiens Leulinus conditionem suam sic apud regem deterioratam, de consilio amicorum accessit ad curiam, volens si posset se ipsum excusare, aut saltem injuriam suam caute palliare. Sprevit eum rex, jurans et protestans quod filius mortis esset, si crimen ei objectum manifestum foret: habuitque in mandatis Lyncolniam venire, et ibidem super hiis responsum expectare.

Leulinus ergo, accepto tali mandato, clam et festinanter ad partes suas rediit, et quod ante proposuerat statim patefecit. Prius quidem fecerat¹ verba malivola, sed jam de verbis perventum est ad verbera. Nam quadam die, dum custos de Kaerfili extra castrum curiam teneret, supervenit Leulinus cum filiis et fautoribus suis ad constabularium, captum secum abduxit, quibusdam ministris cæsis et pluribus qui ad curiam illam convenerant male vulneratis. Castrum quoque statim invasit, sed custodibus resistantibus intrare non potuit, ulteriorem vero custodiam totam incendit. Jam palam factæ sunt inimicitie; Leulinus minatur Paganum occidere. Paganus declinavit ejus insidias donec accresceret vires suas.

Interim Leulinus ipse terras sub tuitione Pagani constitutas violenter aggreditur, cædit, incendit et prædatur. Associaverat sibi enim in auxilium quasi

¹ fecerat] fecerit, MS.

decem milia Walensium. Omnia bona sua, boves, vaccas et cetera victualia ad montes transtulerunt; nam in cavernis montium et in latebris nemorum erat eorum refugium. Hiis et aliis malis perpetratis ac domino regi notificatis, præcepit rex servis suis dicere, "Ite velociter, et persequimini proditorem illum, ne forte ex mora deterius eveniat, et tota Wallia contra nos insurgat." Committiturque negotium comiti Herfordiæ, nam res ipsa præcipue videbatur ipsum tangere; terra enim de Breynok quæ ad comitem pertinet terram de Glainorgan collateralem habet, et juxta poetam "Tunc tua res agitur paries dum proximus ardet."

A.D. 1264.
The king orders him to be arrested, and sends the earl of Hereford against him.

Abiit ergo comes in terram suam ut persequeretur Leulinum, et uterque Rogerus de Mortimer ferebat auxilium. Willelmus de Monte Acuto præfectus¹ militiæ regis ex parte una, Johannes Gyffard et qui cum eo erant ex altera venerunt. Henricus de Lancastria, et alii barones et milites, terras in vicinio habentes, opem tulerunt, ut sic Walenses undique obsessi² nullatenus haberent locum diffugii. Videns ergo Leulinus quod male errasset, quod ad resistendum non sufficeret, Walenses³ enim bis vel ter Anglicos prædanter acceperant, sed semper ubique deterius reportaverant, obtulit se comiti sub conditione; ut scilicet vitam⁴ et membra, terras et cetera bona mobilia salva liceret habere, et pro satisfactione delicti optulit magnam summam argenti; sed noluit comes eum admittere, nisi simpliciter se vellet reddere. Tandem cum exercitus noster appropinquasset et excubias Walensium jam didicisset, Leulinus suos homines sic cepit alloqui: "Non est," inquit, "tutum cum Anglis congregari; ego dedi causam negotio; ego me tradam pro toto populo: melius est enim

The earl collects the lords of the marches against Leulinus.

He offers to submit, but the earl refuses to accept him conditionally.

He addresses his men.

¹ præfectus] profectus, MS.

² obsessi] obceasi, MS.

³ Walenses] Walensis, MS.

⁴ vitam] vita, MS.

A.D. 1315. " ut unus moriatur quam tota gens exulet vel gladio
" perimatur."

He sur-
renders un-
condition-
ally.

Recurrent
rebellions
in Wales.

They hope
to recover
Britain,
according to
Merlin's
prophecies.

A.D. 1316.
January.
Parliament
at Lincoln.

The law on
prices re-
pealed.

Ascendens ergo Leulinus de montibus reddidit se comiti, subiciens se penitus regis voluntati; misitque eum comes ad regem ut misericordiam expectaret aut legem. Hæc est consuetudo Walensium ut vetus insania. Si quieverint per decennium statim respi- rant ad prælium, et quod multo tempore congesse- rint vadit in exterminium.¹ Leulinus ap Griffyth et frater ejus David poterant in pace vixisse, sed rebel- lantes vitam perdiderunt et principatum Walliæ. Verum si consuetæ rebellionis causam velis perscu- tari,² hoc pro ratione poterit assignari. Walenses, prius dicti Britones, olim dicti quidem erant nobiles et totius Angliæ regnum possidentes; sed superveni- entibus Saxonibus ejecti fuerunt, et regnum et³ no- men simul amiserunt. Terra fertilis et plana cessit Saxonibus; terra sterilis et montuosa remansit Wa- lensibus. Porro ex dictis Merlini prophetæ, sperant adhuc Angliam recuperare. Hinc est quod frequen- ter insurgunt Walenses, effectum vaticinii implere vo- lentes; sed quia debitum tempus ignorant sæpe deci- piuntur et in vanum laborant.

Dominus rex apud Lyncolniam⁴ barones convocaverat, sed propter guerram Leulini Bren, de paucis consul- erat.⁵ Perambulatio tamen forestarum ibidem conce- ditur, et comes Lancastriæ principalis consiliarius regis efficitur. Ordinationes super victualibus prius factæ penitus dissolvuntur. Itinerantes enim per patriam multum gravabantur. Nam ex quo processit illud statutum, nichil vel modicum in foro reperiebatur ex- positum, cum tamen prius habundaret forum venali-

¹ *exterminium*] exterminum, MS.

² *velis perscrutari*] vel perscu- tar, MS.

³ *et*] om. MS.

⁴ The parliament met at Lincoln Jan. 27, and sat till Feb. 20; Parl. Writs. II. i. 152, 157.

⁵ *consuluerat*] consulerat, MS.

bus, licet cara viderentur transeuntibus. Porro melius A.D. 1316
Bad economic
result.
est emere care quam nichil emendum ad opus inve-
nire. Nam licet raritas annonam facit cariorem, ha-
bundantia subsequens reddet meliorem.

Transeunte sollemnitate Paschali coepit caristia bladi After Easter
the dearth
increases.
vehementer augeri. Non est visa temporibus nostris in

Anglia nec audita centum [annis] retroactis tanta caris-
tia. Nam Londoniis et locis vicinis vendebatur modius
tritici pro quadraginta denariis, et aliis partibus terræ
ubi minor erat concursus hominum triginta denarii
erat commune pretium. Porro durante penuria crevit Famine and
pestilence.

et fames valida, et post famem dura pestilentia, ex
qua moriuntur in diversis locis plus quam milia. A
quibusdam etiam audiui relatum, quod in partibus
Northumbrorum canes et equi et alia immunda sume-

bantur ad esum. Hii enim propter frequentes incur- Especially
in the north.
siones Scotorum majori tædio laborabant, quos male-

dicti Scoti suis victualibus cotidie spoliabant. Heu
terra Angliæ! quæ olim ex tua fertilitate aliis terris
solebas subvenire, nunc pauper et indigens cogeris
mendicare. Terra fructifera vertitur in salsauginem;
aeris intemperies devorat pinguedinem; seritur fru-
mentum et procreatur lolium. Eveniunt autem omnia All this is a
judgment.

Jerem. xii. 4.

a malitia habitantium in ea. Parce, Domine, parce
populo tuo. Subsannant et derident nos qui sunt in
circuitu nostro. Dicunt tamen sapientes astrologiæ

Ps. xlv. 14.

has cæli tempestates naturaliter evenisse; Saturnus Astrological
explana-
tions, and
anticipa-
tions.
enim securus et frigidus asperitates procreat inutiles
seminibus; triennio jam regnans cursum consummavit,

et sibi mitis Jubiter ordinē successit. Porro Jove
regnante cessabunt pluviales undæ, valles habundabunt
frumento et campi replebuntur ubertate; etenim

Ps. lxxxv. 12.

Dominus dabit benignitatem, et terra nostra dabit
fructum suum, et cetera.

Jampridem orta fuit dissensio in villa Bristollis Discontent
at Bristol.
super consuetudinibus in portu maris et in foro, super
privilegiis et aliis rebus, in quibus quatuordecim de

A.D. 1318.
Quarrel
between the
fourteen
and the
commons, at
Bristol.

A royal in-
quiry is
begun.

The judges
contemn the
privileges
of the com-
mons.

A rising of
the people.

Twenty men
killed in the
riot.

The judges
leave the
town.

majoribus ejusdem villæ videbantur prærogativam habere. Obstitit¹ communitas, asserens burgenses omnes unius conditionis esse et ob hoc in libertatibus et privilegiis pares existere. Super hujusmodi rebus frequentes inter se habuerunt altercationes, donec in curia regis impetrarent iudices qui de causa cognoscerent et ipsam debite terminarent. Porro quatuordecim illi prædicti procuraverant in inquisitione forenses associari. Credebantur insuper et ipsi conducti et ad partem illorum quatuordecim totaliter inclinari. Allegavit communitas libertatibus villæ fore contrarium causas intrinsecas ventilari² iudicio forensium, sed iustitarii tales allegationes frivolas reputabant; unde nec libertatibus nec³ privilegiis eorum in hoc deferebant. Videntes ergo majores communitatis exceptiones suas repelli, jus eorum favore potius quam ratione confundi conturbati nimirum exierunt ab aula ubi de consuetudine tractantur iudicia, nuntiaveruntque plebi dicentes, "Venerunt iudices adversariis nostris faventes, et in præjudicium nostrum forenses admittunt, unde et jura nostra sine fine peribunt." Ad hæc verba vulgus insipiens in seditionem vertitur, et totus populus præ tumultu timore concutitur. Redeuntes denuo cum multo comitatu venerunt in aulam ubi jus eorum jam vertunt⁴ in injuriam. Nam pugnīs et fustibus obviam sibi turbam invadere cœperunt, et ipsa die subito fere viginti homines fatue peremerunt. Timor namque non vanus nobiles et ignobiles tantus invasit ut plures per fenestras de summo solarii in plateam exilierunt, et crura vel tibias in terram decidentes enormiter læserunt.⁵ Timebant et iudices, humiliter petentes in pace recedere, quos major villæ, plebis insaniam vix tandem compescens, illæsos fecit abire.

¹ obstitit] abstitit, MS.

² ventilari] ventelari, MS.

³ nec] in, MS.

⁴ vertunt] vertent, MS.

⁵ læserunt] læderunt, MS.

Indictati fuerunt super hoc quasi octoginta viri, et habita inquisitione diligenter coram iustitiariis regis apud Gloucestriam, condemnati, postea de comitatu exiguntur, et non venientes neque parentes exules fieri præcipiuntur. Ipei vero bene muniti continuerunt se intra villam suam; non parebunt regis mandato nisi per manum validam.

A.D. 1212.
Eighty men
condemned
for the riot,
refuse to
surrender.

Quatuordecim illi prædicti, qui adversabantur communitati, domos et redditus relinquentes a villa recesserunt; nam sub tali tempestate morari cum adversariis inutile censuerunt. Per duos annos et amplius duravit ista rebellio communitatis Bristollie, et tamen ex parte regis pluries sunt moniti ad pacem venire. Maluit enim rex poenam grassantium si vellent mitigare, quam plenam vindictam expetendo bonam villam destruere. Perstiterunt autem ipsi semper rebelles, mandatum et præceptum regis semper contempnentes. Non venerunt vocati; non paruerunt moniti, causantes omnem processum contra eos habitum injustum, quia privilegiis et libertatibus eorum omnino contrarium.

Flight of the
fourteen.

The towns-
men resist
the king's
orders for
two years.

Nolens¹ ergo rex malitiæ eorum ulterius satisfacere, milites et majores de comitatu Glovernise vocantur Londonias, quibus injunxit in virtute sacramenti ibidem præstiti causam Bristollie et ejus esset injuria patenter edicere. Qui omnes dixerunt communitatem Bristollie partem sinistram foveri, et octoginta viros auctores injuriæ. Misit ergo Bristollie Adolmarum comitem de Penbrok, qui vocatis majoribus communitatis dixit eis ex parte regis: "Dominus rex," inquit, "causam vestram ventilans, vos reos invenit, et ut juri pareatis vos monet et præcipit. Homicidas et reos illos tradite, et vos et villa vestra in pace manete. Promitto quod, si sic feceritis, dominum regem erga vos satis placabilem et misericordem

The king
summons
the mag-
istrates of
Gloucester-
shire to
London.

He sends
the earl of
Pembroke
to Bristol.

¹ Nolens] Nolentes, MS.

A.D. 1334.
The men of
Bristol re-
ply to the
card of
Fombrohe
justifying
their con-
duct.

"invenietis." Respondit communitas: "Nos injurie
"auctores non fuimus; nos in dominum regem nichil
"deliquimus. Quidam nitebantur jura nostra tollere,
"et nos sicut decuit e contra defendere. Idcirco, si
"dominus rex ea quae nobis imponuntur remiserit, si
"vitam et membra, redditus et praedia nobis conces-
"serit, sibi ut domino parebimus, et omnia quaecunque
"voluerit faciemus; alioquin persistemus ut cepimus,
"et libertates et privilegia nostra usque ad mortem
"defendemus."

Bristol is
besieged by
the king's
order.

Audiens rex contumaciam eorum, et considerans rem
esse mali exempli, jussit villam obsideri,¹ et non rece-
dere donec caperentur obsessi. Et statim obsessa est
villa, munitiones contra eam et propugnacula facta.
Mauricus de Berkele observabat viam maris. Aderat
Johannes de Cherlone regis camerarius, Rogerus de
Mortimer, Johannes de Wylinthone, et alii barones et
milites quam plurimi, et Bartholomaeus de Badesmere
procurator totius negotii. Erant etiam in castro quod
est villae contiguum viri cum petrariis et aliis ma-
chinis facientes assaultum. Per aliquot dies obsessi
nitebantur villam defendere, quia sperabant exteriores
non longam moram facere, tum quia comes Glouces-
triae dudum prius sic villam obsesserat, sed infecto
negotio tandem recesserat, tum quia sciebant regem
in Scotiam tendere, et suorum procerum auxilio indi-
gere. Fefellit eos spes vacua; non recedent nec villa
subjecta. Nam² petraria castri vehementius acta con-
quassabat muros et aedificia. Quod videntes oppidani
turbati sunt et timore concussi, timentes totam villam
in deditionem³ [tradunt] et majores capti missi sunt in
carcerem. Puniri non potuit tota multitudo, sed multis
grassantibus opus est exemplo. Jam sciunt Bristol-
lienses se male errasse, et rebellionem suam nichil

Hopes of
the besieged.

They sur-
render.

¹ *obsideri*] *obsederi*, MS.

² *Nam*] Hearne read "Non."

³ Some word like "*tradidere*" is
wanted. Hearne.

profecisse.¹ Si conditionem pacis oblatam prius accep-
tassent, tota fere communitas et bona eorum tuto
remansissent, sed quia malo sunt usi consilio relict
sunt omnes regis iudicio. Inutile quidem fuit consi-
lium dum utilitas privatorum transit in commune
dispendium. Sane meminisse debuerant obsessorum
apud Bedeford² finem desolatum, et eorum pariter
qui apud Kenelesworthe contra regem tenuerunt cas-
trum: illi quidem capti et omnes fere suspensi; isti
vero vel in carcerem detrusi vel in exilium deportati.

A.D. 1212.
Impolicy of
the rebels.

Quid est regi resistere nisi propriam vitam con-
tempnere et omnia bona pariter amittere? Nam si
insulanus³ contra regem insulanum rebellat, proinde
ac si vinculatus cum magistro carceris contendat.
Per huiusmodi dissensiones deterioratur patria, et mul-
tipliciter læduntur indigenæ; quam,⁴ si rex manum
rigidam et correctricem apponeret, sedaret facillime.
Sed hodie frequenter accidit quod, licet aliquem deli-
quisse constiterit, pro muneribus justificatur; fovetur
impius, et in⁵ innocentem culpa retorquetur. Ex hoc
quippe crescit audacia nocendi. Nam facilitas veniæ
incentivum præbet delinquendi. Et si quærat⁶ cujus
auctoritate fiant talia, dici potest quod tota iniquitas
originaliter exiit a curia. Avaritia enim curialium
votis subsequitur singulorum. Hii sunt de quibus
loquitur David in Psalmis "Dextera eorum repleta est
muneribus." Iccirco nil magis utile,⁷ necessarium
foret in curia, quam ut rex tales collaterales haberet
in camera, qui pro loco et tempore regem excessibus
suppliciter corripere et impiorum satellitum cum
viderint expedire facta suggererent;⁷ propter quod vir

It is mad-
ness for an
islander to
resist the
king.

All these
miseries
proceed
from the
court.

Ps. XLVI. 10.

¹ *profecisse*] *perfecisse*, MS.

² Both the examples are taken
from the history of Henry III.: the
capture of Bedford in 1224, and
that of Kenilworth in 1266.

³ *insulanus*] *insulanus*, MS.

⁴ *quam*] *quas*, Hearne suggests.

⁵ *in*] *om.* MS.

⁶ *utile*] "et" is omitted ap-
parently.

⁷ *suggererent*] *suggerentur*, MS.

A.D. 1316. quidam religiosus et notæ auctoritatis confessori domini regis misit litteras sub hiis verbis:¹

Good advice
sent to the
king's con-
fessor.

" Cum rex a regendo dicatur, utpote qui populum
" legibus gubernare et gladio debeat ab inimicis de-
" fendere, dum bene regit convenienter rex appel-
" latur; dum spoliatur tyrannus magis esse judicatur.
" Sane rex noster transiens per patriam bona homi-
" num capit et nil vel modicum aut male solvit. Sed
" et hii frequenter, quibus ex tali causa aliquid de-
" betur, ut labores evitent, de quota remittenda faci-
" unt pactum, ut eo citius solvatur residuum. Olim
" quidem gaudebant incolæ regis adventantis vultum
" aspicere nunc vero, quia in adventu regis populus
" læditur, recessum ejus valde præstolantur et abeun-
" tem imprecantur ut nunquam revertatur. Rex etiam
" religiosis domibus nimis—"

[Bina folia sive quatuor paginae infortunio
plane dolendo interciderunt. *Hearne*] veniret.

A.D. 1317.
Civil dissen-
sions be-
tween the
king and
Lancaster.

Revera anno præterito ordinatum erat quod dominus
rex sine consilio comitum et procerum nichil grave,
nichil arduum inchoaret, et comitem² Lancastriæ de
consilio suo principaliter retineret. Sed quicquid placet
domino regi domestici³ comitis nituntur evertere; et
quicquid placet comiti domestici³ regis dicunt proditi-
torium esse; et ita ad suggestionem seminantis ziza-
niæ interponunt se utriusque familiares, et dominos
suos, per quos debet et terra defendi, non sinunt esse
concordes. Siquidem Robertus de Brutz jam per
multos annos, cum vastaret terras in Marchia, prædia
comitis semper dimisit intacta. Sperat enim, ut cre-
ditur, procurante comite penam diu comminatum eva-
dere, et regnum ante vendicatum sub aliquo colore
pacis retinere. Timet forsitan et comes ne rex ali-
quando, memor injuriæ quam exercuit comes in Petrum,

Robert
Bruce
spares the
earl's lands.

¹ The language of the remon-
strance closely resembles that of
Archbishop Islip's "Speculum
" Regis."

² *comitem*] comite, MS.

³ *domestici*] domesticis, MS. in
both places.

ultionem expectet cum viderit¹ oportunum. Iccirco, ut dicitur, nititur comes Robertum de Brutz in regno Scotiae solidare, ut, si forsan solus contra regem non possit resistere, saltem Roberti de Brutz fretus auxilio minas regias compellat arescere; sed in hiis an fidei transgressor, an laesae majestatis reus, comes habeatur, judicio majorum relinquatur: nam jure naturali saluti propriae per fas et nefas² licet consulere. Sic David fugiens a facie domini sui regis Saul sibi providit, et ad regem Ghet cum suis omnibus prudenter convolavit.

¹ Sam. xxi.
10.

A.D. 1317.
Rumoured
policy of
Lancaster.

Interea mandaverat³ archiepiscopus Cantuariensis in ecclesia Sancti Pauli Londoniis totius Angliae clericum conveniri; petiitque idem archiepiscopus, cum ceteris episcopis ab aula electis, de media vel tertia parte bonorum ecclesiasticorum domino regi subveniri. Videntes illi pauci episcopi, qui ab ecclesia erant assumpti, primatem suum cum majori parte coepiscoporum in partem domini regis inclinatum, jam in unam et eandem sententiam convenerunt, et petitionem archipraesulis rationabilem fieri decreverunt; sed communitas cleri pluribus rationibus ab hujusmodi praestatione nitebatur absolvi; tum quia sine⁴ auctoritate apostolica speciali non debet laicis de bonis ecclesiasticis aliqua portio concedi, tum quia annona cara et annus sterilis, portioneque regis et necessariis reservatis, non haberent rectores quid erogarent pauperibus. Responderunt praelati auctoritatem apostolicam in hoc casu non debere requiri, quia, cum rex infra regni sui terminos expugnatur, regi tanquam commune negotium gerenti communiter debet subveniri. Similiter [per] sterilitatem⁵ anni non oportet

Assembly of
the clergy
(Oct. 1316).

The bishops
vote an aid,
but the
lower clergy
demur.

Argument
of the
prelates.

¹ *expectet cum viderit*] *exspectat cum videris*, MS.

² *nefas*] *nefa*, MS.

³ *mandaverat*] *mandaverit*, MS.

E 1681.

⁴ *tum quia sine*] *quia tamen sine*, MS.

⁵ *per sterilitatem*] *per* is omitted in the MS., and Hearne conjecturally reads "*sterilitas*."

A.D. 1317.
The clergy
agree to a
grant.

præstationem tam necessariam impediri,¹ nam mediante archiepiscopo diebus oportunis fiet solutio. Tandem procuratores cleri, importunitate petentium victi, decimam² ecclesie domino regi concesserunt, et diem Purificationis proxime sequentem, et eundem anno revolutum iterum venientem, dies solutionis acceperunt.

Iniquity of
oppressing
the church
with taxa-
tion.

Sane timendum est ne huiusmodi collecta, quæ gravat ecclesiam, domino regi cedat in ruinam. Nam bona ecclesie sunt bona pauperum. Nunquam pauperum, nunquam ecclesie spolia prosperum habuerunt auspiciū. Certe sub Pharaone, cum ex principali decreto omnes ad solutionem quintæ partis generaliter urgerentur, sacerdotes tamen fuerunt ab observantia et onere illius constitutionis immunes. In libro etiam Numeri, ad figuram perpetuæ libertatis præcepit Leviticam tribum ab omni publicæ functione liberam esse.

Gen. xlvii.
26.

Function of
the clergy
to pray.

summi pontificis³ duntaxat arbitrio subiacere. Quid aliud potest aut debet exigere princeps a pontificibus vel a clero, quam ut⁴ incessanter fiat oratio ab ecclesia ad Deum pro eo? Omnis enim pontifex ex hominibus assumptus pro hominibus constituitur in hiis quæ sunt ad Deum, ut offerat dona et sacrificia pro rege et populo, et, si iratus est Dominus, sacerdos medius intercedat, et in tempore iracundiæ facta⁵ est reconciliatio. Iratus Dominus populum suum Israel delere decreverat, stetitque Moises in confractione in conspectu ejus, et motum divinæ indignationis oratione placavit.⁶ Item flamma divinæ animadversionis⁷ desæviente in populo, Aaron arrepto thuribulo⁸ medius inter vivos et mortuos se flammæ objecit, et cessavit

Heb. v. 1.

Ps. cvi. 2.

Num. xvi.
40, 48.

Instances
from Scrip-
ture.

¹ *impediri*] Hearne conjecturally reads *impedire*.

² A tenth was granted by the clergy on the 11th of October 1316. Wilkins, Conc. ii. 458.

³ *summi pontificis*] *summus pontifex*, MS.

⁴ *ut*] *om.* MS.

⁵ *facta*] *factus*, MS.

⁶ *placavit*] *placuit*, MS.

⁷ *Flammam* divinæ animadversionis, MS.

⁸ *thuribulo*] *turibilo*, MS.

Ps. cv. 3a quassatio; Moise orante, et manus erigente, Hebræi A.D. 1217.
vicerunt; et sacerdotibus vociferantibus ad Dominum The force of
muri Jerico corruerunt. Hæc est vis orationis et prayer.
8. Matt. xvi. sacrificii; adversus non prævalebunt vectes inferi.¹
12. Recolat utinam dominus rex non ad oppressionem sed
ad tuitionem ecclesie se² potestatem gladii ab ecclesia
suscepisse. Sed et locum et officium in quo posuit
eum Dominus agnoscat, nec de thesauris ecclesie, quæ
debentur pauperibus, sed de fiscali ærario bellum in-
ferat inimicis.

Instante jam verno tempore misit rex nuntios ad The king
curiam Romanam, qui cum venissent petierunt ex sends to the
parte regis Angliæ quatinus dominus papa dictum pope for
regem ab observatione³ quarundam ordinationum, qui- absolution
bus idem rex juramento tenebatur astrictus, digna- from his
retur⁴ absolvere. Asserebant enim prædictas ordina- oath to the
tionem, licet de communi assensu procerum editas et ordinances;
confirmatas, in perniciem regni et ecclesie Anglicanæ
periculose nimis redundare. Petierunt etiam senten-
tiam excommunicationis in Robertum de Brutz et and for a
omnes sibi adherentes fulminari, et terram Scotorum sentence
interdicto supponi, donec idem Robertus super com- against the
missis erga regem Angliæ se reformaret, et regnum Scots.
Scotiæ, quod injuste occupare dinoscitur, penitus relin-
queret. Supplicarunt insuper domino papæ quatinus They ask
domino regi qui totum thesaurum suum⁵ pro temporary
sione regni sui, et per aliquod tempus dignaretur aid for the
venire, adicientes regem intentum, pacificato regno king.
suo, si competeret facultas, summa devotione contra
paganos transfretare. Ad hæc respondit papa regem The pope's
Angliæ ab observatione prædictarum ordinationum reply.
absolvi non debere, cum, sicut acceperat, fidedignorum
studio fuissent confectæ, quos non erat verisimile in

¹ inferi] inferri, MS.

² se] sed, MS.

³ ab observatione], ad observa-
tionem, MS.

⁴ dignaretur] dignaretur, MS.

⁵ Impendat or some equivalent
word omitted; Hearn.

A.D. 1217.
He refuses
the king's
requests.

but will
send legates.

Parliament
called.

The earl of
Lancaster
does not
attend.

His plea in
excuse.

His wife has
been carried
off.

præjudicium regni vel ecclesiæ aliquid ordinasse. De-
crevit etiam dominus papa regnum Scotiæ interdicto
non esse supponendum donec constaret de jure par-
tium. Denique ecclesiam vel decimas ecclesiæ noluit
dominus papa potestati laicorum submittere, sed suæ¹
tantum ordinationi reservaret, et, si regem Angliæ in
subsidiū Terræ Sanctæ armari contingeret,² de fructi-
bus ecclesiæ, si necesse foret, sumptus habundanter
ministraret. Promisit insuper dominus papa legatos
in Angliam mittere, qui de hiis diligenter inquirerent
et auctoritate apostolica omnes controversias fine
debito terminarent.

Interim veniente³ tempore quo solent reges ad bella
procedere, vocavit rex proceres ad parlamentum ut
juxta tenorem ordinationum, antequam procederetur ad
bellum, in communi parlamento⁴ deliberaretur quid
esset agendum; sed die statuto adveniente non venit
comes Lancastriæ. Interim sub fidelitate et homagio
monetur adesse parlamento; sed, nec sic veniens, sub
forisfactura omnium quæ possidebat in Anglia, copiam
sui facere jubetur in curia. Tunc misit comes nuntios
qui excusarent eum coram rege et allegarent similiter
causas absentiae; qui statim jussa complentes accesse-
runt ad regem dicentes: "Domine, si placet, offendi vel
" mirari non debetis si comes Lancastriæ ad parla-
" mentum non venit. Timet enim quorundam insidias
" capitales quos curia regia tuetur et nutrit. De ini-
" micitiis eorum jam constat evidenter; jam uxorem
" comitis in dedecus et opprobrium ejus rapuerunt,
" unde affectum quem erga eum gerunt jam liquido
" protulerunt. Petit ergo comes quatinus malefactores
" illos a familiaritate vestra velitis expellere, et tunc
" veniet ad vos ubicunque volueritis assignare. Petit

¹ suæ] sine, MS.

² contingeret] contigeret, MS.

³ veniente] inveniēte, MS.

⁴ A council was held at Claren-

don Feb. 9; and another at London
on April 15; see Parl. Writs, II. i.
170. The king marched north-
wards in July.

"etiam quod possit sine offensione vestra de injuria A.D. 1217.
 "sibi illata vindictam sumere et satisfactionem qua- He demands redress.
 "lem poterit impetrare."

Respondit rex: "Ego contemptum comitis vindicabo The king replies.
 "cum potero; familiares meos expellere nolo; de raptu
 "uxoris suae remedium jure quærat tantummodo."

Convocatis itaque familiaribus suis et ceteris amicis,
 ait rex coram omnibus: "Ecce videtis quomodo comes He consults his advisers.
 "Lancastrie ad parliamentum non venit. Videtis quo-

"modo mandatis nostris parere contempserit. Quid
 "vobis videtur?" Dicunt quidam: "Dignum est ut
 "qui præceptis domini sui parere contempnit contu-
 "maciam luat, et feodum si quod tenet, tanquam per-
 "jurus consequenter amittat. Persequatur ergo rex
 "contemptorem suum et comprehendat, et compre-
 "hensum sub carcere cludat vel regno proscribat."

Alii vero dixerunt: "Non est leve capere comitem Conflicting counsels.
 "Lancastrie; Scoti succurrent ei et magna pars
 "Wallie; sed melius est aliam viam assumere, et
 "prius tractare de forma concordie. Satis enim liquet
 "ex Britonum historia quam sit plena periculis civilis
 "discordia. Nam quod Julius Cæsar regnum Bri-
 "tannie sibi subjugavit, et quod gens Saxonum
 "fugatis Britonibus regnum occupavit, quod Nor-
 "manni regimen Angliæ consequenter, ex simili dis-
 "cordia cuncta pervenisse noscuntur."

Intervenientibus ergo magnatibus, concessum est ut A conference proposed.
 dominus rex et comes convenirent¹ ad quendam locum
 sicut fieri decet ad diem amoris sine strepitu armorum.
 Sperabatur enim quod, si inter se rationes suas et
 verba conferrent,² citius efficerentur unanimes, quam per
 mediatores mandata partium sæpe pervertentes. Sed
 quia secreta divitum occultari non possunt, statim
 nuntiatum est comiti regem jurasse quod, si comes vix-

¹ convenirent] convenerunt, MH. | ² conferrent] conferunt, MH.

A.D. 1317. dum¹ conventum accederet, aut capite privaret eum aut carceri manciparet.

The earl
collects
forces at
Ponfret;
the king at
York.

Ab illa die in antea cogitavit comes regem non adire sine tutela. Congregavit sibi comes omnes sibi adherentes apud Pountefreyt castrum suum, et erat rex eo tempore apud Eboracum, ubi mandaverat exercitum suum convenire; sed qui properabant ad regem non permittuntur cum armis transire. Observabat enim comes pontes, et diligenter fecit inhiberi dextrarios transduci vel arma transferri; et hoc asserebat se facere eo quod senescallus sit Angliæ, cujus interest utilitatibus regni prospicere, et, si rex contra aliquem arma vellet assumere, senescallo præcipue deberet innotescere. Cernens autem rex suum impediri propositum, et consilium ejus pro parte denudatum, quid faceret vel quo

September.
Agreement
for a par-
liament at
Lincoln.
Jan. 27, 1318.

se verteret penitus ignoravit. Denique procurante comite de Penbrok, interponentibus se etiam cardinalibus legatis qui jam venerant in Angliam, sic actum est, ut in quindena Sancti Hillarii apud Lyncolniam convenirent² universi, et tunc repararentur omnia indirecta, et de malefactoribus fieret justitia.

October.
The king
marches by
Ponfret in
arms.

Hiis itaque dispositis dominus rex cum tota comitiva sua versus Londonias aggreditur, et, cum venisset prope castrum de Pountfret pertinens ad comitem Lancastriæ, jussit omnes suos arma resumere, quia forsan timuit sibi ubi non erat timendum, aut certe ab insipientibus processit consilium. Armati vero et per turmas distincti processerunt quasi villam expung-

Alarm of
the earl of
Pembroke.

naturi; et ecce, comes Penbrok regem alloquitur: "Domine," inquit comes, "quale consilium accepisti? quid est quod ita præcipitanter arma sumpsisti? Adversarius non instat, nec aliquis nos expungnat."

¹ videtur] vixmodum, MS.

² convenirent] This was agreed Sept. 24. Parl. Writs, II. i. 171. A parliament was summoned to meet at Lincoln, Jan. 27, 1318, but

was postponed on the 4th of January to March 12, and then, on March 3, to June 19, the morrow of the Holy Trinity. See below, p. 233; Parl. Writs, II. i. 183.

"Nonne omnia ad certum tempus sunt suspensa, pacta
 "inita, fide pariter et scriptis confirmata? Turpe est
 "contra pacta venire, credentem fallere et fidem in-
 "fringere." Et rex ad comitem; "Relatum est michi
 "quod comes Lancastrie in insidiis latitat, et nos om-
 "nes inprevisos invadere studiosse procurat." "Certe,"
 inquit comes, "domine, non est ita. Regnum et feodum,
 "et universa quæ possidet, comes ipse relinqueret
 "priusquam huiusmodi prodicionem inchoaret." Sic
 tandem ad suggestionem comitis rex ab inceptis de-
 stitit, et versus Londonias iter arripuit.

A.D. 1217.

October.

His advice

to the king.

The king

proceeds to

London.

Rebus sic se habentibus,¹ reversi sunt etiam cardi-
 nales Londonias. Processerant enim versus Scotiam
 ut² ibidem legationem suam fungerentur; sed per
 terram Northanhimbrorum iter facientes a quibusdam
 prædonibus³ male tractabantur. Nam Gilbertum
 quendam de Middeltone dictum cum suis complicitibus
 obviam habuerunt,⁴ qui sarcinulas eorum scrutantes
 maximam summam pecuniæ legatis abstulerunt. Sus-
 pendebant ergo legati partes legationis suæ ad tempus,
 donec in parlamento optinerent fieri ultionem de male-
 factoribus illis; procedentes nihilominus spiritualiter
 contra dictos prædones, Gilbertum de Middeltone cum
 suis fautoribus solempniter et publice a communione
 fidelium separantes. Ut⁵ expressa poena inmanitas ex-
 cessus appareat, tenorem quem ex constitutione Bone-
 facii VIII^{vi} pro parte recolui lector advertat. Bone-
 facius VIII^{us} in titulo "de poenis" sic statuit:—⁶

Arrival of

the card-

inals, who

had been

plundered

on their

way to

Scotland.

Excommu-

nication of

the robbers.

"Si quis in hoc sacrilegii genus irreperit quod ecclesias
 "Romane cardinalem hostiliter insecutus fuerit, percusserit
 "aut ceperit, fieri mandaverit vel factum ratum habuerit, con-
 "silium facienti dederit vel favorem, aut scienter receptaverit
 "vel defensaverit eundem, tanquam reus læsæ majestatis per-

Law of

Boniface

VIII.

¹ *de habentibus*] *de habentibus*,
 MS.

² *ut*] *et*, MS.

³ *prædonibus*] *prædonis*, MS.

⁴ *habeturum*] *habuit*, MS.

⁵ *Ut*] *et*, MS.

⁶ *Stat. Decret. lib. 2, tit. 2, c. 5:*
 the sentence is somewhat abridged.

A.D. 1237.
Decree of
Boniface
VIII. on the
robbers of
cardinals.

“petuo sit infamis, bannitus et interstabilis,¹ et ab omni
“successione repulsus; omnia aedificia ejus diruantur, et ut
“perpetuam notam infamiae perpetua ruina testetur, et nullo
“tempore reparentur. Nullus ei debita cogatur reddere, nullus
“in judicio sibi teneatur respondere, sed quicquid in bonis
“ipsius invenitur fisco vel rei publicae dominio applicetur,
“nulla parte bonorum ad posteros ejus transmissa, ut sic
“quodammodo cum ipso dampnentur et sua, et si quid ab
“ecclesia forsitan optineant ipso jure beneficium perdant, de quo
“superior ecclesiae pro sua voluntate disponat. Insuper filii
“ejus et nepotes per masculinam lineam descendentes, si
“beneficium aliquod vel etiam pontificalem dignitatem fuerint
“adopti, sint eis ipso jure privati; sit talibus omnis praecclusa
“dignitas, sit postulandi negata facultas, officium et quod-
“libet ministerium publicum utrobique sic sit eis interdictum.
“Non credatur in judiciis eorum assertioni; ad testimonium
“prorsus reddantur indigni.² Sit eis ad ordines ascensus
“inhibitus; sit ad beneficium ecclesiasticum negatus accessus;
“et, ut magis famosa sit eorum infamia, super omnibus praemissis sit eis spes dispensationis penitus adempta, et tam
“insecutor quam violentae manus injector, ipso facto sententiam excommunicationis majoris incurrat, quam non nisi
“per summum pontificem, nisi duntaxat in mortis articulo
“constitutus, evadat.” Et haec quidem sententia in
praedictum Gilbertum et suos fautores tam terribiliter
erat promulgata.

Flagrant
character of
the offence.

Revera nimis erat audax versutia et versuta nimis
audacia quae tantis viris non pepercit. Cui capiti
cujusque personae reverentia debetur, si patribus con-
scriptis, si³ legatis a latere papae transmissis, non de-
fertur? Ceterum quantumcunque placuerit vir in
virum, solet ecclesia Romana humiliter petenti veniam
praestare; sed si manus sacrilega curiam ipsam inva-
serit, qua fronte, quaeso, poterit veniam postulare, cum
jure caveatur quod frustra legis auxilium invocat qui
committit in legem?⁴ Denique cujus efficaciae fuerit
sententia statim apparuit; nam paucis evolutis diebus

¹ *interstabilis*] *indetestabilis*, MS.

² *indigni*] *indignum*, MS.

³ *si*] *se*, MS.

⁴ *Digest. lib. 4. tit. iv. l. 37.*

Gilbertus capitur et coram iustitiariis regis Londoniis A.D. 1217.
condempnatur. Deinde protractus, suspensus et exen- Arrest of the robber.
teratus, capite truncatur.

Quia in festo Sancti Hilarii dominum regem et A.D. 1218.
ceteros magnates ad parliamentum convenire oportuit, January.
ex conducto convenerunt hii qui erant de consilio Parliament postponed.
domini regis, dicentes: "Non est bonum inire parlia-
mentum sub hoc modo. Nam si dominus rex veniat
et comes Lancastrie veniat, utique et omnes qui
sunt de eorum retentione, et certe tanta et tam
effrenata¹ multitudo mali potius quam boni foret
ocasio. Iccirco melius est per medias personas
inter dominum regem et comitem Lancastrie, firmam
concordiam et plenam securitatem prius reformare,
ac deinde diem et locum parliamenti sicut decet as-
signare." Et actum est. Nam de consensu con- March.
venerunt apud Leicestriam archiepiscopi, comites et Council at Leicester.
barones ex parte domini regis, et consilarii comitis,
tractaturi super istis negotiis. Ubi cum multa ex The earl insists on the ordination.
parte regis peterentur quibus et comes ipse, si placeret
ei, praestaret assensum, ad nichilum penitus inclinari
potuit, sine plenaria observatione ordinationum.

Videntes igitur archiepiscopus et ceteri comites ani- The king's counsellors advise him to confirm them.
mum comitis immobilem, concesserunt pro domino
rege et pro se ordinationes universas fideliter obser-
vari, et cartam testimonii sacramento singulorum et
sigillorum impressione roborari. Et comes Lancastrie
e contra domino regi et suis debitam fidelitatem et The earl's engagement.
securitatem sub fide promisit, excepta querela quam
contra comitem Warennise de raptu uxoris dudum in-
stituit.

Hii igitur sub tali forma excessis, acceperunt diem Parliament to meet June 19.
parliamenti apud Lyncolniam in crastino Trinitatis.
O² quantum nocuit ista dissensio, O quantum existi-

¹ effrenata] effrenata, MS.

² O] E, MS. Ford. Wille, H. 1. | 176; it was countermanded early in June; MS. 121.

A.D. 1318.
March.
Unhappy
and infortu-
ous state of
affairs.

Loss of
Berwick.

tit malis occasio! Dum rex delirat cum baronibus, fiducia¹ rebellandi datur hostibus. Sic² jam amittitur tota Scotia, et terra Northamhimbriorum jacet inculta. Una villa regi remanserat in Scotia. Hæc erat Berewyke fortis et valida et muro inexpugnabili decenter ambita. Hanc dum rex committeret burgensium custodiæ, villam tradunt hostibus famuli perfidiæ. Revera nec locus tutissimus nec vir potentissimus resistit proditoribus; sed Troja obsessa³ decennio, quæ vinci non potuit in prælio, proditorum tandem subcubuit ingenio. Sic ille magnus Græcorum imperator Alexander, totius orbis domitor, cum cunctas nationes armis subicit, per familiares proditores toxicatus occubuit. Studeat amodo rex noster vel Scotiam recuperare, vel saltem terram propriam ab hostibus defendere. Nam licet Scotis fortuna semel arriserit, manum forsitan retrahens ad Anglos convolabit. Proditio, perjurium et homicidium, quæ Roberto de Brutz regnandi dederunt initium, perducent eum tandem ad finem desolatum.

June.
The king at
Northampton.

A pretender
to the crown
at Oxford.

He is
brought
before the
king.

Appropinquante die parlamenti præfixo venit rex apud Northamptoniam cum electa multitudine armatorum; ubi dum vellet omnimodo expectare magnates, apparuit quidam Oxoniæ qui diceret se filium regis esse et regnum Angliæ jure sanguinis ad se pertinere. Dicebat enim se in cunis fuisse sublatum et regem qui nunc regnat pro ipso suppositum. Accessit autem ad aulam regiam, ubi fratres Carmelitani⁴ cœperunt ædificare, volens ibidem seisinam capere. Pervenit itaque verbum ad regem, et statim jussu regis capitur, et in crastino domino regi præsentatur. Verumptamen coram rege constitutus priora dicta sua non negavit, sed se verum regni heredem, regem autem injuste regnare, constanter affirmavit.

¹ *Aducia*] *fiducia*, MS.

² *Sic*] *Sic*, MS.

³ *obsessa*] *obocessa*, MS.

⁴ *Carmelitani*] *Carmelini*, MS.

Exod. xxi.
17; xxii. 28.

Hujus rei celebris erat fama per totam terram, et ultra quam dici potest molestabat reginam. ^{A.D. 1215.} ^{July.} ^{Punishment of the pre-tender.} Coepit igitur inter sapientes esse consultum quid in hoc casu foret agendum, ac post magnam disceptationem consideratum est inter eosdem quod qui famæ principis et honori non parcit tanquam proditor¹ capitali pœna² dampnetur, sicut scriptum est, "Qui maledixit principi morte morietur." Itaque fatuus ille ex decreto curiæ protrahitur, ac post illam proditorum pœnam laqueo suffocatur. Revera male vendicavit, et actionem non recte instituit, dum vitam et regnum simul amisit.

Igitur sicut prædixi dominus rex apud Northamtoniam exspectabat; magnates autem erant cum eo comes de Warennia, Rogerus Dammori, Hugo Despenseer pater et filius, Hugo Daudeleghe, Willelmus de Mountagu; et hii omnes cum magna sequela, ita ut reputares eos non ad parliamentum venisse, sed potius ad bella. Quod cum audisset comes Lancastriæ, licet pluries vocatus noluit accedere. Nam hos omnes prænominatos reputabat comes sibi capitales inimicos. Causas autem inimicitiae breviter, si placet, licet exponere. ^{The king's party in arms.} ^{Lancaster refuses to attend the parliament.}

Comes de Warennia comitis Lancastriæ rapuit uxorem, vel saltem rapientibus præstabat assensum, de quo nimirum si unus vindictam vellet expetere, et alter si posset pœnam evadere. Oderant etiam comitem reliqui omnes eo quod tueri volebat ordinationes. Illi namque juxta ordinationes a curia regis erant amovendi, et terras quas a domino rege acceperant similiter amissuri. Ideo insidiabantur³ comiti in quantum potuerunt; sed insidiæ eorum effectum non habuerunt; statim enim notificatur comiti quicquid contra eum machinantur inimici. ^{Causes of his misgivings.}

Videns igitur rex quod proficeret nichil,⁴ nichil ageret in omnibus quæ contra comitem excogitaret, pensans ^{The king yields.}

¹ proditor] proditori, MS.

² pœna] pœnam, MS.

³ insidiabantur] insidiabantur, MS.

⁴ nichil] om. MS.

A.D. 1318.
July.

Considerations which moved the king to give way.

etiam sibi periculosam esse huiusmodi dissensionem, eo quod Scotorum contra se firmaret rebellionem, nec posse eum contra Scotos proficere sine auxilio comitis Lancastriæ; pensans etiam villam de Berewyk turpiter amissam et villam de Northam noviter amittendam nisi succurratur obsessis, qui resistere non possunt ultra festum Sancti Michaelis; pensans et expensas quas faciebat contra comitem, requirere quatinus, omni rancore deposito, ad locum quem vellet accederet, ubi cum eo super omnibus commissis pro¹ se et suis amicabiliter componeret; sed et omnes hii, contra quos diceret se comes habere querelam, ad arbitrium comitis satisfacerent, et super hoc fidejussores, cautionem aut pignora, præstarent; et ita ad instantiam dominæ reginæ, comitis Herfordiæ, et aliorum nobilium quos comes Lancastriæ reputabat fideles, optentum est.

August.
Pacification.

Convenerunt igitur dominus rex et comes, et diu familiariter alloquentes debitam amicitiam et mutuam gratiam renovarunt, atque in signum fœderis eadem die cibum simul acceperunt; sed et Rogerus Dammori et ceteri, exceptis Hugone Despenser et comite de Warrenna, ad comitis præsentiam humiliter accedentes, in gratiam ejus admissi sunt.² Præterea quia in ordinationibus cautum erat quod dominus rex nichil alienaret, nichil grande vel arduum inchoaret nisi per assensum comitum et baronum et hoc in communi parlamento solempniter expressum, provisum est quod eligerentur duodecim viri de discretioribus totius regni, quorum quatuor episcopi, quatuor comites, et quatuor barones essent, et de hiis tres ad minus dominum regem semper comitantes,³ si aliquid arduum in curia regis emergeret, auctoritas istorum duodecim statim expediret. Nam difficile foret, pro singulis negotiis quæ solent in

A permanent council of twelve instituted.

¹ pro] per, MS.

² The terms of peace were agreed to on Aug. 9. *Fœdera*, ii. 370;

Parl. Writs, II. i. 184. 185; ii. 123.

³ comitantes] Hearne reads communicantes.

curia regis accidere omnes magnates totius regni congregare. A.D. 1319.
August.

Nabugodonosor ille potentissimus rex Assiriorum ante annum regni sui xii^{um} nichil egisse legitur memorandum, quod anno vero regni sui xii^o cepit florere et gentes et regna sibi subicere. Arphaxat regem Medorum in bello devicit, et de multis regnis unam monarchiam potenter effecit. Nec etiam rex noster Edwardus, qui xi. annis regnavit et amplius, aliquid egit quod prædicari debeat in foro vel in tectis. Utinam ad exemplum regis Nabugodonosor hostes suos nunc saltem niteretur invadere, ut dampna et obprobria quæ diu sustinuit posset resarcire. Spes magna hiis diebus nobis accrevit eo quod Deus in multis prosperis regem et populum exhillaravit. In primis regi et populo Anglorum feliciter contigit quod dominus papa, cujus est dissensiones sedare, Scotis et eorum ducibus treugas biennales indixit, ut interim viam concordie et formam pacis excogitaret. Sed Robertus de Brutz spretis¹ mandatis apostolicis regem Angliæ multipliciter infestavit. Visum est itaque domino papæ transgressoribus poenam infligere, et post monita censuram adicere. Igitur Robertum de Brutz et suos sequaces anathematizavit, et terram Scotorum interdicto supposuit, ita ut nullus nisi januis clausis, interdictis et excommunicatis exclusis, divina celebraret. Cujus efficacie fuerat interdictum dignatus est Deus ostendere ad oculum. Nam dum quadam die Robertus de Brutz peteret sibi Missam celebrari, capellanus prætextu interdicti nitebatur excusari; sed jussum² tyranni prævaluit, et capellanus, nimio³ timore coactus, ad altare divina celebraturus accessit. Cum autem sacerdos Missam usque ad elevationem Corporis Domini rite peregisset, sacerdos, sicut mos est, Hostiam nitebatur erigere, et columba desuper veniens manifeste cunctis

Nebuchadnezzar's prosperity began in his twelfth year.

May king Edward's do the same.

A sign of improvement.

The pope's measures against the Scots.

¹ spretis] spectis, MS.

² jussum] jussu, MS.

³ nimio] non uno, Hearne.

A.D. 1318. apparuit et Hostiam de manu sacerdotis ereptam
A miracle and portent. cunctis videntibus asportavit. Quid aliud prætere
 7 potest hujusmodi visio, nisi quod præentes ibidem
 indigni erant sacramento? Et hoc quidem acceptabile
 nobis et gratum, dum scimus hostem nostrum a Deo
 reprobatum eo quod non servavit interdictum.

A second good omen in Ireland: the fall of Edward Bruce. Secundo dedit nobis Deus victoriam super inimicos
 nostros in Hibernia. Edwardus de Brutz et sui mi-
 lites, qui jam per biennium dominium ibidem usurpa-
 runt, venientes versus Dondalk ut villam caperent,
 exercitum nostrum obviam habuerunt; sed inito con-
 flictu cecidit Edwardus¹ et quingenti cum eo valentes
 armati ipsa die coram nostris.

A third: the cessation of the dearth. [Tertio, cessavit] sterilitas illa quæ diu nos afflixit, et
 habundantia omnium bonorum terram Anglorum multi-
 pliciter fœcundavit. Modius tritici, qui anno præterito
 pro xl. denariis vendebatur, hodie pro sex denariis
 emptori libenter offertur. Sic olim tamdiu obsessa
 Samaria, ut mater filii carnibus vesceretur pro penuria
 victualium, recuperavit divina gratia. Nam caput asini,
 quod octoginta aureis pridie vendebatur, omnibus in-
 mundum in crastino reputatum erat, et modius similæ
 pro statere uno venundatus, sicut prædixerat vir Dei
 Helisæus.

A fourth: the peace, and dismissal of bad counsellors. Quarto, factus est unanimis rex noster cum baronibus
 suis. Nam nugis postpositis² consilia baronum aus-
 cultat,³ nec est qui regem ad malum instigat amplius,
 quia privata familia quæ baronibus erat contraria
 hodie recessit ab aula. Hiis igitur omnibus per gratiam
 Dei concurrentibus, non est timendum nobis ab inimi-
 cis nostris, sicut scriptum est ad Romanos, "si Deus
 "nobiscum quis contra nos?" Rom. viii. 31

Habita concordia inter dominum regem et comitem
 Lancastriæ, bonum visum est magnatibus concordiam

¹ *Edwardus*] Edwardum, MS.
² *postpositis*] præpositis, MS.

³ *auscultat*] ascultat, MS.

et unitatem in populo facere, injurias ulcisci et regnum innovare. Tunc assignati sunt et destinati ad quemlibet comitatum viri discreti et bonae opinionis, ad audiendum et terminandum querelas subditorum. Ministrales enim regii auctoritate publicae potestatis concutiebant simplices, spoliarunt innocentes, ut¹ nemo negotium suum consummaret, nisi hujusmodi officialium manum impleveret. Amoti sunt omnes tales ab officio ut liberius procederet inquisitio. Insuper ordinatum est ut convicti laesae in duplo satisfacerent, et ad officium nunquam redirent.

A.D. 1218.
December.
Commissions for hearing complaints against the king's servants.

Haec ordinatio terruit multos, et ad satisfaciendum induxit nondum convictos. Revera de officialibus domini regis veraciter hoc possumus dicere, quia a minimo usque ad maximum omnes student avaritiae, a summo justitiano usque ad minimum pedaneum judicem, nullus recusat accipere. Porro, licet aliqui non exigant vel extorqueant offerendum, nullus tamen eorum respuit oblatum. Verumtamen quod offertur ex gratia licenter recipi² potest, sed cum mensura; quia a nemine accipere est valde inhumanum,³ sed passim et indifferenter turpissimum. Oporteret certe dominum regem; a majoribus sumitur enim exemplum, et a capite dirivatur omnis malitia. Sic ille regum prudentissimus rex noster Edwardus proximus Thomam de Weilonde capitalem justitiarium, propter quasdam transgressiones et oppressiones subditorum, omni honore, beneficio et dignitate privavit, et capitali poenae vel carceri perpetuo addictus fuisset, nisi ad ordinem Minorum citius convolasset.⁴ Sed nec chorda Minorum eidem praestabat confugium, quin idem Thomas nudatus pedes et caput subiret exilium. Eodem tempore multi et magni viri inter potestates domini regis praecipui, de turpibus sceleribus convicti, cum

Abuses that required reform.

Prevalence of bribery.

Measures Edward I. against corrupt judges.

The cord of the Franciscans did not protect Weyland.

¹ ut] et, MS.

² recipi] recepti, MS.

³ inhumanum] inhumanum, MS.

⁴ convalescet] convalescet, MS.

A.D. 1318.
Punishment
of a great
clerk of
king Ed-
ward I.

The cares of
wealth.

Exchange
of lands
between
Lancaster
and
Warrenne.

Craft of
Hugh le
Despenser.

magna jactura et ignominia ab officio et dignitate repulsi sunt. Inter quos quidam clericus, inter officiales regis non minimus, de tyrannide quam exercuit ab ipsis specialibus domini regis accusatus et convictus, omni feodo laicali quod in regno possidebat est privatus. Insuper in auro et argento et varia suppellectili ad valorem xxx^m milium marcarum perdidit, quæ manus regia, utpote de bonis regis collecta, sibi confiscavit. O quanta cura in hiis adunandis prius impendit, et uno die vel uno momento valefecit! O fallax rerum copia quæ, cum possessorem suum felicem facere deberet, infelicissimum reddit, quæ nec eum, dormire nec saltem unam horam in gaudio consummare permittit. Nam sollicitudines et vigilie inimici sunt naturæ. Hoc est quod Ecclesiastes deplorando conqueritur; "Vide," inquit, "quod est sub sole et "quidem¹ frequens apud homines; vir cui dedit "[Deus] divitias, substantiam et honorem, et nichil "deest animæ ejus ex omnibus quæ desiderat; nec "tribuit ei Deus potestatem ut² ex eo comedat, sed "homo extraneus devorabat illud." Deinde addit Ecclesiastes et diffinit de talibus, dicens quod "melior³ illo est abortivus. Frustra enim venit, et pergit ad "tenebras, et oblivioni dabitur nomen ejus."

Eccles. vi.
1-3.

Inter comitem Lancastriæ et comitem de Warennæ facta est concordia per excambium quarundam terrarum, quas autem comes inperpetuum possidebit hereditate. Jacturam fecit ut evitaret majus³ periculum, quia de duobus malis minus malum est eligendum. Sic comes Lancastriæ adversarios suos ad satisfactionem reduxit caute; sed Hugonem Despenser adhuc pro libito superare non potuit. Hugo semper et caute quærit subterfugia ut redimat tempus et evitet pericula. Nam secundum relatum aliquorum jam adivit

¹ quidem] qui Deus, MS.

² ut] om. MS.

³ majus] marus, MS.

Sanctum Jacobum, quia timuit venire ad parliamen- A.D. 1319.
tum.

Post Pascha convenerunt¹ omnes magnates terræ cum domino rege apud Eboracum, et consilio facto consenserunt unanimiter in festo Sanctæ Mariæ Magdalensæ omnes apud Novum Castrum cum armis convenire, et extunc quod ad expeditionem belli pertinet, Deo dante, feliciter inchoare. Concesserunt etiam procures domino regi in subsidium guerræ suæ xviii^m denarium totius Angliæ.

May.
Parliament
at York.

Muster to
be at New-
castle on
July 22.

Hiis ita dispositis² misit dominus rex nuntios in Scotiam qui regnum peterent, pacem offerrent, et Roberto de Brutz vitam et membra sic salva permetterent. Sic enim decet regem facere, et pace repulsa hostes impetere. Sic etiam habuerunt filii Israelis in præceptis, ut, cum civitatem aliquam expugnarent, pacem prius offerrent, qua non admissa ad punnationem citanter rite procederent. Sic Græci post raptum Helenæ leguntur Trojanis pacem optulisse. Sic potens ille Nabugodonosor rex Assiriorum, antequam expugnaret exterarum nationes, petiit sub pace tributum. Respondit Robertus de Brutz se de pace regis Angliæ non multum curare; regnum Scotiæ suum esse et jure hereditario et jure belli ad se pertinere. Hiis titulis dicebat se munitum esse, protestans se nec debere nec velle aliquem superiorem vel dominum terrenum agnoscere.

Edward
offers peace
to the Scots,
and claims
the king-
dom.

Bruce
answers
that he does
not much
care for
peace.

Termino præfixo³ convenerunt rex apud Novum Castrum comites et barones. Aderat Thomas comes Lancastriæ, comes de Penbrok, comes de Arundel et comes de Herforde, comes de Warennæ et frater domini regis comes Marescallia. Affuit etiam Hugo Despensser, Rogerus Dammori et Hugo Daudeleye, et hii tres

July.
Muster at
Newcastle.

¹ The parliament sat at York from the 6th to the 26th of May 1319; Parl. Writs, II. i. 197, 210. B 1681.

² dispositis] depositis, MS.

³ July 22; Parl. Writs, II. i. 517.

A.D. 1319.
July.
The king
attracts a
force by
promising
spoil.

Volunteers
induced to
join.

Berwick
besieged
by land
and by sea.

September.
James
Douglas
plans to
carry off
the queen
from York-
shire.

vicecomites¹ Gloucestræ; hii tres enim tres sorores duxerant quæ, familiæ² iudicio, comitatum³ Gloucestræ inter se diviserant. Aderant etiam reliqui barones Angliæ, qui domino regi certum patrocinium tenentur conferre; et multa milia peditum similiter confluxerant; et omnes voluntarie eo quod dominus rex concesserat unicuique ad summam centum librarum sine restitutione quantum posset in bonis hostium occupare. Item concessit dominus rex nautis omnibus, ut scilicet a parte maris hostes viriliter impeterent, et de spoliis hostium quantum possent sua dominia amplificarent.⁴ Hæc utique concessio in deprædationem Scotorum voluntarios multos armavit, quia restitutio, quæ post concordiam frequenter fiebat, timenda non fuit.

Profectus inde dominus rex in Scotiam apud Berwyk cum toto exercitu primo pervenit, et hanc primam expungnationem de consilio fore decrevit, eo quod ultro recesserat ab imperio suo, et ne se ipsos exponerent periculo dum hostes invictos dimitterent a targo. Diffusus est igitur exercitus villam in circuitu a parte terrestri, et cœperunt contra eam munitiones et expungnacula properari. A parte vero maris nautæ qui⁵ præsumt Quinque Portibus ita observabant introitus et exitus⁶ ut nulli omnino pateret egressus.

Dum hæc aguntur in Scotia, nec videretur esse timendum ab hostibus in Anglia, Jacobus Douglas cum suis complicitibus, qui semper machinationibus fuit intentus, nisi Deus et Dominus omnium nobis præcavisset, magnam jacturam et dampnum inestimabile⁷ nobis intulisset. Nam juxta consilium Achitofel decem milia virorum sibi elegerat, et reginam Angliæ, ^{2 Sam. xv.} quæ juxta Eboracum morabatur, rapuisse decreverat.

¹ vicecomites] vices comites, MS.

² familiæ] famuliæ, MS.

³ comitatum] comitum, MS.

⁴ sua dominia amplificarent] suo domino amplificent, MS.

⁵ qui] quæ, MS.

⁶ exitus] exercitus, MS.

⁷ inestimabile] inestimabilem, MS.

Certe si capta fuisset tunc regina eredo quod pacem
emissset sibi Scotia. Sed dissipatum est consilium
proditoris Achitofel, nec passus est tantum discrimen
nobis inferri Deus Israel. Nam quadam die captus
est quidam explorator apud Eboracum; et, cum vidisset
se questionibus addictum, promisit, si daretur ei
poenam evadere, totam machinationem Scotorum re-
velare; et placuit pactum majoribus civitatis; erant
enim ibidem archiepiscopus Eboracensis et regis can-
cellarius episcopus tunc Eliensis. Explorator ille indi-
cavit quod inimicus noster Jacobus Douglas clam
venturus esset cum electa manu ad partes illas, ut
videlicet reginam abduceret et quos reperiret, impro-
vios simul occiderent.¹ "Tali," inquit, "die et tali
" loco latitabant, et, cum tempus acceperint ydoneum,
" propositum consummabunt." Vix erat qui dictis
adhiberet credentiam, eo quod dominus Angliæ terras
Scotorum vastare² jam inciperet, et magis videbatur
necessarium talem exercitum proprios fines defendere
quam extra propria loca per centum miliaria pungnam
appetere. Addidit autem explorator ille quod³ nisi
eventus rei dictis suis fidem afferret, capitalem poenam
libenter acciperet.

Tunc exierunt de civitate illa archiepiscopus et can-
cellarius, cum communi sequela sua, vicecomes et bur-
genses et eorum familiares, monachi et canonici et
ceteri regulares, necnon et omnes alii qui ad arma
ferenda inventi sunt habiles, reduxerunt reginam ad
civitatem; deinde per aquam reducta est apud Not-
yngham. Ibi fuit tutior locus reginæ, nec Jacobus
timendus nec ejus insidiæ.

Altera autem die qua juxta verbum exploratoris
reperiendi erant Scoti in suis latibulis, exierunt ite-
rum de civitate Eboracensi laici, clerici et religiosi.

A.D. 1319.
September.
His design
is betrayed
by a spy.

The spy's
story dis-
credited.

The queen
is sent to
Notting-
ham.

An army
of laymen
and clerks.

¹ occiderent] occiderent, MS.

² vastare] vastaret, MS.

³ quod] qui, MS.

A.D. 1319.
September.
Incautious
proceedings
of the
English
force.

Victory of
the Scots.

The siege
of Berwick
raised.

Suspicion
of treason.

Ibant igitur clam et sine tumultu, ut hostes impro-
visos invaderent, ne et ipsi præmuniti fugam forsân
arriperent. Verumptamen satis erant præmuniti, nec
tamen in fugam conversi. Nam cum homines nostros
inordinate venientes aspicerent, "Hii," inquit, "non
"bellatores sed venatores; non multum proficient."
Incenderunt autem Scoti fœnum multum quod erat
in loco illo congestum, et ascendit fumus late disper-
sus in cælum. Fumus¹ impediēbat visum nostrorum,
unde et quos credebant in fugam conversos invenerunt
paratos ad bellum. Erant quippe viri ex omni Scotia
electi ad præliandum apti, ad omnem laborem apti.
Nostri vero plures in re militari minus instructi, ad
fugandum quam ad præliandum magis intenti. Inito
igitur conflictu plures ex nostris perimuntur et multi
super capiuntur; sed et Scoti in Scotiam cum suis
captivis inlempnes revertuntur, etc.

Pervenit verbum ad regem Angliæ et ad exercitum
nostrum qui morabatur in obsidione, et statim nescio
quorum consilio derelicta est penitus obsidio. Rex
enim nitebatur obviare Scotis fugientibus per unam
semitam, et comes Lancastriæ per alteram. Scoti vero
felici usi² diplomate per alteram viam reversi sunt
in regionem suam. Sed quare derelicta est obsidio
tanto opere inchoata? Dicunt quidam quod Robertus
de Brutz habuit amicos. Certe David non evasisset
manus Saul, regis si non habuisset in familiaribus
amicos ejus. Inputatur comiti Lancastriæ quod rex
recessit de obsidione; inputatur etiam eidem quod
Scoti venerunt rapere reginam, et quod inimici regis
illæsi in patriam suam sunt reversi. Argumenta qua-
dam proditiōis publice proclamantur,³ unde comes et
sui sequaces enormiter diffamantur. Vulgariter enim
dicitur quod comes ille recepit a Roberto de Brutz

¹ Fumus] fug', MS.

² usi] visu, MS.

³ proclamantur] proclamatur,
MS.

xl. milia librarum ut sibi et suis occulte ferret auxilium, et quod in obsidione, dum omnes expugnarent murum, nullus ex privatis comitis fecit insultum, et villa de Berewyk dedita fuisset si cautela comitis nusquam repugnasset, et Jacobus Douglas revertens in Scotiam per exercitum comitis transibat. Comes autem inhermis per medium Scotorum ibat.

A.D. 1319.
September.
Story that
Lancaster
was bribed.

O comes Lancastriae, cujus sunt tantae divitiae, cur pro tanta summa pecuniae perdidisti famam et nomen constantiae? Utinam non fuisset illa pecunia pro qua fama tua periit et crevit infamia!¹ Magna est jactura in famae periculo, in cujus dispendio nulla est aestimatio, quia cum² semel laesionem patitur vix vel nunquam recuperatur. Certe, si totum thesaurum tuum in munera disperges, famam tuam pristinam nunquam revocares. O quantae laudis³ habebas praecones dum jugiter defenderes ordinationes! Favor populi in odium convertitur, et fama tua in infamiam commutatur. Sic licet Joab multa fortiter gessit, proditio in Abner et Amasam omnem laudem ejus denigravit.

Apostrophe
to the earl
of Lan-
caster.

O generese comes, cur non ad mentem revocas genus electum, regalem prosapiam tuam quam infamas! Cur non advertis, comes egregie, quantum sit crimen scelus perfidiae! Nam si facta eorum⁴ diversimode puniuntur, proditores tamen juste⁵ maxima poena plectuntur. Proprium enim proditorum est pessimum finem capere, et quis unquam talem transivit impune? Filotas quondam pugnator strenuus sub magno Alexandro, miles egregius, quia delationem proditoris triduo suppressit, ex decreto curiae sententiam proditoris accepit. Aeneas et ceteri Trojani,⁶ qui urbem suam inclitam prodiderunt, post mortem Priami

Historic
warnings
against
treason.

Case of
Philotas.

Case of
Aeneas.

¹ *infamia*] infamiam, MS.

² *cum*] tunc, MS.

³ *Quanta laudis*] Quantae laudes, MS.; Quantos laudis, Hearne.

⁴ *eorum*] Hearne suggests "ma-
lorum."

⁵ *juste*] injuste, MS.

⁶ *Trojani*] Trojam, MS.

A.D. 1319.
September.
Fatal
examples
of treason.

exules defecti Trojam reliquerunt. Veniamus ad exempla domestica. Thomas Torborvile, qui regem Angliæ prodidit in Francia, novam pœnam suam pertulit postmodum in Angliâ. Comes de Arselles, Symon Frysel, Willelmus Waleys, non quia Scoti fuerunt sed quia proditores, sententiam proditorum acceperunt. Quid itaque facies comes Lancastriæ? Si viam nefariam proponas incedere totus mundus insurget contra te nec pœnam debitam poteris evadere. Igitur vel labia dolosa de falso convincas vel mala opera tua in meliora cito convertas.

The vices
most unbecom-
ing to
the rich.

Inter cetera vitia duo sunt divitibus valde inconvenientia, cupiditas et fallacia cupiditatis socia. Ut quid enim cupit qui satis habundat, ut quid fallit qui alieno non eget? Revera pauperes et tenues, qui quæ necessaria sunt non habent, huiusmodi vitio laborare solent. Nam et in judiciis testimonium eorum solet reprobari, eo quod præsumitur tales facilius posse corrumpi. Sed nunc cupiditas ascensiones suas ita disposuit ut præ ceteris vitiis veraciter dicere possit "ego in sublimibus habito, et tronus meus in divitum consortio."²

Evil results
of avarice.

Sic igitur concurrunt et stant pariter simul in unum dives et pauper, nisi quod de paupere frequenter fit iudicium, sed contra injuriam divitis non est remedium. Heu multa mala inducit cupiditas, perjurium, homicidium, et machinationes innumeras. Hæc animam hominis venalem facit et de periculo animæ nichil curat, dum tamen id quod concupiscit acquirit.

Sad preva-
lence of
these evils.

Maledicta cupiditas, et ejus commercium, per quam caritas abiit et fides in exilium. Ecce comites et ceteri magnates terræ, qui de patrimonio suo satis possent decenter vivere, jam totum tempus suum computant pro nichilo, nisi patrimonium augeant in duplo

¹ qui] om. MS.

² The words are a parody on Ecclesiasticus, xxiv. 7. The whole

of these long speculations are intended to have rhythmical cadence and rhymed endings.

vel in triplo; unde vicinos pauperes ad venditionem paternarum rerum studiose sollicitant, et quos sic inducere non possunt multipliciter infestant, donec angustiat pro modico forsitan offerant quod pro magno prius vendidisse potuerant. Et, quia res concordat materiae, factum quoddam libet¹ apponere.

A.D. 1319.
The rich
buy up the
poor.

Erat quidam miles vir simplex et multae innocentiae sicut ex quodam ejus actu consueto potest apparere. Nam cum servos suos ex decreto ballivi contingeret quandoque pro transgressione facta puniri, solebat miles ille apud ballivum pro servis intercedere, et poenam inflictam frequenter remittere. Dicebat se ex rapinis et spoliis nolle vivere; magnum erat opus hoc misericordiae. Reliquit post se filios bene valentes quorum conversatio placens erat apud Dominum et homines. Venit autem magnus quidam et potens filius diaboli, minister Sathanæ, et pueros expulit a paterna hereditate. Illi vero non audentes querelam instituere, coacti sunt pro jure suo modicum accipere.

A story in
point.

Sed cum providentia Dei regatur mundus, ut creditur, cur subcumbit innocens et floret impius, cur non est sumpta vindicta de nocentibus? Sane hæc vetus querela magnos et sanctos² afflixit, sed et regis David animum quandoque concussit. Cum enim rex ille propheta pressuras justorum cerneret, et iniquos ad omnes vitæ hujus illecebras licentius evagari conspiceret, quærebat si utique esset fructus justorum, et esset Deus judicans iniquos in terra. "Mei," inquit, "pene moti sunt pedes, pene effusi sunt gressus mei, quia zelavi super iniquos, pacem peccatorum videns. In labore hominum non sunt, et cum hominibus non flagellantur. Ideo tenuit eos superbia; ecce ipsi peccatores habundantes in sæculo optinuerunt divitias. Et dixi, ergo sine causa justificavi cor meum et lavi inter innocentes manus meas, et fui flagel-

Of the
moral go-
vernment
of the world.

Ps. lxxiii. 2.
A. 5, 6, 13, 14.

¹ quoddam libet] Hearne read
his MS. "quod ubilibet."

² sanctos] querelam, ins. MS.

A.D. 1319.
How the
prosperity
of the
wicked is
to be ex-
plained.

"latus tota die." Tandem ad occulta Dei judicia descendens nodum questionis enucleat dicens; "verumptamen propter dolos posuisti eis, dejecisti eos dum allevarentur. Quomodo facti sunt in desolationem, subito defecerunt, perierunt propter iniquitatem suam." Manifeste igitur insinuat, qualiter divitiæ fallaces et proditoriae amatores suos decipiunt, et quos dolose erigunt cum dolore prosternunt. Beatus igitur Job in dolore et afflictione positus eandem querelam movet, et postea divinae dispensationis justitiam assignat: "Quare impii vivunt, sublevati sunt et confortati divitiis? Semen eorum permanet coram eis, domus eorum secure sunt et pacatae,¹ et non est virga Dei super eos;" et cetera prosequitur in hunc modum. Nunc divinae dispensationis iudicium: "Ducunt in bonis dies suos, et in puncto ad inferna descendunt." Ecce quomodo exaltati sunt sicut cedrus Libani, et dejecit eos consilium Altissimi. Divitiæ datæ sunt eis in laqueum, deliciae et voluptates in capturam. Super hac re similiter disputat Jeremias: "Quare," inquit, "via impiorum prosperatur, bene est omnibus qui male agunt et praevaricantur? Plantasti eos, radices miserunt, proficiunt et faciunt fructum." Et tandem suam mittit sententiam: "Congregabuntur," inquit, "in die occisionis quasi greges ad victimam." Quidam etiam poeta, dum de prosperitate impiorum conqueritur simile iudicium prosequitur. Ait enim, "Tolluntur in altum, ut lapsu graviore ruant." Ecce David et Job, Jeremias et poeta, eandem² instituunt querelam, quorum similia sunt iudicia et in unum consona dicta. Certe quia "non profertur cito contra malos sententia, absque ullo timore filii hominum petrant³ mala." Nunc autem duæ semitæ nobis exponuntur, una vitæ, altera interitus, et utriusque noti-

Ps. lxxvii.
18, 19.

Job. xii.
7, 8.

Job. xv. 13.

Jer. vi.
1, 2.

Claudian.
in Ruf. l. 2.

Eccles. viii.
11.

¹ *pacata*] *parata*, MS.

² *eandem*] *eadem*, MS.

³ *perpetrant*] *impetrant*, MS.

tiam habemus. Qui ergo salutis suae tam prodigus A.D. 1114.
exstiterit ut relictâ semita vitae viam interitus ma-
luerit incidere, sibi imputare debet qui potuit eligere.

Audiens autem comes Lancastriae sic nomen suum The earl of
diffamatum in populo, et quod publica vox et fama Lancaester
testimonium perhiberet de malo, accessit ad regem et offers to
dixit, "Scitis, domine, quod fueram cum omni reten- purge him-
" tione mea vobiscum in Scotia, et quod non modicos self by
" sumptus ibidem fecerim pro villa de Berewyk re- ordeal.
" cuperanda. Sed nunc imputatur per totum regnum
" quod res non successit nobis ad votum. Ego autem
" ora hominum obturare non possum, verumptamen
" ad arbitrium boni viri, et, si necesse fuerit, in ferro
" candenti¹ offero me purgaturum, vel, si appareat²
" accusator et velit se inscribere, offero³ me legitime
" innocentiam meam ostendere." Et videbatur oblatio
comitis iusta, eo quod sola fama laborabat, nec erat
transgressio manifesta. Admissa est igitur purgatio
comitis cum quadam⁴ manu parium. Sic spina in
lilium, rubigo in ferrum, et scoria redit⁵ in aurum, et
cetera.

Post hæc exegit novus rex Franciæ a rege Angliæ The king
homagium pro terra Vasconiæ; et, quia huiusmodi of France
servitium non nisi personaliter præstari potuit, rex de demands
consilio suo treugas biennales cum Scotis iniit, et sic homage of
in brevi transfretare disposuit. Displicuerunt treugæ Edward,
quibuscunque proceribus eo quod status domini regis who makes
videretur in hoc valde minoratus. Sane probabiliter a truce with
sentirent si onus quod regi incumbit caute declinarent. the Scots.
Sed nec lex nec ratio turpiter fieri præsumit quod
necessitas inevitabilis introducit. Legitur quod in
obsidionem Trojanam omnes fere mundi principes
convenerant; isti quidem exterioribus, illi vero ad

¹ in ferro candenti] in ferro ca-
denti, MS.

² appareat] apperiat, MS.

³ offero] offerro, MS.

⁴ quadam] Hearne's reading for
the qua of his MS., possibly it is
quarta or quinta.

⁵ redit] reddit, MS.

A.D. 1319.
The king's
policy in
granting
the truce.

auxilium præstandum obsessis. Sed nec hii nec isti erubescabant inducias petere cum oporteret morticina comburere. Porro non iniit rex treugas tantum quia transfretaturus erat, sed ut eo pacto ab infestatione suorum gens Scotorum desisteret, quos tempore hiemali præcipue vastare consueverat. Solebat enim rex annis præteritis per totam hiemem munire Marchiam custodibus, sed magis nocebat populo oppressio custodum¹ quam persecutio inimicorum. Scoti namque pro modico tributo Northanhimbrorum incolis ad tempus parcebant, sed hii qui ad tutelam præpositi videbantur cotidianæ exactioni jugiter vacabant. Præterea non potuit rex simul transfretare et exercitum ad bellum conducere: erat enim transfretaturus post Pascha, quando solent reges præparare conductum ad bella.

A.D. 1320.
January.
Council of
the barons
called at
York.
The earl of
Lancaster
refuses to
attend.

Vocavit² igitur dominus rex barones suos apud Eboracum ut de statu regni disponerent ante recessum suum. Comes autem Lancastriæ, sicut pluries, vocatus non venit. Non enim decebat habere parliamentum in cameris, ut dixit. Habebat namque regem et collaterales suos sibi suspectos, et ipsos non jam clam sed manifeste protestabatur inimicos suos. Sed nonne jam dudum erat omnis controversia et discordia sedata? Revera sic videbatur pluribus fuisse res gesta. Verum suspecta est pax inter magnates, ad quam non amore sed vi sublimes veniunt potestates. Dominus rex apud Berewyke cum firmata fuisset obsidio, et videbatur res expedienda pro nichilo, huiusmodi verba protulisse fertur: "Cum iniquus"³ "transierit iste tumultus, ad alia negotia manus convertemus. Nondum enim nobis excedit a memoria"⁴ fratri meo Petro illata quondam injuria;" et hoc quidem verbum comitem non latuit: unde nimi-

The king
suspected
of a pur-
pose of
revenge.

¹ *custodum quam*] *custodium*
quamque, MS.

² The barons were summoned to

meet at York on the 20th of January 1320.

³ *iniquus*] *iniqua*, MS.

⁴ *a memoria*] *ad memoriam*, MS.

rum de re apud Berewyk segnius intromisit, vel, si dicere fas sit, ipsam expeditionem forsan impedivit. Sic¹ Achilles iratus commilitonibus Græcorum fertur nocuisse, et ab armis suis diu propter votum abstinuisse. Non vitupero² comitem si sibi præcaveat, nec tamen laudo si fidem infringat.

A.D. 1202.
January.
The earl's caution.

Igitur quinto sextove die³ ante Nativitatem Sancti Johannis Baptistæ transfretavit dominus rex in Franciam, quem Deus pro sua pietate salvo custodiat et salvo reducat in Angliam. Precesserant autem regem frater ejus Edmundus, Bartholomæus Badesmere, et quidam alii pro quibusdam negotiis domini regis ad curiam Romanam profecturi. Eo tempore vacabat in Anglia sedes episcopalis Lyncolniensis, sed canonici ante recessum regis optenta licentia unanimiter consentiebant de electione pastoris, qui quidem, magister Antonius de Bek nominatus, fuit generosus et morigeratus, et magister erat theologiæ,⁴ ecclesiæ Lyncolniensi satis ydoneus, illius egregii Antonii de Bek quondam Dunelmensis episcopi et patriarchæ Jerosolimitani⁵ consanguineus. Habebat dictus Bartholomæus nepotem qui pro ætate industrius erat. Nondum enim xxv. annos attigerat. Procurante itaque Bartholomæo inductus est rex Angliæ supplicare domino papæ pro juvene, ut ad dictam sedem episcopalem dignaretur eum assumere. Rogabat et rex Franciæ, et Edmundus frater regis Angliæ, et laudabant juvenem omnes, personam ipsius apud dominum papam multipliciter recommendantes. Sic igitur dominus papa, tot et tantorum precibus sollicitatus, priorem electionem cassavit, et juvenem illum ecclesiæ Lyncolniensi præfecit. Mirabile quidem factum, quia contra legem et rationem⁶ actum:

June.
The king's visit to France.

Election of
Antony
Bek to the
see of Lin-
coln.

The king of
England and France
petition
for Henry
Burghers.

¹ Sic] Si, MS.

² vitupero] vituperio, MS.

³ The king sailed on the 19th of June, and returned on the 22nd of July; Fordern, ii. 428.

⁴ theologia] theologus, MS.

⁵ Jerosolimitanus] Jerosolimitanus, MS.

⁶ rationem] rationem, MS.

A.D. 1290.
Burghersh
was too
young to be
a bishop.

Promotion
of young
men a
modern
abuse.

Important
responsi-
bility of
dignity.

nec visum nec prius auditum ut tam juvenis præfice-
retur in episcopum: contra legem, cum nemo citra
xxx^{ta} annos de jure cathedram pastorem possit
ascendere, contra rationem quia nemo juvenes eligit
duces, eo quod non constat eos esse prudentes. Nam
et Salomon incertissimum reputat inter omnia incerta
viam adolescentis in juventute sua. Siquidem admi-
randa sæculo et ridiculosa¹ præsumptio, dum juvenis
pastorali locatur in solio. Juvenem contingit ad reg-
num sublimari, sed bene non congruit juvenes epi-
scopari, quia sanguis et natura attenditur in principe,
sed virtus et scientia requiritur in episcopo. In gre-
gibus et armentis aper, aries et taurus, corpore et
animositate præstantior, ceterorum erit minator et
ductor, sed inter rationales hic ordo non servatur.
Hodie enim quanto quis minus sapit, tanto audacius
melioribus ante eum² esse præsumit. Qui nichil
didicit aliorum doctor efficitur, et quasi æs sonans aut
cymbalum usurpat prædicationis officium, cum sit
cuneus inutilis et ydolum mutum. Nam episcopus
illiteratus præco est mutus. Apud veteres erat con-
ditio sapientum inæstimabiliter venerabilis. Hodie
vero prudentia tanquam vilis et abjecta calcatur; et
quadam abhominabili mutatione stultitia in sublimi
præponitur. Hoc est quod Ecclesiastes deplorando
conqueritur. "Vidi," inquit, "malum quod est sub
"sole, stultum in sublimi dignitate positum, et sapien-
"tes sedere deorsum." Eccles. i. 10.

Sacræ Scripturæ prorsus³ ex parte, onus importa-
bile dignitate usurpant de aliena potius quam de sua
scientia præsumentes. Erubescat doleatque prælatus
præesse populo nec prodesse; docentis officium as-
sumpsisse et in doctrina populi mutum esse. Talem

¹ *ridiculosa*] *rediculosa*, MS.

² *ante eum*] The MS. read "ante
"eum"; Hearne suggests ante-
cundum or anteferendum; pro-

bably the right word is *antece-
dere*.

³ *prorsus*] *prossus*, MS. But the
whole sentence is corrupt.

siquidem non præfert honestas sed cupiditas, non moralitas sed venalitas, non scientia sed pecunia, non meritum sed pretium, non electio sed ambitio, et, cum ad regimen plebis et ducatum populi præficiatur, timendum est ne relictæ terra promissionis, in servitutem incidat et in Ægyptum revertatur. Dignitatis equidem appetitus natione cælestis est, in cælo conceptus, a cælo dejectus, quando affectabat Lucifer ille a parte aquilonis cathedram erigere, collocari in excelsis et fieri similis Altissimo. Timendum est itaque miseris prælatis ne, dum cathedram erigunt ad aquilonem, id est dum indigne cathedram ascendunt pastorem, cum Lucifero præcipitentur in gehennam.

Isa. xiv.
13, 14.

A.D. 1288.
Reflections
on the un-
due pro-
motions of
prelates.

Quæ fronte, queso, præesse præsumit qui prodesse non novit? Nonne videretur insanus qui omnino navigationis ignarus in discrimine! tempestatis peritissimos nautas contempneret, ipse autem in suam et aliorum perniciem propter temeritatem magisterium navis usurparet? Sed nullus hodie ab onere pontificali se excusat; nullus invitatus trahitur aut reclamans.² Ubi hodie similis Amonio³ reperitur, qui cum ab omni populo ad pontificatus apicem peteretur, "Oculos meos," inquit, "effodiam, linguam⁴ per quam vobis placeo nisi me dimittatis abscidam." Certe cum ad eruditionem populi mitteret Dominus Jeremiam, quem sanctificaverat ex utero, suam imperfectionem propheta formidans, "A! A! A!" inquit, "Domine, ecce loqui nescio." Moises etiam, dum a Domino ad liberationem⁵ populi in Ægyptum destinatur, inpeditionem lingue prætextans alium mittendum humiliter imprecatur. Iecirco propter insufficientiam et cupiditatem pontificum translata est hodie archa Dei de Israel in Azotum, id est, a sanctitate in ignem con-

Historical
examples.

Jer. i. 6.

¹ *discrimine*] *discrimen*, MS.

² *reclamans*] *reclamas*, MS.

³ See Palled. Hist. Laus. c. 12.

⁴ *linguam*] *liguam*, MS.

⁵ *liberationem*] *obliterationem*,

MS.

A.D. 1230.
Scripture
warnings.

cupiscentiae, et de Azoto¹ transfertur in templum Dagon, id est, desolationis et tristitiae. Nam in Mattheo scriptum est, "Cum videritis abominationem² desolationis sedentem in templo, tunc vos prae-
"tibus et nutrientibus," ac si diceret, cum videritis ambitiosum, illiteratum³ et fatuum in ecclesia Dei praeminere, vos illis qui talibus praelatis coguntur sub-
jacere. Illi vero qui spem salutis conceperant, ex-
emplo⁴ talium suffocantur; qui⁵ vero vitae caelestis alimenta petebant nullo⁶ verbi Domini pabulo sus-
tentantur. "Parvuli," inquit propheta, "petierunt⁷ panem et non erat qui frangeret eia."

A.D. 1321.
Quarrel of
the younger
Despenser
with the
barons.

Post reversionem domini regis orta est magna discordia inter quosdam majores barones et Hugonem Despenser filium, domini regis camerarium. Hugo namque, qui primogenitam heredum Gloucestriae duxerat uxorem, et cui fere totum Glamorgan cesserat in partem, omni studio et tota mente terras vicinas⁸ dominio suo nitebatur amplificare,⁹ et primo castrum de Newport, quod Hugo de Audeleghe in partem accepit, fraudulenter¹⁰ intravit et tenuit; et castra quaedam, ex regia munificentia Rogero de Mortemer dudum collata, vehementer affectavit, et dominum regem ad repetitionem dictorum castrorum consequenter induxit.

Dispute
about New-
port, and
Gower.

Præterea terram de Gower, ex quibusdam causis in legibus Marchiae præjudicium exquisitis, fisco applicari censebat, pro eo quod Johannes Moubray in ipsam, cum de rege teneretur in capite, sine licentia regis ingressum fecerat; sed et dominus rex, qui votis Hugonis pro posse favebat, processum quendam in prædictum Johannem, et legi Marchiae præjudicialem, fieri discernebat. Obstabat¹¹ Johannes, obstabat et comes Herfor-

¹ Azoto] Azota, MS.

² illiteratum] illaratum, MS.

³ exemplo] exemplum, MS.

⁴ qui] quo, MS.

⁵ nullo] nulle, MS.

⁶ vicinas] vicinias, MS.

⁷ amplificare] amplicare, MS.

⁸ fraudulenter] fraudelenter, MS.

⁹ Obstabat] Ostabat, MS., in both places.

die, omnino propellens adversarios, deponit regi
ne novum legem, contra consuetudines¹ ab antiquis
consuetis et approbatis, inducit humiliter supplicantes.
Instabat Hugo Despenser pertinaciter dicens dominum
regem tam in Wallia quam in Anglia hac semper per-
rogativa gaudere, et nullum sine licentia regis ingre-
ssum² habere in finem quod de rege tenetur in
capite; et, si consuetudinem a quocunque fuerit attemp-
tatum, finem sic occupatum redigetur in finem.
Allegabant illi legem marchie et consuetudines qua
non licet infringere. Sprevit Hugo et consuetudi-
nes et legem Marchie, sed et licentiam talia allegante-
bus maiestatis violenter arguit.

1.2. MS.
Despenser,
consuetudines of the
law

Tanta contumacia licentibus affecti indignanter reos-
cerunt, et circumstantes in Wallia Hugonem Despenser
prosequendum, deponendum et penitus destruendum
communitate decernerunt. Hinc autem decreto princi-
paliter committentes et juramento stricti fuerunt sub-
scripti: Johannes de Mowbray, comes de Hereford
Hugo Dandeleve, et Rogerus de Clifford. Rogerus
Dandeleve, et inter alios Rogerus de Mortimer avan-
catus et natus. Isti venerunt cum multis aliis et
magna comitis Lancastrie cum cum illis. Quilibet³
inter eos Hugonem⁴ diffidat, quia contra singulos Hugo
deliquit: Johannes de Mowbray pro terra de Gower
quam supplere nititur Hugo Despenser: Hugo Dan-
deleve pro castro detento; comes de Hereford pro loco
suo; Rogerus de Clifford pro exheredatione nostra
quam Hugo procuravit in prejudicium ipsius: Rogerus
Dandeleve, ceteros comites Gloucestrie, invidiam suam
non potest diligere. Rogerus de Mortimer et Rogerus

Capitulum
of the
law
against
him

The signa-
ture of
Hugo Desp-
er

¹ consuetudines] consuetudines.

MS.

² ingressum] in ingressum, MS.

³ Hecce et Quibus in his MS.

and comites by conjecture; he
also gives Hugo as the reading of
the MS.

⁴ Hecce] Hugo, MS.

A.D. 1321.
Attitude of
Lancaster.

de Mortimer inimici facti sunt Hugoni Despenser quia unum spoliare disposuit et in utrumque mortem avi sui vindicare promisit. Comes Lancastrie notam infamiae, quam apud Berewyk pertulit, imputat Hugoni, quam vult vindicari cum tempus acceperit.

The barons
request the
king to dis-
miss the
younger
Hugh.

Igitur antequam rem in actum proferrent, mandarunt domino regi quatinus Hugonem Despenser a se dimitteret, aut electae custodiae ipsum committeret, ut¹ certo die iudicio sisti posset, quo ad sibi obicienda responderet; alioquin regem pro rege deinceps non haberent, sed homagium et fidelitatem et iusjurandum quodlibet regi praestitum penitus declinarent, et tanquam homines sine rege, sine rectore et sine iudice, pro defectu iustitiae in ultionem Hugonis propria auctoritate procederent, et vindictam qualem possent de malefactis tantorum malefactorum expeterent.

The king
takes the
castle of
S. Briavel
from Roger
Damory.

Indignatus² rex vehementer super mandato baronum versus Gloucestriam iter arripuit, et ultra progressus Rogero Damory, quia partem adversam sustinuit, castrum de Sancto Briavello cum libertate et pertinentiis statim abstulit, et terras Hugonis Daudeleye confiscari iussit, quia, ut rex asserit, contra iuramentum quod regi praestiterant baronibus adhæsit. Deinde cum propositum baronum sine forma praedicta suspendere non posset, cum suo Hugone semper a latere Londonias revertitur.

The barons
besiege and
and take
Newport
and other
castles.

Sed propositum baronum ulterius non differtur, nam castrum de Newport primitus obsidentes leviter capiunt, et Hugonem Daudeleye, prout ius dictabat, in possessionem mittunt. Cetera castella, quae Hugo Despenser tenebat in Wallia, modico labore barones occupant, nec custodes defendere nec Walenses, dominationem Hugonis execrantes, tuitionem inferre procurant. Erat

¹ ut] et, MS.

² Indignatus] Indignatur, MS.

A council met at Gloucester on the

5th of April; Parl. Writs, II. i. 231.

enim cum baronibus fortitudo copiosa armatorum occingenti et peditum multa milia; nec Hugo Despenser venerat defendere nec custodes indefensi poterant resistere. Quicquid¹ autem pretiosum in castris reperiunt econtra lege juris belli inter ipsos dividunt. Oves, boves et equos non dimittunt, sed quid quis toleret sine lite statuunt. Dignum namque judicant ut publicentur ejus per quem regnum et optimates regni graviter perturbantur.

A.D. 1321.
The castles are plundered.

Convenerunt autem incolae illius terrae ad barones quasi xxx^a milia hominum, dicentes: "Cesset indignatio vestra circa nos, dominationem Hugonis Despensers nunquam gratam habuimus, parati sumus unanimiter obedire mandatis vestris." Admissi sunt sub tali pacto, ut ab homagio Hugonis Despensers penitus discederent, ut eum pro domino nunquam agnoscerent, sed domino regi per omnia fideles existerent, et vero heredi pro loco et tempore debita servitia illaesa servarent; et haec omnia tactis sacrosanctis Evangeliiis et ore tenus appositis specialiter confirmarunt.

The men of the marches declare against Hugh le Despenser.

Post rem sic consummatam in Wallia, idem iudicium decreverunt barones exercendum in Anglia. Nam omnia bona Hugonis tam patris quam filii ubicunque reperta occuparunt, disperserunt, et publicarunt. Voluntas enim comitis Lancastriae fuit ut non solum insurgerent in filium, sed ut patrem cum filio mitterent in exterminium, quia antiquum odium erga patrem conceptum tempus vindictae non viderat acceptum. Et sic interim conjurati sunt barones marchiae cum comite Lancastriae in exilium Hugonis Despensers tam patris quam filii, in persecutionem eorum, in dampnationem, in perpetuam exheredationem. Igitur, sicut dixi, occupantur bona eorum, maneria spoliuntur, franguntur claustra ferarum, et, forsan quia Hugo pater olim a multis pro feris regiis injustam extorsit redemptionem,

The English property of the Despensers seized.

Punishment in kind.

¹ Quicquid] Quicquam, MS.

A.D. 1321. nunc in feris propriis, quas multum dilexit, patitur ultionem. Sic Pharo submergitur quia infantes submersit; sic frequenter¹ juste contingit ut quis puniatur in quo deliquit.

May. Cum audisset rex tantam feritatem baronum, convocatis² consiliariis suis [pro]posuit consilium. Erant quidam qui justum reputabant esse iudicium invadere et occupare castra baronum, ut exemplum quod ipsi præstiterant retorqueretur in caput eorum. Et huic quidem consilio dominus rex libenter acquievisset si consentaneos³ sufficientes habuisset. Alii vero sanioris consilii dissuadebant sic fieri. Dicebant enim ex huiusmodi processu nichil aliud evenire quam communem guerram suscitare, terram destruere, et ad perditionem regni properare. Consulebant autem ut rex barones ad parliamentum⁴ convocaret, et ibidem sicut decet querelas singulorum audiret, et eas secundum leges terminaret. Vocavit igitur barones ad parliamentum, ut intermiceret impetus eorum. Venerunt itaque ad parliamentum, sed cum maxima multitudine armatorum.

July. Videns autem rex propositum baronum, animadvertens petitiones eorum, et quod ad hoc tendebant omnimodo, ut exterminarent privatum suum, nitebatur differre negotium. Nolebant dilationem ferre magnates. Noluit rex audire barones, et ita per aliquot dies suspendebat rex petitiones eorum donec unanimiter omnes unum conformaverunt decretum, mandantes domino regi quatinus querelas eorum audiret et petitionibus eorum secundum justitiam satisfaceret, aut ab homagio suo penitus discederent et alium rectorem sibi præficerent qui justitiam omnibus faceret et collum nocen-

¹ sic frequenter] rep. MS.

² The council was summoned to meet at Oxford May 10, but afterwards called to Westminster for May 17; Parl. Writs, II. ii. 159.

³ consentaneos] concentaneos, MS.

⁴ The parliament was summoned on the 15th of May to meet at Westminster July 15, and sat until the 22nd of August; Parl. Writs, II. i. 234, 237.

tium et superborum humiliaret; et hoc quidem mandatum comes de Penbrok et alii magnates qui videbantur mediatores regi deferebant,¹ qui tamen cum baronibus et querelis eorum defendendis usque ad mortem iuramentum præstiterant.

A.D. 1221.
July.
Mediation
of the earl
of Pem-
broke.

Tunc comes Adomarus coram rege huiusmodi verba fertur protulisse. "Considera," inquit, "domine rex, "potentiam baronum; imminens adverte periculum; "nec frater nec soror te tibi debet esse carior. Noli "ergo pro aliquo vivente perdere regnum tuum. 'Al- "pibus ille perit qui plus se diligit ullum.' Nec "dicat dominus rex in contumeliam suam hæc a ba- "ronibus inchoata; sed, quia publice utile est ut "malis hominibus evacuetur patria, et ad hoc, domine "rex, præstitisti iuramentum in coronatione tua; ergo si "barones audieris potenter et gloriose regnare poteris; "sin autem, et a petitionibus eorum aures² avertis,³ "regnum forsitan et nos omnes consequenter amittes.⁴ "Conjurati enim sumus, quia paribus nostris contra- "dicere non possumus."

The earl's
advice to
the king, to
suffer the
Despensers
to be
banished.

Videns ergo rex quod vehementer irruerunt in eum, annuebat licet invitus petitionibus eorum. Tunc missus est ex parte regis archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, qui barones ad Westmonasterium convocaret, ubi coram rege convenirent, et quod ratio dictaret sine dilatione reportarent. Nec mora, congregatis omnibus apud Westmonasterium, perlectæ sunt coram rege querelæ eorum baronum et protinus adjectæ petitiones eorum, et quia nemo contradicere posset sequebatur conforme iudicium. Summam autem querelæ paucis verbis libet exprimere.

The barons
are assem-
bled and the
judgment
passed.

Arguebatur Hugo nimium cupidus et per hoc regi minus ydoneus; arguebatur malus consiliarius; argue-

Sum of the
complaints.

¹ *deferebant*] *differrebant*, MS.

² *aures*] *a nostris*, MS. Hearne inserts "et" and leaves "a nostris" as it stands.

³ *avertis*] *advertis*, MS.

⁴ *amittes*] *amittis*, MS.

A.D. 1321. Charges against the Despensers. batur conspirator et falsus; arguebatur destructor¹ populi, exheredator coronæ, inimicus regis et regni. Hæc omnia contra Hugonem barones allegabant, et super hiis tam patrem quam filium constanter accusabant. Non erat qui patrem vel filium defenderet, non erat qui pro ipsis contra barones disputaret.

Judgment and sentence. Tunc in conspectu domini regis, prælatorum, comitum et baronum, prolatum est iudicium in Hugonem Despenser patrem et filium. Nam uterque tanquam malus et falsus domini regis consiliarius, tanquam seductor et conspirator vel exheredator coronæ et destructor populi, et inimicus regis et regni, condemnatur, proscribitur et exheredatur; et super hoc editum est statutum, ut iudicium, tanta auctoritate firmatum, nullum revocetur in ævum.

Its severity justified by the conduct of the elder Despenser. Ecce duo viri inter magnates terræ, et ipsius regis speciales nuper præcipui, natale solum et solium deseruerunt licet inviti. Res miranda quia tam subita; subitas enim mutationes odit et miratur natura. Revera iudicio multorum juste accidit eis hoc infortunium. Pater namque ferus et cupidus olim multis nocuit, et excommunicationes multorum promeruit. Cum enim esset justitiarius de foresta multos accusavit de venatione regia, multos nequiter exheredavit, quosdam in exilium compulit, iniquas redemptiones a pluribus extorsit, mille libratas terræ per concussionem adunavit, et ecce! manum Dei vel corrigentem vel provenientem jam sensit. Communi vero iudicio juste perdidit quod per jacturam aliorum prius congrégavit. Sed nonne legitur in sacris scripturis: "Filius Exek. viii. 20. non portabit iniquitatem patris"?

The case of Hugh the son.

Ad hoc videntur respondere, videlicet quod commoditas iniquitatis paternæ ad filium debuit devenire; justum fuit ut paternum vitium communiter redundaret in filium. Sed et secundum quosdam malitia

¹ destructor] distructor, MS.

fili praeponderabat¹ paternae severitati. Nam de regio favore confusus omnia pro imperio agebat, omnia capitalat, nulli nec alicui quantumcunque auctoritatis deferebat, coheredibus suis moliebatur insidias; sic, si fieri posset, per occasiones fictas uterque partem suam amitteret, et ipse solus solidum comitatum optineret. Ipsi vero, auxilio freti baronum, malitiae ejus occurrerunt. Nam et patrem et filium simul in exilium agitarunt. Verumptamen iudicio fidedignorum barones in persecutione sua excesserunt modum. Nam, si causas exilii justas invenerunt, bona tamen eorum non

A.D. 1221.
His usurpations and aggressions.

The barons were incautious in their prosecution.

juste occuparunt. Quare maneria eorum destruxerunt, quamobrem a familiaribus² redemptiones extorserunt? Si justam causam prius habuerunt, jus et injuriam modo converterunt. Sic Saul dum percussit Amalec Deo placuit, sed, postquam ad praedam versus armentis pepercit et gregibus, Deo displicuit, quia quod non debuit perpetravit. Cartas autem remissionis quas a rege barones impetrarunt³ non sicut decuit exegerunt, et ideo commodo earum⁴ postmodum caruerunt. Sic Babilonii induxerunt regem invitum, ut Daniele mitteret in lacum leonum, et, quia hoc injuste fecerunt, poenam condignam postmodum pertulerunt.

The pardon of the prosecutors was useless.

Hiis itaque gestis Hugo pater transmarinas partes se transtulit; Hugo vero filius in mari remansit, quem dominus rex tutelae nautarum de portibus obnix commendarat. Et factus est Hugo belua marina insidians mercatoribus qui transibant. Maria occupavit, merces eorum et cetera bona, et nulla navis transibat intacta, sed in grandem navem Januensem quam vulgo appellant⁵ dromonem invasit, et nautis peremptis infinita bona quae navi inerant⁶ ad suos usus sequestravit.

The elder Hugh goes abroad, the younger goes to sea

Raid of a Genoese dromond.

1 Sam. xv.
16.

Dan. vi. 10.

¹ *praeponderabat*] *praeponderabat*, MS.

² *familiaribus*] *familiaribus*, MS.

³ *impetrarunt*] *impetravit*, MS.

⁴ *earum*] *eorum*, MS.

⁵ *appellant*] *appellat*, MS.

⁶ *inerant*] *inerant*, MS.

A.D. 1321.
The king
determines
to attack
the enemies
of the
Despensers.

Interim dominus rex magnates illos, qui Hugonem in exilium compulerant, expugnare decrevit, pro eo quod castella exulantium occupaverant, et maneria exulantium tam patris quam filii turpiter destruxerant; et quia bona exulum, quæ fisco magis applicari debuerant, in suos usus sumpserant et consumpserant; et licet dominus rex hujusmodi transgressionem diceretur remisisse, et unicuique cartam concessisse, dicebat tamen et protestabatur se invitum hoc fecisse et voluntatem coactam nullam esse.

October.
He takes
Leeds castle.

Igitur dominus rex Bartholomæum de Badelesmere primitus expugnavit, et castrum ipsius apud Ledes personaliter obsedit. Tunc congregati sunt majores de Marchia ut¹ succursum obsessis præstarent, sed prohibitio comitis Lancastriæ fecit quominus auxilium promissum inferrent. Comes enim dictum Bartholomæum odio habuit, et plures transgressionem sibi imposuit, ob quas vel carcere perpetuo vel saltem exilio dignum fore decrevit; et sic obsessi in castro succursu caruerunt, unde et non valentes resistere castrum reddiderunt. Reperit autem rex infra castrum prædones, homicidas et proditores; et hos quidem protrahi iussit, illos suspendit et reliquos carceri mancipavit.

Punishment
of the
defenders.

Voluit enim rex exemplum aliis præbere, ut nullus de cetero audeat contra eum munitiones tenere. Sicut enim nullus potest in terra castra sine regis licentia construere, ita nec fas est contra regem in regno castra defendere.

He seizes
the castles
of Badles-
mere, Here-
ford, Dam-
mory, and
Audley.

Deinde misit rex manus et occupavit cetera castra Bartholomæi, et comitis Herfordiæ, Rogeri Dammory et Hugonis de Andeleye; nec inventi sunt aliqui resistentes, quia ultio sumpta de hiis apud Ledes vehementer terruit omnes. Extendit etiam rex manus ad maneria baronum qui Hugonis procuraverant exilium, et bona eorum occupavit; sed et omnes adhærentes eis et eorum fautores universos deprædavit.

¹ ut] om. MS.

Cum igitur occupasset rex munitiones baronum a parte orientali, idem disposuit faciendum in parte occidentali. Tunc congregavit exercitum copiosum iturus in Marchiam ut magnates expugnaret qui occupabant partem illam. Ibi enim fuit tutissimum refugium baronum, et regi sine manu valida difficile penetrandum.

A.D. 1221.
The king marches into the west.

Convenerunt autem in auxilium domini regis duo fratres sui, videlicet Thomas comes Marecallus et Edmundus comes Cantie, pro setate strenui. Sed et comes de Penbrok divertebat se ad partem regis eo quod comes Lancastrie imposuerat se prodicionis. Expertus erat comes Lancastrie, ut dixit, hominem illum infidum et varium, et baronibus indixerat auxilium ejus repudiandum.

He is joined by his brothers and the earl of Pembroke.

Eratque cum rege comes de Arundel propter affinitatem Hugonis Despenser; comes de Warennia et comes de Rychmund adhaeserunt domino regi, et alii barones potentes et multi. Isti promiserunt domino regi auxilium præstare et injuriam sibi illatam pro posse vindicare. Robertus le Ewer, qui alio modo dicitur Aquarius, erat dux peditum, et Fulco filius Warini militie conduxit exercitum.

the earls of Arundel, Warennia, and Richmond.

Robertus le Ewer nomen sumpsit a re, quia in aula regis aquam solebat ministrare. Fulco filius Warini, qui nunc militat, nomen et cognomen antecessorum suorum portat. Nam Fulco filius Warini primus in diebus regis Johannis miles fuit famosus, cui successit Fulco secundus, homo remissus et tepidus. Successit isti¹ Fulco tertius, miles fortis et strenuus et in Hispania contra paganos pluries expertus. Sic frequenter evenit quod post probum improbus et e contra succedit; et talis genealogia² ratione forte non caret. Nam probitas viri per comparisonem lucide apparet.

Robert le Ewer and Fulk Fitzwarin.

Rom. ix. 21. Sic figulus juxta artem suam quædam vasa ad hono-

¹ isti] iste, MS.

| ² genealogia] geneologia, MS.

A.D. 1321. rem, quædam componit ad contumeliam, ut hæc quæ facit ad honorem comparatione deteriorum majorem habeant decorem.

The king keeps Christmas at Cirencester.

A.D. 1322. The barons oppose his crossing the Severn.

Bridgenorth burned.

The Mortimers allow him to pass at Shrewsbury, and surrender.

The king upbraids the bishop of Hereford.

Igitur dominus rex cum exercitu suo versus Cyrencestriam¹ iter arripuit, et ibidem propter Natale Domini per aliquot dies perhendinavit. Barones autem præoccupaverant Gloucestriam; quamobrem rex divertebat Wygorniam, nec ibidem transivit Sabrinam quia barones ex parte adversa custodiebant ripam. Præmisit quoque rex apud Bruggenorthe viros armatos et pedites qui præpararent transitum suum. Restiterunt domini de Mortimer necnon et gravem ei fecerunt insultum. Nam magnam partem villæ incenderunt, et de servis regis plurimos occiderunt. Reliquit autem rex villam ad sinistram, et sic adivit ad Salopiam, ut ibidem transiret in Marchiam. Poterant ad hæc barones si voluissent cursum regis impedisse; sed domini de Mortimer noluerunt ulterius consentire, eo quod juxta placitos dies non venit comes Lancastriæ: timebant enim aliquid magnum aggredi sine comite. Iccirco sine comite noluerunt domino regi amplius resistere. Unde videntes quod comes non succurreret in articulo necessitatis, relictis sociis, reddiderunt se voluntati domini regis. Reliqui vero comites² vehementer attoniti comitem Lancastriæ adierunt, et ea quæ sic gesta erant in lacrymis narraverunt. Comes autem in protectionem suam omnes recepit, et pro communi querela defendenda sub jurejurando auxilium promisit.

Rex igitur, relicta Salopia, in Marchiam transivit, et quia nemo restitit omnia castella faciliter occupavit. Veniensque rex apud Herfordiam episcopum loci acriter increpavit, eo quod contra naturalem dominum

¹ The king was at Cirencester at Christmas; on the 2nd of January at Worcester; Jan. 9 at Droitwich; Jan. 13 at Newport; Jan.

15-24 at Shrewsbury; Feb. 6 at Gloucester.

² Reliqui vero comites] relegi vero comitis, MS.

suum barones sustinuit, unde et plurima bona ipsius A.D. 1222.
February.
in ultionem confiscavit.

Deinde rediit rex apud Gloucestriam, et Mauricium Maurice
Berkeley
surrendered
de Berkelee recepit in gratiam suam. Jussit eum
nihilominus in custodiam mitti et castrum de Berkelee
cum omnibus bonis suis pariter confiscari. Exinde The Mort-
imers went to
the Tower.
misit rex illos de Mortymer ad Turrim Londoniarum
ut ibidem remanerent, ne forte prioris facti poeniten-
tes ad socios suos barones resilirent.

Dum autem rex moram faceret in villa Gloucestriae, A knight of
Hereford-
shire
hanged.
oblatus est quidam miles de partibus Herfordiae, et
notificatum est regi quod miles ille officium vicecomi-
tis gesserat, et nihilominus cum baronibus equitaverat,
et quod, in illa secta quam barones dabant militibus
pro notitia, in contumelia regis placita comitatus tenu-
erat. Unde decretum est militem illum tanquam pro-
ditorem fore puniendum; sed rex ex gratia poenam
proditorum remisit, sed suspendendum fore decrevit,
et suspensus est miles ille in secta praedicta, ut¹ sicut
patebat poena pateret et causa.

Eodem tempore venit Andreas de Herkelee miles de Andrew
Harvey
urges the
king to go
into the
North,
against the
Scots.
partibus borealibus ad regem dicens; "Ecce, domine,
" treugae Scotorum jam finitae, Robertus de Brutz fines
" Anglorum invasa incendit, depredatur et caedit.
" Non est qui populum defendit, non est qui pro po-
" pulo se murum apponit. Idcirco, domine mi rex,
" bonum esset, aliis negotiis postpositis,² populo oppresso
" primitas succurrere, qui sine auxilio regis sui saevi-
" tia³ Scotorum non possunt resistere." Respondit
rex: "Scias," inquit, "Andreas, pro certo, quod si michi
" Robertus de Brutz immineret a tergo, et homines
" meos, qui tot et tanta enormia michi intulerunt, a
" fronte conspicerem, proditores illos invaderem, et
" Robertum de Brutz impersecutum dimitterem. Nimi-

¹ et] et, MS.

² postpositis] postpositis, MS.

³ saevitia] saevite, MS.

A.D. 1321.

The king insists that the rebels must be put down first.

"rum¹ si Scoti, qui nullo vinculo² michi tenentur
 "obnoxii,³ regnum meum invadunt, cum hii, qui
 "fidelitate et homagio michi tenentur astricti, contra
 "me insurgunt, homines meos spoliant et villas in-
 "cendunt; si dominum expugnanti servi, quanto magis
 "extraneus? Sic ait David rex cum persequeretur
 "eum Absolon et malediceret ei Semei: 'Ecce,' inquit,⁴ Sam. vii.
 "filius meus quaerit animam meam; quanto magis
 "hic filius Jemini⁵ maledicit michi; et non permisit
 "aliquem nocere ei."

He sends
Harcley
back to the
North;and collects
a larger
force against
the barons.

Dixit autem rex ad militem: "Revertere ad partes
 "tuas et serva munitiones tibi commissas; ego vero
 "persequar proditores meos ubicunque se convertant,
 "et non revertar donec deficiant." Jussit itaque
 dominus rex viros fortes et armatos et pedites ex
 singulis comitatibus congregari, et copiosum exercitum
 ad inimicos debellandum festinanter adunari. Inimicos
 suos omnes appellat quos pars baronum secum sustentat,
 sicut scriptum est "Qui non est mecum contra me
 "est." Iccirco bis vel ter proclamari fecit solempniter
 quod omnes hii qui ad partem baronum diverterant⁶
 infra certum diem ad pacem regis redirent; alioquin⁷
 velut hostes publici regi puniendi sine spe redeundi
 extunc remanerent.

The two
Despensers
return to
England.Violence of
the barons.

Circa idem tempus Hugo Despenser pater et filius
 reversi sunt ab exilio, eo quod reconciliatio eorum et
 pax nutu regio proclamata foret in regno. Redierunt,
 inquam, in Angliam quia rex novit eos exulasso per
 invidiam. Poterant adhuc barones ad pacem venisse,
 veniam et misericordiam regis forsitan impetrasse, sed
 modo quicquid agunt aut machinantur in confusionem
 et dampnationem totaliter operantur. Nam, de protec-
 tione comitis Lancastriae nimis elati, resistentes caedunt,
 patientes spoliant, nec parcunt alicui, et ad majorem

¹ obnoxii] obnoxi, MS.² Jemini] Genui, MS.³ diverterant] divertant, MS.⁴ alioquin] aliquin, MS.

dampnationem suam castrum ipsius regis apud Tykhulle
invadunt, et ad captiorem castri toto nisu licet in-
cassum laborant.

A.D. 1152.
They be-
sieve Tick-
mill.

Dominus rex nimirum super hiis vehementer cor-
motus apud Coventriam iter arripuit, et ibidem
exercitum venturum per aliquot dies expectavit.
Exinde conduxit exercitum usque ad magnum fluvium
qui dicitur Trente. Est autem ibidem pons magnus
qui viam prebet transeuntibus. Præmisit quoque rex
ad pontem cuneum fortem armatorum et peditum,
scire volens an¹ aliquis impediret transitum suum.
Venerat autem comes Lancastrie cum omni sequela
sua in villam de Burghtone ex parte alia.

The king
collects
troops at
Coventry
and proceeds
towards
the Trent.

The earl of
Lancaster
at Burton.

Cumque jam fuisset compertum quod rex disposuit
transire fluvium, misit comes viros fortes armatos et
pedites qui pontem defenderent. Verum cum per tres
pluresve dies inter se partes dimicassent, ac ad eun-
dem conflictum in crastinum rediissent, reperit rex,
vadum superius, ubi transit ipse et reliqua pars exer-
citus. Audientes itaque barones et jam videntes quod
rex flumen transisset, pontem reliquerunt, equos ascen-
derunt et fugam inierunt. Sed quare fugit comes
Lancastrie qui totiens solebat regi resistere, præcipue
cum haberet secum comitem Herfordie et clariorem
militiam totius Angliæ? Revera magna erat nunc
manus regis et valida. Habebat enim circiter omnibus
numeratis trecenta milia numero.

The king
crosses the
Trent.

The earl of
Lancaster
flies north-
wards.

Mandaverat comes Roberto de Hoyland, quem præ-
posuerat² gasis suis, quatinus exercitum conduceret
de viris fortissimis, et certum diem veniendi statuit;
sed præfixo die Robertus non venit, immo prævarica-
tor in causa domini sui reddidit se domino regi;
unde comitis sequaces auxilium parum abesse videntes
pontem reliquerunt, equos ascenderunt, [et fulge[runt].³

Robert
Holtend, an
officer of
the earl's,
deserts to
the king.

¹ an] ant, MS.; utrum, Hume.

² præposuerat] præposuerat, MS.

³ et fulge[runt] Hume suggests

"diligenter;" only the two letters

"ge" seem to have been legible in

the MS.

A.D. 1322.
March.
Totbury and
Kenilworth
taken.

Roger
Dammory
captured.
His death.

Lancaster
and Here-
ford fly to
Ponfret and
thence
northwards.

Andrew
Harclay
meets them
at Borough-
bridge.

Persequebatur rex fugientes usque ad castrum de Totbury,¹ quod erat comitis Lancastriæ, invenitque rex januas apertas, eo quod post fugam comitis nullus audebat resistere. Sed et custos castri de Keneleworth,² audita fuga comitis, reddidit statim castrum in manus vicecomitis. Repperit autem rex apud Totbury Rogerum Dammori in extremis laborantem; erat enim infirmitas ad mortem, quia non vixit ultra tertium diem; et bene quidem et honeste sibi contigit quod ad finem desolatum cum sociis non duravit. Iste Rogerus olim pauper miles et tenuis ob industriam et probitatem suam factus est regis specialis, quamobrem dedit ei rex neptem suam in uxorem, et de comitatu Gloucestriæ quæ continebat eam tertiam partem; sed quia cum baronibus contra regem tenuit, notam ingratitudinis a multis reportavit.

Comes igitur Lancastriæ et comes Herfordiæ, cum omnibus sibi adherentibus, in fugam conversi, ad Pountfreit pervenerunt. Ibidem aliquantam moram facientes, tandem diffinito consilio versus Scotiam iter arripuerunt. In Scotiam sperabant habere confugium, quia Robertus de Brutz, ut dictum erat, contra regem promiserat auxilium.

Cumque apud Borbrigge venissent ut ibidem saltem una nocte requiescerent, ecce Andreas de Herkelee miles strenuus,³ cui jam de fuga comitis innotuerat, qui etiam progressum⁴ ejus et propositum plenius exploraverat, quasi cum quatuor milibus virorum venerat quos ad locum illum repente conduxerat. Audientes autem comites, qui erant infra villam quasi jam hospitati, quod venerat Andreas et sui sequaces ad expugnandum eos totaliter, exierunt villam bipertito⁵ cum adversariis congressuri. Comes Herfordiæ cum suis armatis per pontem transivit, sed nullus

¹ Totbury] The king was at Totbury March 11-13.

² Kenelworth] Kneleworth, MS.

³ strenuus] strenuis, MS.

⁴ progressum] progressu, MS.

⁵ bipertito] bipertitam, H.

eorum equum accendit. Erat enim pons strictus, nec
viam equitibus ad bellum procedentibus praebe-
re potuit. Comes Lancastrie cum suis militibus ad vadum
fluminis viam arripuit. Sed Andreas de Herkebye,
tanquam miles providus, ad utramque exitum concum
armatorum sequenter statuit. Comes Herfordiae partem
adversam primis aggreditur; decerto male vulne-
ratus tandem occiditur. Tres vel quatuor milites in
ipso certamine cum comite perierunt. Rogerus de
Clifford et alii quamplurimi male vulnerati ad villam
redierunt. Alii vero, dum vadum transire nitentur, ab
ymbre sagittarum minere¹ atteruntur; sed post mor-
tem comitis Herfordiae sua virtus tepuit militiae, et
statim revertuntur. Pepigit autem comes Lancastrie
cum Andrea de Herkeloe de treuga et pace servanda
usque in crastinum; et hoc facto rediit unusquisque
ad hospitium suum. Ipse vero nocte viciniorum Ebo-
raci cum magna cohorte venerat inimicos regis inva-
dere; cujus auxilio fretus² Andreas de Herkeloe villam
intravit summo mane, et cepit comitem Lancastrie
et omnes pene reliquos milites et scutarios sine vul-
nere, et perducens Eboracum reclusit in carcerem.
Quidam³ equos reliquerunt, et eruentes arma sua
veteres attritas vestes quæsierunt sibi, et more men-
dicantium viam inceserunt. Sed cautela non profuit,
nam nec unus quidem sanos ex omnibus evasit.

O monstrum! videre viros purpura et hiso nuper
indutos nunc attritis vestibus incedere, et victos in
compedibus recludi sub carcere! Res miranda et cer-
nuta Dei et auxilio promota, quod tam rara manu
subito superatur tanta militia. Pars⁴ enim comitis
numero armatorum partem persequentium excessit in
septuplum. Capti sunt enim cum comite Lancastrie

¹ minere] unum, MS. This is un-
intelligible; Hume proposes "un-
que" or "unquæque".

² fretus] factus, MS.

³ Quidam] Hume reads "Evi-
dent," and supposes this to be
equivalent to "at evincent."

⁴ Pars] Part, MS.

A.D. 1141.
March.
Battle of
Herkebye.

Herford
killed.

A truce
taken until
the next
day.

The earl of
Lancaster
taken and
sent to
York.

A wonder-
ful con-
templation.

A.D. 1322.
March.
Number of
prisoners.

There must
have been a
panic.

The earl
brought
before the
king at
Pomfret.

He is tried
and con-
demned.

The judges
refuse to
hear him.

et ceteris baronibus milites valentes centum et amplius. Sed et scutariorum non minus¹ valentium multo majorem credo fuisse numerum. Quare igitur non restitissent et pro salute sua viriliter dimicassent? Revera cor delinquentium semper est pavidum et ideo minus valens ad negotium. Videbant totam patriam a fronte excitatam, et per hoc viam eorum impeditam. Sciebant a tergo imminere regis exercitum, et propter hoc cursum retrogradum non esse securum. Unde quasi homines non habentes consilium nec etiam tempus ad deliberandum, inciderunt in manus inimicorum, etc.

Quarto quintove die post captionem comitis Lancastrie veniens rex apud Pontfret jussit adduci comitem sine dilatione, et statim jussu regis adducitur, et in quadam nova turri per noctem illam² recluditur. Fertur comes turrin illam noviter construxisse, et regem captum in ipsa recludendum perpetuum decrevisse, sed et leonem more Lombardorum principem constituisse. Hæc erat fama vulgaris, sed non audivi testem veritatis.

In crastinum producitur comes in aulam coram justitiariis assignatis, et singillatim species transgressionis, ac pro quolibet articulo adicitur poena specialis, videlicet, ut primo protraheretur, deinde suspenderetur, ac postremo capite truncaretur. Sed ob reverentiam regii sanguinis poena protractionis est remissa, suspensio suspensa, sed poena pro omnibus decreta. At comes, volens se in aliquibus excusare, nitebatur quædam statim allegare; sed justitarii noluerunt ipsum audire quia verba dampnatorum sicut nec nocent nec possunt proficere. Tunc ait comes: "Fortis est hæc curia, et major imperio, ubi non auditur responsio nec aliqua admittitur excusatio."

¹ minus] unus, MS.

² illam] illa, MS. The king was at Pomfret March 22-30.

O spectaculum! videre comitem Lancastriae, qui nuper erat terror totius patriae, in castro proprio et domo ^{A.D. 1321.} ^{March.} ^{He is be-headed.} iudicium recipere. Deinde educitur comes extra castrum, et ascendens quoddam vile jumentum conductus est ad capitolium. Tunc comes quasi orando caput extendit, et spiculator bis vel ter percutiens caput amputavit. Et haec acta sunt mense Martii anno regni quintodecimo.

O comes Lancastriae: ubi est dominatio tua, ubi sunt divitiae tuae, quibus sperabas omnes subicere et nullum ^{Violent} ^{deeds bring} ^{their own} ^{punishment.} contra te posse resistere? Si in primæva fide perdurasses, ad desolatum nequaquam pervenisses. Si Sampson in cantela et Salomon in devotione perstissent, nec hic viribus nec ille sapientia privatus fuisset. Forte latens causa, non præsens sed præterita, comitem punivit. Comes Lancastriae caput Petri de Gavestone olim abstulit, et nunc jussu regis comes Lancastriae caput perdidit. Sic vicem pro vice, forsitan non injuste, comes reportavit, sicut scriptum est in ^{8. Luke, vi.} ^{32.} sacris litteris: "Eadem mensura qua mensi fueritis remetiatur vobis." Sic Abner occidit Asahel percutiens in ^{2 Sam. ii. 23.} ^{inguine,}¹ sed Abner non evasit; nam postea interiit consimili vulnere. Sic in principio Judicium cepit Judas regem Bezel et vinxit captivum, ac summitates manuum ejus præscidit et pedum. Tunc ait ^{Judges i. 67.} rex ille captus, "Merito fecit hoc michi Dominus, ego enim lxx. reges in bello ceperam et omnes hac

[Desunt sex folia.]

tempore comes Wyntoniensis, licentiatus a rege ad ^{A.D. 1323.} partes australes se transtulit ut maneria sua visitaret. ^{Hugh le} ^{Despenser} ^{visits his} ^{manors.} quia post destructionem jam dudum non vidit. Cum audis loqui de comite Wyntoniensi, intellige de Hugone Despenser seniore.

¹ *inguine*] igne, MS.

A.D. 1323.
Robert le
Ewer visits
the manors
of Hugh le
Despenser,
and spends
his money.

Accessit itaque Robertus Lewer ad maneria comitis Wyntoniensis, et cepit ibidem victualia et alia necessaria pro sua voluntate. Visitavit etiam maneria Henrici Thyveys et Warini de Insula, comiti Wyntoniensi post dampnationem eorum a rege collata. Et ibidem dominus Robertus elemosinarum nomine¹ pro animabus dictorum baronum fecit magnam distributionem pauperibus. Ex hoc tamen parum promeruit, quia² non quid fiat sed quo animo Deus attendit. Non potest dici elemosina quæ fit ex furto vel rapina. Nam, sicut dicitur alibi, species furti ex bonis alterius invito domino quicquam largiri.

Hugh pre-
pares to
defend him-
self at
Windsor.

Audiens autem comes Wyntoniensis quod venisset Robertus eum comprehendere, intravit castrum de Wyndelsore, et fecit fieri excubias die et nocte, donec congregasset virtutem sufficientem ad excipiendum Robertum et comitivam suam. Venit etiam in auxilium ejus comes Cantiae missus a latere regis. Sic ergo Robertus caruit proposito suo, et sui cotidie divertebant ab eo. Cumque videret jam aliud subsidium nullum superesse, veniens clam apud Hamptone super mare, cogitavit ibidem cum uxore sua transfretare. Sed omnibus incolis facie notissimus, utpote apud illos diu conversatus, latere non potuit. Quodam³ die comprehensum in urbe minister regis in carcerem detrusit. Productus vero coram justitiariis, interrogatus et accusatus in multis, nichil respondit.

Robert le
Ewer de-
serted by
his men, and
arrested.

He refuses
to plead,
and is sub-
jected to
"peine forte
et dure."

Quem discretio judicum ad peragendam sententiam suam in carcerem retorsit. Poena siquidem, scienter obmutescantibus debita, talis per regnum usitata. Sed debit incarceration in area frigida et nuda captivus, unica sola et tenuissima veste velatus, tanto pondere ferri quantum miserum corpus ferre valuerit oppressus.

¹ *elemosinarum nomine*] Hearne reads "*elemosinarius nam*," which is unintelligible.

² *quia*] *que*. MS.

³ *Quodam*] *Quædam*. MS.

Cibus erit illi panis deterior¹ et modicus, et potus aquae liquor turbidus et foetidus. Die qua comedit non potabit, nec die qua potaverit panem gustabit. Communis humanae naturae virtutem superaret qui quintum vel sextum diem sub hac poena transigeret.

A.D. 1122.
Nature of
the pro-
ceeding.

Hujusmodi poenae per aliquot dies Robertus astrictus tandem occubuit, et ita pro delictis² dignam ultionem et animae saluferam, si tamen patienter ipsam tum sustinuit, in fine reportavit. Ipse Robertus, in curia regis olim educatus, in rebus bellicis cautus erat et strenuus. Verumptamen de favore curiae confisus, et variis moribus a juventute consuetus, ad praedas et homicidia semper erat praecipuus. Ceterum quia tum quendam bonum occidit, et uxorem ejus superduxit, quam etiam in adulterio prius posuerat, omne alium delictum longius excedit. Sic igitur Robertus cecidit ut meruit, et comes Wyntoniensis indempnis evasit.

Death of
Robert.

He met his
deserts and
the earl
escaped.

Aliud quoque non minus timendum accidit Wyntoniensi comiti periculum. Mauricius de Berkele, jam fere per annum detentus, tum moram traxit in castro Walynfordiae, ad quem solebat quidam armiger qui diu steterat in obsequio ipsius frequenter intrare, et ob priorem familiaritatem domino suo beneficium consolationis impendere. Accidit autem quadam die ut armiger ille cum tribus vel quatuor sociis intraret castrum, de licentia custodis, propter solitum accessum in nullo suspectus. Eadem nocte rogavit Mauricius constabularium ut cenaret cum eo; insuper et³ janitores et vigiles quotquot⁴ erant in castro. Cenantibus autem illis subito surrexit armiger cum sociis suis, et petiit claves castri sibi reddi, necnon et minas mortis intendebat cuilibet repugnanti.

Maurice
Berkeley,
detained at
Walling-
ford, enter-
tains his
guards.

Plot for his
escape.

The keys
demanded.

¹ *deterior*] *deterius*, MS.; perhaps
"deterrimus" would be a better
reading.

R 1081.

² *pro delictis*] *per electis*, MS.

³ *et*] *e*, MS.

⁴ *quotquot*] *in quotquot*, MS.

A.D. 1323.

The keys
surrendered,
and the
prisoner's
friends ad-
mitted.The mayor
of Walling-
ford raises
the town-
men.The sheriff
demands
the sur-
render of
the castle.The con-
spirators
allege an
order of the
king.The castle
watched
day and
night.

Videns ergo constabularius quod non posset resistere, tradidit claves sine dilatione. Tunc armiger ille ad quandam privatam portam accessit, et circiter xx^{ti} socios statim introduxit. Et hæc quidem facta sunt sub tanto silentio ut nec clamor nec murmur resona- ret in castro. Tandem puer quidam residens ad exte- riorem portam, postquam sentiit quod interior custodia insolito modo tractabatur, latenter exivit, audiensque velle castrum perditum et multos extraneos intrasse protinus nuntiavit. Primum quidem nuntius a præ- dicto armigero cum litteris emissus testis accessit. Disposuerat enim armiger ille quosdam socios præmu- nisse, et in gallicinio dominum suum Mauricium et ceteros vinculatos¹ pariter eduxisse. Sed nuntius ma- chinationis proditoriae timens periculum subire accessit ad maiorem villæ. Populus convocatur, pulsantur cam- panæ, tonant cornua, et vox horrida plebis extollitur.

Tunc qui erant infra castrum audientes populi tumultum² suspicabantur consilium suum jam esse detectum, et per consequens propositum eorum impe- ditum; unde statuerunt custodes et³ ad singulas ex- cubias per totum murum ordinaverunt. Mane facto divulgata est res per totam patriam, accessitque vice- comes ad villam, et hortabatur interiores ad castri deditionem. Illi vero asserebant⁴ se regis auctoritate castrum intrasse, nec cuiquam homini sine regis man- dato reddere velle. Et hoc quidem responso⁵ usi sunt ad cautelam, ut sic prodicionem suam palliarent et nacta oportunitate temporis a castro recederent.

Non credidit vicecomes responsum, quia non fecerunt ei fidem de regis mandato. Immo statim accesserunt robustiores totius patriæ; et fecit fieri vigilias circa castrum die ac nocte donec certificaretur super alle-

¹ *vinculatos*] vinculatores, MS.² *populi tumultum*] populum tu-
multu. MS. "Potest etiam legi po-
pulum tumultuantem;" Hearne.³ *et*] om. MS.⁴ *asserebant*] asserebantur, MS.⁵ *responso*] responsio, MS.

gata regis auctoritate. Advenerunt in auxilium vice-
comitis comes Wyntonie et comes Cantie, quoniam
tunc erant in partibus illis; et statim disposerunt¹
castrum invadere et proditores vi et armis ad dedi-
tionem compellere. Videntes autem interiores tot et
tantos viros ad obsidionem,² et captionem tandem evi-
tari non posse, quantoque diutius rebellarent, tanto
graviori poenae subjacerent, portas aperiunt et liberam
introitum cunctis promittentes in quadam capella om-
nes conveniunt.

A.D. 1222.
The counts of
Winton and Kent
arrive and the con-
spirators surrender.

Tunc ingressi comites reperierunt Mauricium in so-
lita custodia, reliquos autem in capella. Non profuit
eis immunitas ecclesie; nam protinus extracti tru-
duntur in castrum. Ille vero interrogatus cur prodi-
tores in castrum regis advocare praecepit, nichil in
præjudicium domini regis machinatum constanter afir-
mavit, et cognitorem³ omnium cordium et omnes ho-
mines exceptis adversariis suis testes adjecit. Tunc
significaverunt domino regi omnia acta cum responso
Mauricii. Rescripsit rex comiti Cantie
. consensu Mauricii diligenter inquireret, et
dictum armigerum ceterorum sig suis

They take
refuge in
the chapel.

Barthol
proclaims his
innocence.

[Deest folium unum.]

" sæpius promovit; et, si per lapsum temporis popu-
lum suum in unitate reduxerit, id quod prius pro-
fuit in vanum redibit. Præterea diutina pax homi-
nes nostros efformatos reddet, et usus armorum
suspensus inbellem gentem nostram efficiet. Sed
et hii qui nunc apti sunt ad prælium inutiles fient,
vergentes in senium; et hæc omnia nobis incommoda
conferet⁴ tempus vacationis productæ. Super hiis
igitur consulimus quod regi Anglorum perpetua

A.D. 1221.
Considera-
tion of the
state in
favour of a
prolonged
truce.

¹ disposerunt] deposuerunt,
MS.
² obsidionem] obidicionem, MS.

³ cognitorem] cognitorem, MS.
⁴ conferet] confuset, MS.

A.D. 1324. " concordia offeratur,¹ et pax fiat, alioquin de treugis
 The king will soon have work enough on his hands. " initis non multum confidat. Et quia rex Anglorum,
 " sicut creditur, certamen est habiturus cum Francis,
 " eo citius speramus optinere quod petimus."

Robert Bruce proposes a perpetual peace.

Tunc misit Robertus le Brutz ad regem Angliæ, dicens: " Domine, placet Scotis in pacem perpetuam
 " treugas convertere, et quid tibi placuerit, si bonum
 " tibi videtur, velitis rescribere. Multi enim nostris
 " treugis² initis segre consenserant. Unde timeo ne
 " forsan pace repulsa pacta servabo, sed multorum
 " grassantium rabiem solus cohibere non potero. Nam
 " et rex Gethus, qui satis in David sibi complacuit,
 " eum tamen contra vota satraparum sustinere non³ potuit."

A conference held at York.

Animadvertens rex Angliæ quod artaret eum negotium Vasconia, quod et Scoti ex nimia causa prouiderent ad recidivum³ concordia, rescripsit se velle in pacem perpetuam libenter consentire, placuitque de communi consensu super tractanda apud Eboracum⁴ partes convenire. Quo cum venissent, videlicet rex Angliæ ex parte una et quidam magnates Scotorum ex altera, petierunt Scoti Scotiam ab omni exactione regni Angliæ imperpetuum et immunem, et liberam petierunt jure acquisitionis et dominii totam terram quam perambulaverant usque ad portas Eboraci.⁵ Erat et quedam baronia in partibus Essexiæ quam Robertus de Brutz propter rebellionem dudum demeruit; hanc petiit Robertus sibi restitui, etiam cum fructibus quos medio tempore rex inde percepit. Petierunt etiam Scoti petram illam regalem sibi restitui quam Edwardus rex senior quondam de Scotia tulerat et apud Westmonasterium collocaverat juxta tumbam Sancti Edwardi. Erat autem lapis ille apud Scotos celebris memorie, eo quod super hunc reges Scotie

The Scots demand the freedom of Scotland and the marches. They demand the coronation stone.

¹ offeratur] offerratur, MS.

² treugis] tregis, MS.

³ recidivum] reciduam, MS.

⁴ The Scottish envoys had safe conduct for the conference at York, dated Nov. 3, 1324. Fœd. ii. 378.

solebant gubernacula regni cum sceptro¹ recipere. A.D. 1284.
 Scota filia Pharaonis hanc petram secum a finibus Mythology
 Aegypti eduxit cum in parte Scotiae applicuit et ter- of the stone.
 ram subjugavit. Prophetaverat enim Moises quod qui
 petram illam secum afferret amplas terras suo domi-
 nio subjugaret. Unde a Scota est dicta Scotia quae
 prius ab Albanactis vocabatur Albania. Ad haec in Bruce offers
 augmentum foederis ac cumulum² pacis optulit Ro- his daughter
 bertus de Brutz filiam suam matrimonialiter copulari for the
 filio regis. Postremo voluerunt Scoti quod, presenti- king's son.
 bus quorum interest coram domino papa, a rege Fran- The king of
 ciae confirmarentur vota procerum, ut foedus pacis tali France to
 et tanta³ auctoritate vallatum nullum solveretur in confirm the
 seivum. peace.

Auditis petitionibus Scotorum ait rex: "Scoti vene- Edward's
 runt non ut nos pace⁴ allicerent sed ut occasiones answer to
 "dissensionis magis quærerent et sponte treugas in- the Scottish
 "fringerent. Revera praedjudicialia nimis nobis ex- proposals.
 "poscant, unde et sine effectu ad propria remeabunt.
 "Quomodo enim sine praedjudicio coronae nostrae jus
 "quod habemus in Scotia possumus remittere, quae
 "ab adventu Britonum usque adventum Saxonum et He cannot
 "deinceps usque ad tempus nostrum antecessoribus think of sur-
 "nostris semper dinoscitur fuisse subjecta, quae quan- rendering
 "vis rebellando nostrum saepius declinaret imperium, the rights of
 "ad jugum tamen debitum, licet invita, non ambigitur his crown.
 "fuisse reducta? Jus in marchia vindicare non
 "poterunt, cujus possessionem nunquam habuerunt.
 "Pedis enim positio privato possessionem tribuit, non
 "extraneo.⁵ Quod si ob perambulationem marchiam
 "petant, consequens est ut et ipsi magnam partem
 "Scotiae eadem ratione nobis concedant. Hereditatem
 "quam Robertus de Brutz petit, pater meus ei ob

¹ sceptro] ceptro, MS.

² ac cumulum] ad tumulum, MS.

³ tali et tanta] Ta in ta'm et tanta, MS.

⁴ pace] pacem, MS.

⁵ See the Digest, lib. xii. tit. 2. l. 1, and the glosses.

A.D. 1324.
He refuses
all the de-
mands.

" manifestum delictum quondam abstulit, et non decet
" filium irritare quod pater decrevit. Scimus etiam
" quod pater meus devicta Scotia petram illam rega-
" lem secum tulit in signum victoriæ: quod si resti-
" tueremus videremur forsitan jus sic acquisitum tan-
" quam degeneres repudiare. Verumptamen super
" petra reddenda dissensio brevis, si cetera non dis-
" creparent a limine rationis. Nuptias etiam quas
" offert Robertus ad præsens non admittimus, quo-
" niam prout offeruntur¹ nobis indecentes esse per-
" pendimus. Denique pacem quam Scoti coram domino
" papa et rege Franciæ petunt confirmari, si contin-
" geret eam debito fine concludi, coram quolibet prin-
" cipe mundi vellemus explicari. Sed, quia præjudi-
" cialia nimis nobis exposcunt, infecto negotio ad pro-
" pria remeabunt."

The truce is
to be re-
spected,
although
the negotia-
tions for a
perpetual
peace have
failed.

Igitur responsum est Scotis formam oblatam regi
non placere, nec regem in tantum artatum esse ut
tam degenerem pacem cogatur inire. Conventionem
tamen super treugis prius initam nichilominus censuit
observandam, alioquin Scotis nunquam deinceps fidem
adhibendam. Nuntii vero Scotorum, accepto responso,
redeuntes retulerunt regi suo et hiis qui erant de
consilio responsa regis Angliæ et conclusionem in fine.
Inter quos tandem deliberatum est et communiter
consensum quod prædictæ treugæ cum Anglis initæ
in suo robore starent, et religionem quam omnis natio
et ætas conservat in nullo macularent. Nam et Israel²

The Scots
agree.

Gabaonitis servavit jusjurandum quamvis dolo in cir-
cumventionem fuisset extortum.

Negotiations
with France.

Dum durarent induciæ inter reges Anglorum et
Francorum discurrebant nuntii et mediatores, hinc inde
proponentes plures formas concordie; sed nulla placuit
regi Franciæ nisi satisfactio sibi pro terra Vasconiæ.
Videns igitur rex Angliæ quod per hujusmodi nuntios

¹ offeruntur] offeruntur, MS.

² Nam et Israel] Nam et Israel, MS.

nichil proficeret, disposuit mittere reginam si forsan
 ipse negotium ad effectum perduceret. Nam sicut
 inter duos reges erat sanguine media, ita efficacior
 videbatur in pace procuranda.

A.D. 1284.
 The king de-
 termines to
 send the
 queen.

Abiit regina valde gavis, duplici gaudio letifi-
 cata; gaudens quippe natale solum et parentes visitare,
 gaudens quorundam quos non diligebat comitivam¹
 relinquere. Nimirum si Hugonem non diligit per quem
 avunculus ejus perit, per quem famulis orbata et
 omnibus redditibus suis privata remansit, ideo a
 multis reversura non creditur donec Hugo Despenser a
 latere regis penitus separaretur.²

A.D. 1285.
 Departure
 of the queen

Veniens autem regina ad fratrem suum regem trans-
 marinum, nichil plus aliis nuntiis optinuit, nisi quod
 rex frater ejus amore ipsius usque ad gulam Augusti
 treugas prerogavit. Cernens itaque rex Anglie ex
 actis jam nichil aliud restare, nisi aut transfretare et
 regi Francie satisfacere, aut terram³ Wasconie in-
 defensam perdere, transacto jam Paschate collegit
 exercitum copiosum, videlicet linea armatura incinctos,⁴
 habentes arcus, secures aut gladios; singuli⁵ arma sin-
 gula in quibus se noverant magis expertos. Est enim
 aliquis aptus ad haec, non ad illa; Saul ad gladium,
 Jonathas ad arcus, et David in fundam. Junxitque cum
 rex ad mare procedere cum ductoribus suis, ibidemque
 residere donec aliud haberent in mandatis. Conve-
 nivitque magnates regni sui Wyntoniam, disponere
 volens communi consilio negotiura expeditionis sue.⁶

Herminion
 proving use-
 less, the king
 delays an
 answer.

He sends
 his forces to
 the one side
 and calls a
 council at
 Winchester.

Interim pedites petierunt vadia sua, sed non daban-
 tur eis; quoniam discurrebant per totam patriam
 spoliantes incolas victualibus suis. Mirabantur omnes
 quia non satisfacere rex pedibus, cum rite vivere non

Non pay-
 ment of
 wages.

¹ comitivam] comitivam, MS.

² separaretur] separaretur, MS.

³ terram] terras, MS.

⁴ armatura incinctos] armata in-
 tactos, MS.

⁵ singuli] singulos, MS.

⁶ The king was at Winchester
 from the 1st to the 4th of May on
 which day the commons was issued
 for parliament on June 24.

A.D. 1325.
May.
Extortions
imputed
to Hugh le
Despenser.

possent sine vadiis, et satis habundaret thesaurus regia. Multi enim progenitores sui congregaverunt denarios, ipse solus supergressus est universos. Verumtamen imputatur Hugoni regis duritia sicut et alia mala quae sunt in curia. Unde et multi in necem ejus conjuraverunt, sed machinatione detecta quidam eorum capti sunt, reliqui fugierunt.

Prepara-
tions for a
naval ex-
pedition.

Peremptory
conduct of
the king.

Tunc jussit rex omnes pedites naves ascendere et in fluctibus maris stationem facere, donec adveniret tempus transfretandi in terram Vasconiae; praeposuitque eis comitem de Warennæ, Johannem de Sancto Johanne et alios magnates terræ, qui similiter ingressi sunt naves non audentes resistere. Misit etiam rex litteras per singulos comitatus mandans et præcipiens omnes qui ab exercitu ad partes suas sine licentia rediissent capi, et statim sine interrogatione suspendi. Tantus siquidem rigor hodie crevit in rege, ut nullus quantumcunque magnus et consultus voluntati regis audeat obviare. Iccirco parlamenta, tractatus et consilia, hiis diebus de nullo decernunt.¹ Nam proceres regni, minis et poenis aliorum interriti² voluntatem regis liberis habenis ambulare permittunt. Sic voluntas hodie vincit rationem. Nam quicquid regi placuerit, quamvis ratione careat, legis habet vigorem.³

Henry of
Lancaster
accused of
treason
against the
king.

Sub ista tempestate, dum rex moraretur Wyntoniae, accusatus est Henricus de Lancastria comes de Leycestria, quod foveret inimicum regis episcopum Herfordiae Wyntoniensem et Lyncolniensem clementia regis in gratiam admisit. Herfordensis vero quia ceteris asperior gratiam invenire non potuit. Scripserat autem episcopus Herfordiae Henrico de Lancastria comiti Leicestriae supplicans quatinus apud regem pro eo verba faceret, ut eo citius gratiam regis ipsum promereri contingeret. Et quidem Henricus, prout erat benignus et

Correspon-
dence with
bishop
Orleton.

¹ *decernunt*] *desernunt*, MS.

² *interriti*] *interiti*, MS.

³ The well known passage from the preface to the Institutes.

compatiens afflictis, huiusmodi verba fortas rescrip- A.D. 1155.
May.
sisse :—

"Salutem in omnium Salvatore et tam inflictiuum patien- Letter of
Henry of
Lancaster to
the bishop
of Ely.
tiam quam in agone fortiter dimicare. Pater, utinam quam
pateris sustineas patienter; omnis enim cordis aut corporis
afflictio premio caret sine patientis adjuncto. Patientia re-
liquas virtutes roborat et exornat, nam vidua est virtus
quam¹ patientia non firmat. Patientia vincit malitiam, et
si quae virtus adiungitur ipsam facit esse perfectam. Porro
si legitime contendere² speras legitime certe,³ oportune in-
oportune inerte, et fidecialiter⁴ persevera. Nam et sacra
scriptura testatur quod licet omnes virtutes currant ad
brevisse sola perseverantia coronatur. Spera in Deo et
viriliter age, quoniam, si pro Deo accendiati ex adverso,
scito⁵ quod non deerat in tempore malo. Deus et Dominus
dominantissimus, cujus manu corda sunt regum, et qui prece-
lam convertit in aurum, prosperam statum tibi restituit et
regis mitigat iram."

Huiusmodi verbis consolatoriis usus est comes in The king is
offended by
this corres-
pondence,
and because
Henry has
his brother's
arm, and
founded a
cross for his
soul.
litteris suis. Delatae sunt litterae ad aures regis.
Quamobrem nitebatur rex arguere comitem proditi-
tioni. Adjectae sunt et aliae causae, quod videlicet
Henricus, ex gratia regis jam comes Leicestræ, re-
lictis armis propriis, deferret⁶ arma fratris sui comitis
Lancestræ; quod visum est regalibus regis injuria,
quasi dampnarentur pariter et arma. Et quia [cru-
cem] crexerat extra villam Leicestræ pro anima fra-
tris sui comitis Lancestræ; quod visum est regalibus
in scandalum regis redundare, quasi dampnato corpore
dampnaretur et titulus memorie.

Respondit comes ad litteras, non debere ascribi ad Reason
made by
Henry.
prodicionem verba consolatoria in quibus nichil ma-
chinatum esset in principem. Ad arma respondit
dicens se non arma fratris sed patris potius acceptare,
quæ etiam jure successionis dixit ad se pertinere,

¹ quam] quod, MS.

² contendere] Hearnæ suggests

"coronari."

³ certe] circa, MS.

⁴ fidecialiter] fidecialiter, MS.

⁵ scito] scito, MS.

⁶ deferret] deferret, MS.

A.D. 1291. May. His apology and defence. maxime cum primogenitus frater ejus obtinisset sine prole. Allegabat et comes non in scandalum regis crucem erectam, sed ob devotionem plebis pro animo fratris sui spiritualiter excitandam, et quidem pro fidei debet oratio bene fore licita, cum pro Judæis et hæreticis sancta frequenter oret ecclesia.

The king consults the nobles about an expedition in person. Hiis tandem prætermisissis interrogavit rex prælatos et proceres qui tunc convenerant, quidnam ipsi de transfretatione sua consulerent. Nolens autem Hugo Despenser filius, propter imminens periculum, quod aliquis transfretandi daret consilium, fertur coram ali-

Hugh le Despenser opposes it.

quibus arroganter¹ dixisse: "Jam apparebit quis consulet domino regi ad inimicos suos transfretare: quoniam manifestus proditor est quicumque sit ille." Auditis ejus minis responderunt prælati cum proceribus ad consultationem domini regis dicentes: "Domine, constat plures regni magnates absentes esse, unde non expedit nobis in tam arduo negotio sine paribus nostris respondere."

Parliament called for June 25.

Tunc decretum est prælatos et regni magnates universos in crastino beati Johannis Baptistæ ad parliamentum Londoniis fore convocandos.² Sed et comes Leicestræ accepit mandatis ad eundem diem venire finaliter responsurus³ objectis.

June 25. Opinion of the lords in parliament, that the king should go.

In crastino Nativitatis beati Johannis Baptistæ convenerunt Londoniis omnes prælati cum proceribus qui tunc erant infra regnum Angliæ, consultique super regis transfretatione responderunt, saltem hii quibus ceteri non valebant contradicere, oportere dominum regem omni modo transfretare, nec posse eos sine læsione conscientie et fidei in aliud consentire. Quod enim si rex non ierit,⁴ rex Franciæ totam Vasconiam

¹ arroganter] arrogater, MS.

² A council of barons was summoned for June 25; Parl. Writs, II. i. 328.

³ responsurus] responsis, MS.

⁴ Quod enim si rex non ierit] Quod n. si rex. n. ierit, MS. Hearne expands it "Quid nunc si rex non ierit."

statim occupabit, et rex noster alias, vel forsan filius ejus cum ipsum regnare contigerit, proditoris et merito nos omnes accusabit.

Hujusmodi responso¹ communiter prolato rex ad alios se convertit, et, amato Exoniensi episcopo alio officio thesaurarii, archiepiscopum Eboracensem eidem substituit. Erat enim Exoniensis ultra modum cupidus, et durante officio suo vehementer dives effectus, unde videbatur tam regi quam populo terre concussione² magis quam fidei commercio tanta copia viro provenisse. Idcirco amovit eum rex a potestate, ut, si contigisset eum aliquos laesisse, necesse haberet querentibus respondere; et quidem bonum commune foret et consonum juri, ut tanta potestate predicti annales fierent, ut qui tempore officii conveniri non possunt, saltem post annum judicio starent, et non diutina vexatione subjectos opprimerent. Eboracensis iste, Wilhelmus nomine, olim curialis in omni commisso fidelis existit, et, quamvis inter curiales diu conversatus, mores tamen a convictu non traxit, sed, obviata Anglorum cupiditate, per Dei gratiam impollutus³ semper permansit. Sic Joseph in Egipto, Clusi cum Absolon, et Daniel innocenter vixit Babilone.

Audiens archipresul Cantuariensis quod rex Eboracensem gazis suis vellet preponere, respondit nequaquam sic fieri posse sine prejudicio Cantuariensis ecclesie; crucem suam deferri⁴ faceret quocumque rex diverteret per totam Angliam "quod quidem ego," inquit, "sana conscientia sustinere non possem. Nota " est enim illa inveterata dissensio super delationem⁵ " crucis inter utramque ecclesiam, pro qua sanctus " Thomas certavit usque ad mortem; a cujus diebus " nullus archipresul Eboracensis per Cantuariensem

A.D. 1225.
June 25.

The king
appoints the
archbishop
of York
treasurer in
the place of
the bishop of
Exeter.

Honesty of
the arch-
bishop.

The arch-
bishop of
Canterbury
opposes the
appointment.

¹ responso] responsio, MS.

² concussione] concussio, MS.

³ impollutus] impolatus, MS.

⁴ deferri] differri, MS.

⁵ delationem] dilacionem, MS.

- A.D. 1323.
June 25.
The king
persists in
the appoint-
ment.
- "provinciam hactenus crucem detulit, nisi for-an in
"stipite elationis, aliquorum magnatum auxilio sufful-
"tus, hoc præsumpserit, vel nunc saltem in parlia-
"mentis, quod, ne per dissensionem privatorum im-
"pediretur¹ utilitas communis, hoc permittendum
"ratio persuasit." Parvipendebat rex allegata ab
archipræsule, protestans se ob delationem crucis vel
ob aliud cujuscunque privilegium necessarium minis-
trum nolle dimittere.
- The earl of
Leicester is
not further
molested.
- Comes Leicestriae in parlamento præsens affuit, sed
de sibi prius objectis nichil audivit, et forsan eo quod
ceteris illustrior, filio domini regis, fratre transfretante,
regno præposito videbatur necessarius.² Nam licet Hugo
Despenser, comes Wyntoniensis, cunctis prudentior et
magis expertus tanto negotio foret præponendus, omni-
bus tamen incolis et ipsi filio regis habebatur exosus.
Rex igitur juxta consilium magnatum transfretare dis-
posuit, et jussit necessaria præparari. Displicuit rex
Hugoni Despenser, tam patri quam filio; sciebant enim
quod abeunte rege nescirent locum quo possent vivere
tuti.
- The king
prepares to
go abroad.
- Death of the
bishop of
Norwich.
- Circa idem tempus bonæ memoriæ Norwycensis³
episcopus, pro negotiis regis ad transmarinas partes
destinatus, in redeundo diem clausit extremum; sta-
timque misit rex ad Norwicense capitulum volens
eos eligere Robertum de Baldok cancellarium suum.
Monachi vero non audentes regi displicere direxerunt
vota sua in virum voluntatis regiæ. Erat autem tunc
temporis quidam clericus Willelmus Ermyne dictus.
vir prudens et circumspectus et, præcipue in hiis quæ
tangunt cancellariam domini regis, efficax et expertus.
Ipse unus ex hiis transfretaverat cum regina. Op-
tinuit ut et rex Franciæ pariter et regina supplica-
rent domino papæ pro promotione sua. Dominus vero
- Robert Bal-
dock elected.
- William
Ayermin is
a candidate.

¹ *impediretur*] *impederetur*, MS.
² *necessarius*] *necessarius*, MS.

³ *Norwycensis*] John Salmon,
died July 6.

papa novit eum ex nomine, eo quod jam pridem electus in episcopum Karlionensis ecclesiae cessit juri suo ad mandatum domini papae. Unde tum propter bonum obedientiae, tum¹ propter preces regis Franciae et sororis suae, consecravit eum dominus papa in episcopum Norwicensis ecclesiae, et sic supplantatus est Robertus de Baldok eni altera vice.

A.D. 1225.
The pope appoints Ayermin.

Veniens itaque rex ad mare, et quasi paratus navem ascendere, nuntios regis Franciae in ipso portu maris obvios habuit. Quelibet nova optata protinus accepit. Nam rex Franciae, multis precibus et arduis negotiis regem Angliae tangentibus allegatis inductus, hoc indulsit, ut, si rex Angliae filium suum primogenitum transmitteret,² idem filius ad ducatum Vasconiae eisdem conditionibus admitteretur, quibus et rex pater ejus si veniret. Placuit regi et regis consilio conferre filio Vasconiam, et statim puer ad jussu patris navigavit in Franciam. Admisit eum benigne avunculus ejus rex Franciae. Admisit et homagium ipsius pro terra Vasconiae, sed non permisit ei possessionem nisi pro parte. Decrevit enim rex Franciae partem quam vi occupaverat non debere restitui, nisi satisfacto sibi pro sumptibus quos fecerat occasione homagii retardati.

The king of France proposes that Edward shall give Gascony to his eldest son.

This is done and he accepts his homage.

Exoniensis unus erat ex illis qui venerant cum filio. Curiales vero Francorum ipsum quasi alicujus sceleris notatum respiciebant praeter cetera. Ipse vero nichil sibi conscius vel ad vultus³ eorum caute praemunitus, familiares suos ibidem relinquens qui praesentiam suam fingerent, clam fugam iniit, clam de nocte mutata veste usus diplomate ad mare devenit, et quasi mercator vel peregrinus navem conscendens in Angliam rediit; et ita si quid in eum machinatum exstitit, prudenter

The bishop of Exeter returns to England in disguise.

¹ tamen, MS.

² transmitteret] transmittet, MS.

³ ad vultus] adultus, MS.

A.D. 1327.
Hatred felt
in France
against Ed-
ward's four
favourite
ministers.

evasit. Igitur si periculosa fuit ei legatio sua, videat ne videatur iterum in Francia. Quatuor sunt quippe personæ de majoribus Angliæ, Exoniensis episcopus nuper thesaurarius, Robertus de Baldoke nunc cancellarius, Hugo Despenser pater et filius, qui si reperirentur infra regnum Franciæ non carerent utique mala mansionem. Asseritur enim quod de consilio Exoniensis prædia reginæ capta erant in manu domini regis, et ipsa destituta Francis familiaribus suis. Robertus de Baldoke fautor erat in nece procerum. Nimirum si exosus habeatur¹ parentibus eorum, quorum licet multi sunt in Anglia, quidam tamen eorum dominantur in Francia, et quidam valentes exulant, omnes autem et singuli tempus ultionis expectant. Sed quicquid in aliis arguitur, Hugoni Despenser tam patri quam filio præ ceteris imputatur.

The king
recalls the
queen to
England.

Inter alia, cum mitteret rex filium suum in Franciam, mandavit uxori suæ quod sine dilatione rediret in Angliam. Quo quidem mandato tam regi Franciæ quam ipsi reginæ per nuntios exposito, respondit regina, "Ego," inquit, "sentiens, quod matrimonium sit² " viri³ et mulieris conjunctio, individuum vitæ consuetudinem⁴ retinens, mediumque esse qui inter " maritum meum et me hujusmodi vinculum nititur " dividere; protestor me nolle redire donec auferatur " medius ille, sed, exuta veste nuptiali, viduitatis et " luctus vestes assumam donec de hujusmodi Pharisæo " viderim ultionem." Sed et rex Franciæ ne videretur eam detinere respondit: "Regina," inquit, "libere " venit, libere redeat si voluerit. Sin autem maluerit " in hiis partibus remanere, soror mea est, nolo eam " expellere." Reversi sunt nuntii et narraverunt hæc omnia regi.

She refuses
to return
whilst Hugh
le Despenser
is in power.

Her brother
countenances her.

¹ *habeatur*] *habebatur*, MS.

² *sit*] *sicut*, Hearne.

³ *vir*] *vir*, MS.

⁴ *consuetudinem*] *consuetudine*, MS.

Tunc rex, convocatis apud Westmonasterium praelatis ^{A.D. 1263.}
 et proceribus terræ,¹ sic coepit prius acta brevi ser- ^{November.}
 mone referre. "Nostis," inquit, "omnes dissensionem ^{Parliament.}
 "et causas, inter regem Franciæ et nos pro terra
 "Wasconie dudum exortas, et quomodo satis provide,
 "ut tunc visum erat, pro formanda concordia regina ^{The king ex-}
 "transfretavit, habuitque in mandatis facta legatione ^{plains his}
 "sua statim rediisse. Quod et ipsa repromisit bona ^{difficulties.}
 "voluntate. Nulli quoque in recessu suo videbatur
 "offensa. Licentiata enim omnes salutavit, et abiit
 "jocosa. Nunc autem nescio quis animum ejus immu-
 "tavit; nescio quis in adventitionibus ipsam instruxit.
 "Novi enim quod ex proprio capite nullam confinxit
 "offensam. Tamen se² dicit Hugonem Despenser ad-
 "versarium et inimicum esse." Subjungit et hoc:
 "Mirum unde contra Hugonem rancorem conceperit, ^{He cannot}
 "quæ cum recederet nulli alii me excepto tam se jocun- ^{understand}
 "dam exhibuit. Quamobrem Hugo tristis effectus est ^{the queen's}
 "valde; verumtamen innocentiam suam paratus est ^{hatred of}
 "quomodolibet ostendere. Unde constanter credo re- ^{Hugh.}
 "ginam in hujusmodi errorem ad suggestionem alicu- ^{He hints his}
 "jus inductam esse, et revera malignus et inimicus ^{suspiciona,}
 "est homo quicumque sit ille. Nunc igitur sapienter ^{and asks}
 "consulite, ut quam doctrina malorum in versutiam ^{mediation.}
 "instruit et instigat, vestra prudens et blanda cor-
 "reptio³ ad debitam unitatem invitet⁴ et reducat."
 Tunc de consilio regis ordinatum est quod omnes epi- ^{The bishops}
 scopi reginæ scriberent, et singulas litteras sub eodem ^{are directed}
 tenore verborum eidem destinarent, quibus eam tan- ^{to write to}
 quam filiam carissimam ad virum suum redire move- ^{her.}
 rent, rancorem sine causa conceptum dimittere, et
 Hugonem Despenser pariter excusarent. Singularum
 vero litterarum communis et unus tenor talis erat:—

¹ A parliament was held at West-
 minster on the 18th of November,
 which sat until Dec. 5; Parl. Writs,
 II. i. 334, 346.

² Tamen se] Hearne suggests
 "Tametsi," or "tamen sibi."
³ correptio] coreptio, MS.
⁴ invitet] mitem, MS.

A.D. 1325.
November.
Letter of the
bishops to
the queen,
urging her
to lay aside
her hatred,
and not to
involve the
country in
war.

“ Carissima et præpotens domina mea, de novis et responsis
tuis ad dominum nostrum regem a te nuper transmissis, tur-
batur tota patria; et ex eo quod in odium Hugonis Des-
penser differt reditum tuum, multa mala præsegiunt omnes
in futurum. Porro Hugo Despenser coram omnibus inno-
centiam suam solempniter ostendit, et se reginæ nunquam
nocuisse, sed omne commodum ejus pro posse procurasse, et
hoc semper in posterum se facturum fore corporali sacramento
firmavit. Addidit quoque se non posse credere hujusmodi
minas ex solo capite tuo¹ unquam prodiisse, sed aliunde
forsan procuratas esse, maxime cum ante recessum tuum²
et in ipso recessu hillarem sibi faciem ostenderis, et litteras
amicabiles postea ei transmiseris, quas in pleno parlamento
in argumentum fidei protulit coram multis. Quamobrem,
carissima, rogo te tanquam dominam; moneo te tanquam
filiam, quatinus ad dominum nostrum regem, virum tuum,
redeas, rancorem dimittas, et quæ pro bono pacis abieras³
pro bona pace redire non differas.⁴ Timent enim habita-
tores terræ nostræ, eo quod redire negasti, multa mala con-
tingere. Timent alienigenarum adventum et depræda-
tionem bonorum suorum; nec reputant ex debita affectione
provenire, odio unius hominis, populum tam tibi devotum
velle destruere. Quod autem scripsistis, ea quæ frater tuus
rex Franciæ et alii amici tui ejusdem patriæ pro voto suo
facere intendunt, non in præjudicium domini regis nec ali-
cujus alterius, sed in exterminium solius Hugonis redunda-
bunt:—Carissima et potentissima domina, noli tali negotio
initium præbere, cujus progressus dampnum irrecoverabile
verisimiliter posset afferre. Præsegit enim populus Angli-
canus ex hujusmodi minis adventum alienorum, et dicit, si
Franci veniant terram utique spoliabunt. Impossibile quin⁵
tam insontes quam sontes communiter dampna sustineant,
et quæ non rapuerunt innoxii tunc exsolvent. Heu quam
sperabamus habuisse et patronam, si sic eveniant, continget
nos, proh dolor! sentire novercam. Heu! querula vox clerus
et populus frequenter ingeminat, timentes ne odio unius
hominis se et sua penitus exterminari contingat. Quo-
circa, domina regina, utere sano consilio, et ad maritum

¹ tuo] suo, MS.

² tuum] suum, MS.

³ abieras] adhibeas, MS.

⁴ differas] desperas, MS.

⁵ quin] qui, MS.

" tuum redire non differas. Nam desideratus adventus tuus A.D. 1283.
 " malitias hominum refrœnabit et occasiones mali sedabit
 " universas."

Sed mater et filius huiusmodi litteris non obstan- A.D. 1282.
 tibus ad Angliam redire noluerunt. Unde rex, de con- The queen
 silio duorum Dispensatorum, exlegavit et banniavit publice in outlawed.
 foro Londoniensi uxorem suam et filium tanquam regni pro-
 ditores.¹

Hoc anno² regina Angliæ, cum primogenito suo Edwardo ac September.
 Rogero de Mortuomari nuper elapso, necnon et cum parva The queen
 manu Hunaldorum, circa festum Sancti Michaelis in Essexiam lands in
 in Angliam applicuit, versus Londoniam ubi rex erat tetendit, et, Essex; the
 quod mirandum fuit, terra undique tranquilla, sine sanguinis ring flies to
 strepitu regem a Londoniis mature fugitantem usque in West- Wales.
 walliam pedetentim insequuntur.

Interim in crastino Sancti Kalixti papa decollatus³ est epi- Bishop
 scopus Ebonensis thesaurarius regis per Londonienses extra Stapleton
 hostium boriale Sancti Pauli. In die sequenti capta est turre murdered.
 Londoniarum per cives ad opus reginæ et filii sui. Et cito
 post in vigilia apostolorum Symonis et Jude captum est cas-
 trum Bristolis per reginam et suos, ubi Hago Despenser The elder
 senior distractus et suspensus est, et caput ejus Wyntoniam Hugh be-
 transmissum est. headed.

Eodem anno die Sancti Hagonis comes Arundellus apud The earl of
 partes Salopis captus est, sed apud Herford decollatus.⁴ Arundel
 Eadem ebdomada rex Angliæ captus apud Neythe in West- beheaded.
 wallia, sed apud castrum de Kenilworthe custodiendum de- The king
 mandatur. Junior autem Despenser Hugo qui cum rege taken.
 captus fuerat distractus ac decollatus⁵ et suspensus est apud The younger
 Herford, corpore ejus quadripartito, sed caput ejus ad pontem Hugh be-
 Londoniarum transmissum est.⁵ headed.

Quo etiam anno⁶ in octavis Epiphaniæ factum est parla- A.D. 1287.
 mentum apud Londoniam, ubi de communi ordinatione missi Parliament.
 sunt solempnes nuntii ad regem incarceratum, scilicet tres

¹ Unde . . . proditores] Knighton, c. 2543, from Higden, lib. vii. c. 43.

² Hoc anno] From this point most of the matter in the text is in common with Higden, and probably extracted from the Polychronicon.

³ decollatus] decollatus, MS.

R 1681.

⁴ decollatus] decollatus, MS.

⁵ Hoc anno . . . transmissum est] Knighton, c. 2545, from Higden, lib. vii. c. 43.

⁶ Quo etiam anno] This section also in Knighton, c. 2543, from Higden, lib. vii. c. 43.

A.D. 1327.
January.
The king's
allegiance
renounced.

episcopi, duo comites, duo barones, duo abbates, duo iustitiiarii, ut regi detento homagium quondam sibi factum resignarent, ipsumque pro domino ulterius non haberent. De quibus dominus Willelmus Trussel miles, et procurator totius parliamenti, vice omnium dixit regi huiusmodi verba: "Ego Willelmus Trussel, vice omnium de terra Angliæ et totius parliamenti procurator, tibi Edwardo reddo homagium prius tibi factum, et ex tunc¹ diffido te, et privo te omni potestate regia et dignitate, nequaquam tibi de cetero tanquam regi pariturus." Istud fuit proclamatum publice apud Londonias.

Edward III.
knighted
and
crowned.

Eodem anno, in vigilia Purificationis beate Mariæ, Edwardus filius ejus factus est miles. Deinde ipse factus adolescens xv. annorum, adhuc patre suo vivente sub custodia, coronatus est in festo Purificationis beate Mariæ in regem apud Westmonasterium. In cujus primordiis grata augebantur² auspicia; nam et tunc terra recepit ubertatem, aer temperiem, mare tranquillitatem, ecclesia libertatem.³

Death of
Edward II.

[MCCCXXVII.] Et tertio nonas Aprilis translatus est rex antiquus de Kenylworthe usque castrum de Berkeley, ubi, licet multi conspirarent ad ejus liberationem, mortuus est: de cujus meritis an inter sanctos numerandus sit frequens in vulgo. sicut quondam de Thoma comite Lancastrie, adhuc disceptatio⁴ est; sed revera nec carceris inclusio nec etiam oblationum frequentia aut miraculorum simulacra,⁵ cum talia sint indifferentia, quemquam sanctum probant nisi corresponderet sanctimonia vitæ præcedentis. Bene namque cum unoquoque agitur si talia cum contritione culpam in eo diluant,⁶ aut poenam debitam imminuant, quamvis immediate avolationem non efficiant. Sed præsumptio flagitiosorum⁷ impunitatem sibi et suis similibus inaniter sperantium, ambitioque matronarum circumgirare affectantium, rumorem talis venerationis multum amplificat et dilatat, donec sedificatio super arenam fundata decidat et labescat.⁸

Doubtful
character
of such
speculations.

¹ ex tunc] exnunc, H.

² augebantur] suggebantur, MS.;
suggerebantur, Hearne.

³ Eodem anno . . . libertatem]
Knighton, c. 2550, from Higden,
vii. 43.

⁴ disceptatio] deceptatio, MS.

⁵ simulacra] simulacra, MS.

⁶ diluant] dilluant, MS.

⁷ flagitiosorum] flagisiorum, MS.

⁸ Et tertio . . . labescat] Knighton, c. 2551; from Higden, vii. c. 4.

[MCCCXXX.] In parlamento apud Wyntoniam decollatus¹ est Edmundus de Wodestoke avunculus huius regis, comes Cantie, pro eo quod conspiravit ad liberationem fratris sui regis mortui, et dicebatur.² Natus est novo regi Edwardo primogenitus suus Edwardus ex regina sua filia comitis Humaldi xviii^o kalendas Junii. Eoque anno in crastino Sancti Lucae captus est apud Notingham Rogerus de Mortuomari tunc comes Marchie vocatus, indeque Londonias missus iudicio parlamenti tractus et suspensus est in vigilia Sancti Andreæ. A.D. 1282.
The earl of Kent beheaded.
Fall of Mortimer.

[MCCCXXXII.] Edwardus le Bailliol, quondam regis Scotie proximus heres, cum modica manu Anglorum, id est duobus vix milibus, intravit Scotiam ut regnum sibi reciperaret, circa Ad vincula Sancti Petri, et occidit lx. milia Sotorum apud Glodsmore. A.D. 1292.
Edward Bailliol's expedition to Scotland.

[MCCCXXXIII.] Venit rex Anglie in auxilium ejus et obsedit Berewicum iiii^o idus Julii, cui miles quidam Sotus, Willhelmus de Keth, promisit quod ad certum nominatum diem adduceret exercitum Sotorum ad pugnandum cum eo, et ad obsidionem illam removendam; quod nisi faceret urbs Berewicy sibi redderetur. Interim Scoti subdole combusserunt in partibus Northumbranis, et obsederunt castrum de Bamburgha, ubi regina Anglie tunc morabatur, si sic forem obsidionem Berewicy solvere possent. Tandem die prefixa, hora nona, pelago pleno, advenerunt Scoti contra Anglos in tribus aciebus, omnes pedites distincti, xiiii^o kalendas Augusti prope Berewicum, in loco qui dicitur Bothalle juxta Halidoun: qui oppressi sunt a sagittariis Anglie et insecuti ab equitibus Anglie usque ad noctem, ita quod occiderunt de Scotis octo comites cum mille ccc. equitibus et de plebeis xxxv. milibus: quo viso oppidani reddiderunt Berewicum regi Anglie. Et quod mirabile est dictu non occiderunt ex parte Anglorum nisi unus miles, unus armiger, et xii. pedites.³ A.D. 1293.
Battle of Balydown Hill.

[MCCCXXXIII.] In festo Sanctorum Gervasii et Prothasii Edwardus le Boilliol verus rex Scotie fecit homagium Edwardo regi Anglie pro regno Scotie apud Novum Castrum super Tinam, in presentia trium episcoporum, baronum ac comitum et copiosae plebis. Et cito post Scoti rebellarunt: quamobrem rex Anglie sub gelida yeme Galwodium intrans totam patriam usque ad mare Scoticum devastavit, castrum de Rokesburghe reparavit, ubi se et suos per totam yemem tutavit,⁴ deinde A.D. 1294.
Edward Bailliol does homage.
A.D. 1295.
Invasion of Scotland.

¹ decollatus] decollatus, MS.

² In parlamento . . . dicebatur] Knighton, c. 2551.

³ Natus . . . pedites] Knighton, c. 2552; Higden, vii. 44.

⁴ In festo . . . tutavit] Knighton c. 2552; Higden, vii. 44.

A.D. 1337.
Creation of
the duke of
Cornwall.

circa festum beati Gregorii in Quadragesima [MCCCXXXVII.] rex Edwardus in pleno parlamento Londoniis de comitatu Cornubiæ fecit ducatum, quem contulit Edwardo primogenito suo, una cum comitatu Cestrie. Ordinavit etiam ibidem quinque comites, unum ad Derbiam, alium ad Northamptoniam, tertium ad Huntyngdoniam, quartum ad Sarcesburiam, quintum ad Gloucestriam.¹

A.D. 1338.
Quarrel
with
France.

[MCCCXXXVIII.] Orta est grandis discordia inter reges Franciæ et Angliæ, ex eo quod rex Franciæ multas terras et oppida in Wasconia improbe usurpaverat; quâ de causa rex Angliæ plures oblationes humiles fecerat regi Franciæ, sed sic terras suas recuperare non posset; sed cum sic nihil proficeret, collectis undique pecuniis mare transire disposuit. Circa festum beate Margarete virginis rex Edwardus transiit in Flandriam; inde Coloniam adiit, abi imperatorem Bavarrum sibi conciliavit, Brabannos et Flandrenses sibi foederavit, de quorum consilio arma Franciæ cum armis suis immiscuit, boriales partes Franciæ usque ad Turnacum incendit et vastavit.²

A.D. 1339.

Grant of
wool and
corn for
the expenses
of the war.

[MCCCXXXIX.] Circa festum Purificationis beate Mariæ Edwardus Angliam rediit, uxorem tamen suam cum liberis, in ea parte progenitis, apud Andwarpian in Selandiam dimisit, quasi in assecurationem redditus sui; celebratoque apud Londonias parlamento, atque negotiis dispositis, indixit Angligenis tributum quintæ partis bonorum, lanas ovium occupavit, nonamque garbam de omni gleba Angliæ suis expeditionibus deputavit; de quarum proventu dominos villarum vicinarum respondere fecit. Hoc etiam anno tanta fuit rerum copia et aeris inopia quod quarterium frumenti Londoniis ad ii^{os} solidos venderetur, et bos pinguis ad dimidium marcas.³

A.D. 1340.
June.
Battle of
Sluys.

[MCCCXL.] Rex Edwardus in vigilia Sancti Johannis Baptistæ cum ducentis navibus mare ingressus est versus Flandriam, sed juxta maritima Flandriæ, juxta les Schlusse, classem Francorum copiosam et instructam obviam habuit; qua de causa per totam illam diem cum suis deliberans, in

¹ circa festum . . . Gloucestriam] Knighton, c. 2568; Higden, vii. 44.

² Orta . . . vastavit] Knighton, c. 2569; Higden, vii. 44; Cont. Ad. Murimuth (ed. Hog.), p. 171.

³ Circa . . . marca] Knighton, c. 2569. Here the 7th book of the

Polychronicon ends; and the following notes are from a Continuator. The passage that comes next, *Rex . . . occupatis*, occurs in the Eulogium (ed. Haydon, iii. 205); in the Continuation of Adam of Murimuth, p. 172.

creantino superveniente in ejus auxilium valente milite Roberto de Morleja cum boriali classe Angliæ, commissum est navale bellum fortissimum quale circa oras Angliæ nunquam est visum; ubi Deo favente Franci et Normanni acriter sagittati per Anglos sunt devicti, partim submersi, partim capti, navibusque eorum, exceptis paucis quæ aufugerant,¹ totaliter occupatis.

A.D. 1242.
June 24.
Great
victory.

² Inde rex Edwardus Flandriam attingens, adunato exercitu copioso borialem partem Franciæ vastavit, urbem munitissimam Tornacum diu obsedit, sed ob defectum pecuniæ quam

Stage of
Dunsmay.

sui segnes procuratores ab Angliæ non miserant, contractis treugis et induciis inter reges utriusque discussum est. Rex Edwardus cum navigio suo adiit Britanniam Minorem, ubi per

A.D. 1242.
Expedition
to Brittany.

cibos et potus inconvenientes plures de suis amisit. Misi sunt tamen ad eum duo cardinales qui ex parte papæ treugas triennes inter reges indixerunt, sub quo spatio de jure quod

A.D. 1242.
Truce for
three years.

rex Angliæ vendicavit ad regnum Franciæ, ad plenum discuti possit. In redeundo quoque de Britannia rex Edwardus maxima dampna et incommoda per maritimam tempestatem perpessus est, quæ utique per nigromanticos regis Franciæ dicebantur procurari. Denique ipse rex Edwardus propter provisiones de dignitatibus et beneficiis ecclesiasticis, quas papa Clemens fecit in Angliæ, offensus, sub anno gratiæ millesimo cccxliii^o provisiones per papam factas cassavit, et ne quis deinceps hujusmodi provisiones in Angliam inferret³ sub pena carceris et capitis interdixit.

A.D. 1244.
Papal pro-
visions
forbidden.

In festo Translationis beati Thomæ martyris rex Edwardus ingressus mare, ignorantibus omnibus suis quorsum tenderet, sed tandem ducta cujusdam militis de Harecourt auxper de Franciæ exlegati, in australi parte Normanniæ apud Hogges juxta Sequanem flumen applicuit, Cadanum et alias urbes spoliavit; unde et sui plurimi sunt ditati. Verum, quia rex Franciæ Philippus pontes fluminum confregerat, ne exercitus adinvicem configere possent, rex Edwardus Normanniam transiendo deprædavit, et tandem Sancti Ruffi die martiris, quod est pridie festum Sancti Augustini doctoris, regem Franciæ apud Crecy in Picardia gloriose devicit, et regem Boemys interfecit, ducem Lotheryngiæ, duos episcopos, octo

A.D. 1244.
The king
lands in
Normandy.

Aug. 24.
Battle of
Crecy.

¹ aufugerant] affugerant, MS.

² The following passages are also in nearly the same words, in the

Eulogium, iii. 205, 206; Cent. Ad. Marimuth, pp. 172, 173.

³ inferret] auferet, MS.; afferret, H.

A.D. 1346.
Aug. 26.
Battle of
Crecy.

comites, plures nobiles dominos, duo millia¹ militum ac vulgus innumerabile cecidit, reliquam plebem disperuit et fugavit. Extunc quoque in obsidione urbis Calensis, ab olim Anglis infestae, per annum et eo amplius demoratus est rex Angliae.

Oct. 17.
Battle of
Neville's
Cross.

Eodem anno in crastino Sancti Michaelis in Monte Tumba contriti sunt Scoti per Anglos, et potissime per clerum Eboracensis diocesis tam regularem quam saecularem; qui per instigationem regis Franciae in Angliam usque Dunelmum processerunt; ubi captus est David le Bruts rex Sotiae, Willelmus Douglas, et quidam alii magni, ceteris occisus, fugatis aut dispersis.

A.D. 1347.
August.
Calais sur-
rendered.

Truce con-
cluded.

The king
escapes
shipwreck.

Circa festum Sancti Bartholomaei Philippus rex Franciae, qui se quasi ad puniendum paraverat, et praecipue ad dissolvendam obsidionem urbis Calensis propius accesserat, diluculo clam aufugit² relictis tentoriis cum victualibus plurimis. Quo viso Calensenses villam illam reddiderunt regi Edwardo, quam per mensem disponens circa festum Sancti Michaelis rediit, concessis ad instantiam domini papae novem mensium treugis; sed in redeundo, sicut quondam de Britannia Minori rediens, maximam tempestatem in mari, qua plures probos milites amisit, perpeusus est. Unde et ipse rex Edwardus in talem admirativam querimoniam prolapsus est. "O bona domina mea Maria! quid est et quid protendit quod tendendo versus Franciam aura grata potior, mare arridet, et cuncta michi eveniunt prospere, sed in redeundo versus Angliam infortunia nimis adverna perpetior?"

A.D. 1348.
Great rains.

Beginning
of the
plague.

[MCCCLVIII.] Hoc anno inundavit pluvia nimis, a festo Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistae usque ad Natale Domini proxime sequens, ut vix transiret dies quin plueret in die vel in nocte; sub quo temporis decursu magna mortalitas hominum grassata³ est per orbem, ab australibus et orientalibus plagis incipiens, ut vix media pars hominum remaneret.⁴

¹ millia] om. MS.

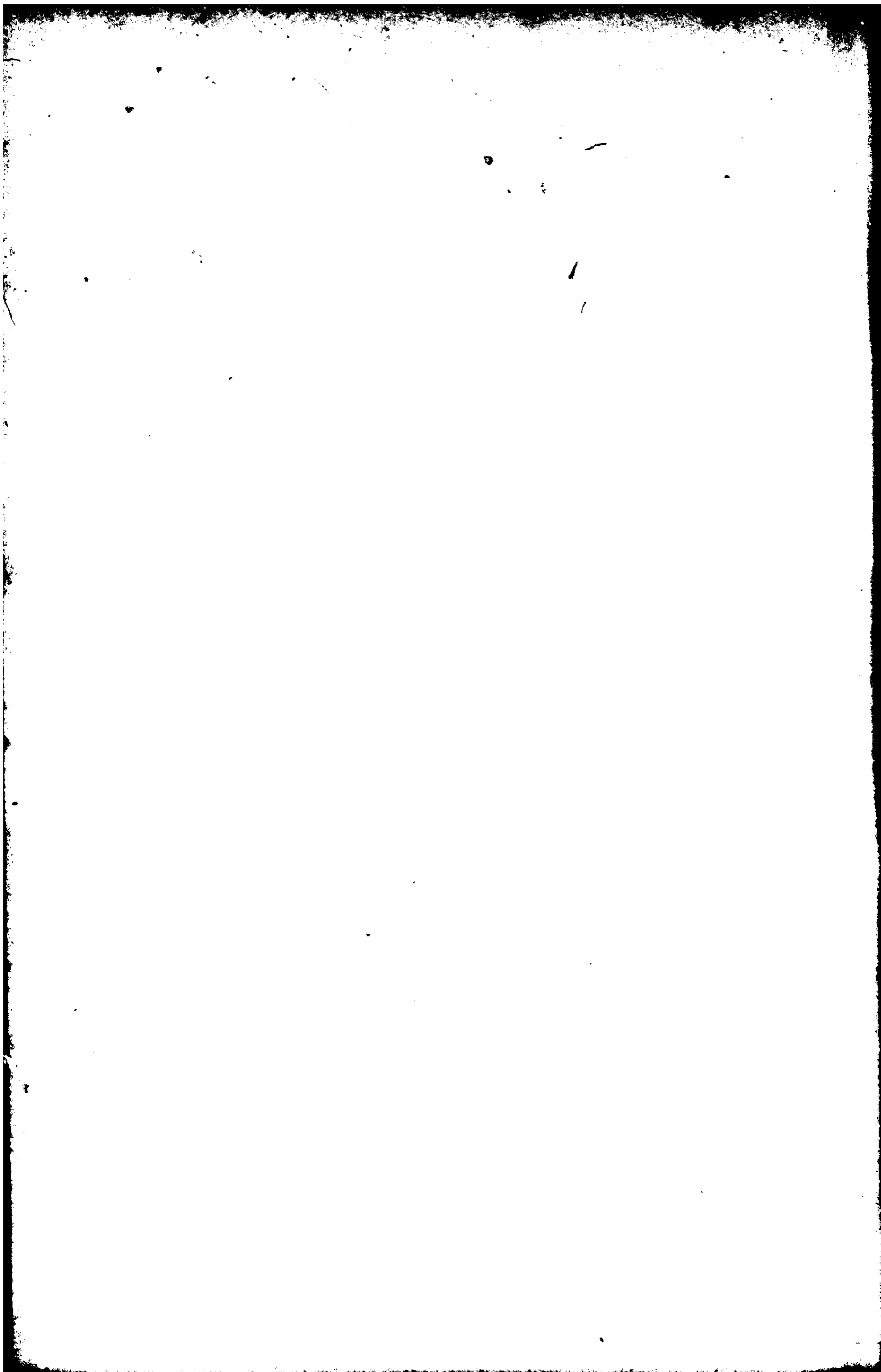
² aufugit] affugit, MS.

³ grassata] crassata, MS.

⁴ remaneret] remanentis, MS.

**CHRONICLES OF THE REIGNS OF
EDWARD I. AND EDWARD II.**

**VITA ET MORS EDWARDI SECUNDI
REGIS ANGLIÆ
CONSCRIPTA A THOMA DE LA MOORE
EQUITE AURATO.**



VITA ET MORS EDWARDI SECUNDI
REGIS ANGLIÆ
CONSCRIPTA A GENEROSISSIMO MILITE
THOMA DE LA MOORE.¹

Baker, p. 40. Anno Domini M^oCCC^oVII^o, Edwardo de Winchester rege A.D. 1307.
Angliæ mortuo, successit filius Edwardus de Carnarvan. Succession
Qui statim in Galliam trajecit, ut sibi conciliaret animum ward II.
regis Philippi le bel, cujus filiam Isabellam in uxorem duxit A.D. 1308.
Bolonis, quinto kalendas Februarii, mira cum celebritate. His mar-
riage.
Deinde rege quinto Februarii in Angliam reverso, vii^o ka-
lendas Martii Isabella coronata est Westmonasterii. Cum
rex in Gallia esset, accessit ad eum Petrus de Gaveston, ei
antiqua familiaritate notus, et ea gratia a patre suo exul
factus; quem is secum in Angliam reduxit, atque ei dedit Promotion
of Gaveston.
comitatum Cornubiæ una cum sororis suæ filia, videlicet
Johannæ de Acris, comitiſſæ Gloverniæ, in uxorem. Erat hic His charac-
ter and
advantages.
Petrus Italus² natione, corpore elegans, ingenio acer, moribus
curiosus, in re militari satis exercitatus. Cujus argumentum,³
cum is in Scotia militis præsideret, Scotos valde terruit et
a prædis et aliis vesaniis repressit. Quo per invidiam
eorum, qui felices ejus progressus haud libenter viderunt,
revocato, invaluit iterum Scotorum versutia. Regine coro-
nationi interfuerunt Carolus de Valois, frater regis Franciæ,
et pater Philippi primi intrusoris, et dux Britannia, Hen-
ricus comes Lucenburghe, postea Imperator. Sed cultu facile
omnes excelluit et ornamentis Petrus. Quare plurimum
auxit in se magnatum invidiam.

¹ From Camden's Edition, col-
lated with MSS. Cotton Vitellius
E. 5 and Harleian, 310, and the
Bodleian MS. 761.

² *Italus*] The word which would
have described Gaveston's nation-

ality is altogether omitted in the
Bodleian MS. of Baker, Bodl. 761.

³ *argumentum*] probably the right
word was magnanimitas. See Baker,
p. 50.

- A.D. 1200. Gaveston sent to Ireland; his return. Anno m^occc^oix^o. Rex, quo deliniret¹ animos nobilium in *Baker, p. 51.*
 Petrum, eum in Hiberniam transmisit cum satis magna manu adversus Hibernos rebelles. Stipendium ex serario suo assignavit² solvendum. Is prospere primo progressus est, sed, fortuna statim mutata, nondum transacto anno, in Angliam rediit ad regis contubernium. Jam exarserunt in eum manifesta odia, variis signis expressa, nonnullorum, qui putarent se gratum opus Deo facturos, si Petrum e medio tollerent aut vita aut patria³ privarent. Rex igitur, ut eum a magnatum insidiis servaret, eum castro Bamburgi inclusit: se id fecisse asserens, ut eorum animos placaret. At hoc satis non est illis visum, quin etiam rex piissimus ejus causa non paucas contumelias passus est. Anno igitur m^occc^oxi^o, circa festum Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistae, a Bamburgo revocatum, custodiæ commisit Andomari de Valentia comitis Penbrochie, quem prius sacrosanctum sacramentum, astantem *p. 52.*
 in præsentia, jurare coegit, quod ipsum indemnem, quoad posset, contra omnes hostes suos tueretur, ad certum usque tempus, quo eum reliquis proceribus reconciliare proposuerit. At vero Andomari superavit invidia fidem et voluntas placendi reliquis sui ordinis. Duxit eum ad manerium Dathington, quod est inter Oxoniam et Warwick, locum neque tutum nec munitum, nec secretum, quo eum tueri posset adversus comitem Warwici. Nocte sequenti recessit Andomarus, atque postridie mane accessit comes Warwici Guido cum hominum mediocri manu, et eum cepit, secum ad castrum Warwici abduxit. Habita itaque deliberatione inter se, Thomas Lancastriae, Warwici et Herefordiae comites, in eorum conspectu in loco qui dicitur Blaklawe⁴ xix^o Januarii⁵ capite truncari curarunt. Corpus autem in ecclesia fratrum Prædicatorum de Langley rex honorifice sepeliri jussit. Hoc anno papa Clemens consilium tenuit Viennæ,⁶ quod duravit a primo Octobris usque ad Pentecostem. In quo præsentem Philippo Belle rege Francorum, condemnati sunt Templarii, procurante hoc ipso rege, quia is magistrum ordinis exosum habuit, propter importunam *p. 53.*
- A.D. 1312. Capture and death of Gaveston. festum Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistae, a Bamburgo revocatum, custodiæ commisit Andomari de Valentia comitis Penbrochie, quem prius sacrosanctum sacramentum, astantem *p. 52.*
 in præsentia, jurare coegit, quod ipsum indemnem, quoad posset, contra omnes hostes suos tueretur, ad certum usque tempus, quo eum reliquis proceribus reconciliare proposuerit. At vero Andomari superavit invidia fidem et voluntas placendi reliquis sui ordinis. Duxit eum ad manerium Dathington, quod est inter Oxoniam et Warwick, locum neque tutum nec munitum, nec secretum, quo eum tueri posset adversus comitem Warwici. Nocte sequenti recessit Andomarus, atque postridie mane accessit comes Warwici Guido cum hominum mediocri manu, et eum cepit, secum ad castrum Warwici abduxit. Habita itaque deliberatione inter se, Thomas Lancastriae, Warwici et Herefordiae comites, in eorum conspectu in loco qui dicitur Blaklawe⁴ xix^o Januarii⁵ capite truncari curarunt. Corpus autem in ecclesia fratrum Prædicatorum de Langley rex honorifice sepeliri jussit. Hoc anno papa Clemens consilium tenuit Viennæ,⁶ quod duravit a primo Octobris usque ad Pentecostem. In quo præsentem Philippo Belle rege Francorum, condemnati sunt Templarii, procurante hoc ipso rege, quia is magistrum ordinis exosum habuit, propter importunam *p. 53.*
- His burial. curarunt. Corpus autem in ecclesia fratrum Prædicatorum de Langley rex honorifice sepeliri jussit. Hoc anno papa Clemens consilium tenuit Viennæ,⁶ quod duravit a primo Octobris usque ad Pentecostem. In quo præsentem Philippo Belle rege Francorum, condemnati sunt Templarii, procurante hoc ipso rege, quia is magistrum ordinis exosum habuit, propter importunam *p. 53.*
- Condemnation of the Templars. quia is magistrum ordinis exosum habuit, propter importunam *p. 53.*

¹ *deliniret*] delineret, Ed. and MSS.

² *assignavit*] E serario, ins. MS. Harl.

³ *aut . . . patria*] atque vita, Ed.: vita vel regni incolatu, Baker.

⁴ *Blaklawe*] Gaversiche. MS. Harl. and Baker.

⁵ *Januarii*] It should be *Junii*: but Januarii is the reading of Baker's MS., of the other MSS., and of Camden's edition.

⁶ *Viennæ*] Vicennæ, Ed. and MSS.

Baker, p. 53. pecunie exactionem quam in nuptias filiae suae Isabellae ei mutuo A.D. 1312. dederat. Inhiabat praeterea praediis militum et possessionibus; unde magistrum ordinis cum aliis multis Parisiis comburendam curavit. At vero quod proposuerat non obtinuit, nam papa ejectorum terras et possessiones Hospitalariis assignavit; pro quibus in eorum manus tradendis misit in Angliam papa cardinalem quendam comitatum episcopo Albanensi. At vero magnates Angliae, quorum majores Templarios praediis ditaverant, papae in hoc restiterunt, atque, ordine jam condemnato, majorum suorum donatas possessiones ipsi repetitas occupaverunt. Papae itaque nuntii infecto negotio reversi sunt.

Treatment of their property.

p. 54.

Anno M^oCCC^oXIII^o, die Sancti Brissii, Windesoriæ natus est regi Edwardus, tertius postea vocatus, magnificus Gallorum triumphator, Scottorum dominator, etc. Rex mortem Petri fidelissimi quondam amici deplorare non cessavit. Cujus interitus eum in multos infestum reddidit, quos ad se consiliaque sua vocare dedignabatur. Cum igitur internis solatiis intenderet, Robertus de Brus omnia fere in Scotia amissa recuperavit. Castra et munitiones, ejectis Anglicis praesidiis, in suam potestatem recepit. Anno igitur sequenti, praelatorum consensu et aliorum quorundam, Hugo Despenser filius constitutus est regis camerarius loco Petri de Gaveston; quem eo libentius in hunc locum promoverunt, quia eum regi exosum cognoverunt. At vero is prudentia et obsequio haud multo post, dirempto regis animo, eum in sui amorem facile commutavit, unde et illi odio eum vel maximo prosequuti sunt. Hujus Hugonis pater senex adhuc cuperstes erat magnae probitatis miles, consilio providus, armis strenuus, cujus confusionem et ignominiosum finem accumulavit amor naturalis sed disordinatus erga filium suum, corpore formosissimum, spiritu superbissimum, actu flagitiosissimum; quem spiritus ambitionis et cupiditatis ad viduarum et orphanorum exheredationem, in necem nobilium, regis praecipitium, et sui atque patris interitum praecipitavit.

Birth of Edward III.

Hugh le Despenser chamberlain.

His influence with the king.

p. 55.

Anno M^oCCC^oXIII^o, rex, injuriis regis Brusii instigatus, vires prope Strivelin adunavit. Nunquam magis splendidus, nobilis aut superbus exercitus Anglorum visus, ut affirmat pauper ille Carmelita frater R. Baston in suis heroicis de illo bello, quod ipse praesens, a Scotis captus, deplanxit. Vidisses prima nocte Anglos haud Angelico¹ more vino madentes, crapulam eructantes, "Wassail" et "Drinkehaile" plus solito

A.D. 1314. Expedition against the Scots.

p. 56.

¹ Angelico] Anglico, Ed. and MSS. ; Angelorum, Baker.

A.D. 1314.
June 24.
Battle of
Bannock-
burn.

intonantes. E contra Scotos silentes sanctam vigiliam, erat Baker, p. 56. enim vigilia Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistae, jejunio celebrantes, amore patriae et libertatis aestuantes. In crastino Scoti, campi locum nacti victoribus opportunum, suffodiebant ad mensuram trium pedum in profundum, et in eandem latitudinem, fossas longas a dextra in sinistram, operientes illas plexis fragilibus ex virgultis et viminibus "hordelles," cespite et herbis superstratis, peditibus quidem prius consociis cautelae sufficientes, sed equitum pondera non valentes sufferre. Exercitus Scotorum non longe ab hac fossa constitit in turmas divisus, in acies solidissimas distributus. Ab occidente vero e contra Anglus refulsit; sol oriens¹ in scuta aurea et galeas splendentes radios emisit; oportuit autem ut expectassent potius meridiem ad configendum cum solem habuissent dextrum. In prima acie fuerunt equites, in secunda pedites et p. 57. sagittarii, in tertia rex ipse cum episcopis et aliis religionis, et inter ipsos vecors milvus Hugo Le Spenser. Equites in hostes moti, praecipites in fossam ceciderunt, quibus adfuerant hostes mactantes, capientes, divitibusque solis, magno pretio redimendis, parcentes. Ibi occubuit Gilbertus comes Glocestriae, quem Scoti libenter ad redemptionem servassent, si cognovissent; at vero is togam propriae armaturae eo die induere neglexerat. Ceciderunt cum eo Edmundus Maulee, Robertus de Clifford, Paganus Tiptoft, Egidius D'Argentine, et multi alii ordinis militaris. Capti sunt et redemptioni servati Humfridus de Bohun comes Herefordiae, Johannes de Segrave, Johannes de Clavering, Gulielmus le Latimer, et fere trecenti viri militares. Multos autem occiderunt nostri sagittarii, qui, cum Scotos in fossas directos irruere aspexissent, sagittis in eos directis, non Scotos a pectore armatos, sed p. 58. nostros a tergore nudos trajecerunt. Rex cum episcopis et Hugone fugam capessivit. Hic non equi velocitas, non hominum industria, regem ab inimicis liberavit, sed Mater Dei quam rex invocavit. Cui rex et Filio suo vovit, si salvus evasisset se erecturum pauperibus ejus Carmelitis mansionem in Matris Dei titulo insignitam pro viginti quatuor fratribus, theologiae studio deputatis, quod et postea fecit Oxonii, et expensis ditavit, dissuadente Spensero.

Slain and
prisoners.

Escape of
the king.

His vow of
a foundation
at Oxford.

A.D. 1315.
Scottish
invasion of
Ireland.

Anno m^occc^oxv^o Scoti, sub ducatu Edwardi le Bruis, qui re regem Hiberniae nominari jussit. Hiberniam invaserant.

¹ "ex adverso progredientis ab occidente exercitus Anglorum refulsit sol oriens," Baker.

- Baker, p. 58. domino Johanne Birmingham¹ tunc ibi justitiario. Cujus vir-
tute fusi fugatique sunt et plurimi interfecti. Incruduit eodem
tempore in Anglia sœvissima pestis et fames: quarterium
frumenti vendebatur pro quadraginta solidis sterlingorum. A.D. 1312.
Famine and
plague.
- p. 59. Anno m^occc^oxvi^o venerunt in Angliam duo cardinales, ut
inter Angliam et Scotiam pacem componerent; qui in itinere
versus Scotiam in agro Dunelmensi deprædati sunt a Gilberto
de Midelton milite, qui postea ea de gratia suspensus est, et
in quarterium divisus. Robertus de Bruis nuntios spirituales²
Scotiam ingredi noluit permittere; quamobrem cardinales eum
excommunicaverunt, et regem Scotiæ interdicto supposuerunt.
Reversi autem cardinales ad curiam pro ablati a prædonibus
duplicia receperant a rege et proceribus sponte collata. A.D. 1316.
The card-
inals robbed.
- Anno m^occc^oxvii^o Robertus le Brus castrum et villam Ber-
wicke viriliter acquisivit, neminem occidendo, qui voluit obe-
dire. In Augusto rex et comes Lancastriæ in quadam planitie
prope Leicestriam sunt concordati, et se mutue amplexati et
osculati sunt. A.D. 1317.
Berwick
taken.
- Anno m^occc^oxviii^o. In autumnno rege transequitante magno
cum exercitu partem Scotiæ, et ad obsidionem Berwici se dis-
ponente, Scoti ex alia parte Angliam invaserunt, usque ad
Eboracum prædis et incendiis omnia vastantes, regemque in-
faustis nuntiis ad sui regni defensionem revocaverunt, et per
aliam viam ipsi in Scotiam reversi sunt. A.D. 1318.
The Scots
ravage
Yorkshire.
- p. 60. Anno m^occc^oxix^o in Junio rex profectus est in Galliam, ubi
Ambianis occurrit regi Philippo, a quo recepit comitatum Pon-
tivi, quem princeps Gallorum in sua novitate propter non
factum homagium occupaverat. A.D. 1319.
Edward
does homage
for Pon-
thieu.
- Anno m^occc^oxx^o oritur inter regem et barones, scilicet
comites Lancastriæ et Herefordiæ, dissidium, quod origo
et causa fuit interitus baronum, calamitatis regis, et regii
sanguinis fere excidii. Exarsit enim odium et invidia baro-
num in Hugonem le Spenser. Fuerunt enim qui dixerant
eum esse alterum regem, et potius solum: regisque animum
cum incantasse, non secus atque olim fecisset Petrus de Gave-
stone; et de regis familiaritate ita præsumpsisse, quod non-
nullos nobiles frequenter a regio colloquio arceret; at cum
regem ipsi de suis negotiis alloqui cuperent, eum, præoccupata
regis benignitate, responsionem in se suscipere, regisque com-
moditatem præ se ferens, responsa dare adversa et ingrata.
Taliam de Hugone fateor mala, sed non adeo, quin vulgus gar-
The writer's
opinion.

¹ Birmingham] Brin'ngam, Ed. | ² spirituales] speciales, Baker.

A.D. 1321.
Attack of
the barons
on the
younger
Despenser.

Exile of
father and
son.

The queen
shut out
of Leeds
castle.

Intercession
of the
barons.

The king
takes Leeds.

He is at
Cirencester
at Christ-
mas.

Capture of
the Mort-
imers.

ulus pejora studuit fingendo demonstrare, et malefacta dete-
riora reddere. Hiis et similibus, quæ ministri regii offendere¹
solent, proceres accensi et furibundi in odium filii, patris
Hugonis possessiones in Wallia et Marchia occuparunt, nemora
vastarunt et mobilia deprædarent, in utriusque præterea necem
patris et filii, et cujuslibet præterea amicorum, regio san-
guine excepto, sub sacramento conjurarunt. Quorum præcipui
fuerunt comes Herefordiæ, Rogerus de Mortimer, Mauritius de
Barkley, Bartholomæus de Badelamere, Rogerus Damori. His
occulte comes Penbrochiæ consensit, et comes Lancastriæ
ardenter et manifeste. Hugo furorem eorum temporis tractu
mitigari arbitratus, se in tempus clam tenuit, aliquando in
transmarinis partibus, quandoque in mari, ipso regis, ipsius
voluntate, navigio latitavit. Igitur comitiis² Westmonasterii
habitis, uterque Hugo, regia majestate assentiente, sed potius
refragari non audente, in exilium mittitur.

Anno M^oCCC^oXX^o venit Isabella regina ad castrum de
Leedes circa festum Michaelis, atque ibi pernoctare voluit. p. 62.
At vero non est permissa ingredi. Hac re regis animo offenso,
ut in suum contemptum acta, convocatis vicinis ex Estsexia
et Londino nonnullis, castrum jussit obsideri. Castrum
tenuit Bartholomæus de Badelamere, in quo relicta uxore et
filiis, ipse cum reliquis baronibus ad res Hugonum evertendas
profectus fuerat. Interim, inclusis de salute desperantibus,
barones cum suis Kingston usque venerunt in vigilia Aposto-
lorum Simonis et Judæ, rogantes per intermissos episcopos
Cantuariensem et Londinensem, et comitem Penbrochiæ, quod
obsidionem rex solveret, polliciti se post proximum parla-
mentum castrum regi in manus tradituros. Rex vero, per-
pendens non posse diu obsessos resistere, et exasperatus eorum
contumacia, baronum petitiones audire noluit. Quibus in
alias partes conversis, postea non modico labore castro po-
titur; reliquis in eo repertis suspensis, uxorem cum filiis ad
turrin Londinensem misit. In sequenti Natali Cirencestræ
festum celebravit: profectus cum exercitu in Marchiam Wal-
liæ Gloverniæ reliquit a quibusdam baronibus præoccupatam
rebellibus, atque Wigorniam pertransiens ad Bridgenorth iter
direxit, ubi castro in tempus defenso tandem potitus, castellani p. 63.
partim occisi, partem fugati, et in exilium acti sunt, eorum-
que bona ubique confiscata. In Salopiam perveniens, utrum-
que de Mortuomari, ad ejus gratiam confugientes, ad turrin

¹ *offendere*] ostendere, Ed. and MSS. | ² *comitiis*] Blank in MS. Cotton.

Baker, p. 61. Londinenses misit; Mauritium vero de Berekley, et Hugonem de Andeley, esse ei submittentem, ad castrum Wallingfordiae misit. Comes Herefordiae, Gilbertus Talbot, Rogerus D'Amory, et omnes alii eorum adhaerentes, in boream ad comitem Lancastrias, qui eos expectavit, profecti sunt. Istis peractis, archiepiscopo presidente in consilio Londini fuit per prelatos provinciae Cantuariensis allegatum, quod exilium Dispensatorum fuit erroneum, et de jure revocandum. Unde directum est eos esse revocandas et restituendos.

A.D. 1321.
Submission
of some
flight of
others.

The clergy
saw the
sentence
against the
Dispensers.

Anno M^oCC^oXXI^o oblatae sunt conditiones pacis a baronibus. Verum rex, eorum pertinacia offensus, collecto exercitu circa finem Februarii in boream contendit, rebellesque adortus apud Burton super Trentam, in fugam vertit. Deinde paulo post regio exercitu aucto copiis Northumbriae ab Andrea de Haroklay adductis, valde animo consternati sunt barones.

A.D. 1322.
The barons
put to flight
at Burton-
on-Trent.

Ineunt igitur consilium de se submittendo regis clementiae, quod quidam Thomam Lancastrensem reliquis valde exorare reddidit, ut qui colligerent Thomam, cum esset regio sanguine creata, sibi facile posse securitatem obtinere, illis non autem; praecipue, cum is affirmaret, se non contra regem sed Hugonem arma suscepisse, regis corruptorem, ac regni pestem. Humfridum vero de Bohun comitem Herefordiae, virum bellicosum, strenuum et providum, compulit periculi timor in sententia persistere¹ communi, tum sibi tum² reliquis militibus, quos non sine maximo suarum rerum detrimento, vel etiam vitae dispendio, regi et Hugonibus reconciliari posse animadverterit. Unde voluit, pietate quadam commotus, generosus comes, vitae periculum subire, quam se et suos manifestae calamitati bonorum amissionis, carceris et interitus exponere.

Proposal
of submission,
propounded by
Lancaster.

Self-sacrifice
of the earl
of Hereford.

p. 62.

Tandem septimo die Martii iterum congregiuntur acies apud Burrowbrugge, ubi piissimus comes Humfridus a quodam Wallo, qui sub ponte constitit, lancea per foramina pontis emissam, per inguina trajectus interiit; quo in loco milites armari non solent, quippe cum sub pedibus hostes se inventuros minime credant. Capitur in campo comes Lancastriae, barones et baronetti,³ comsilitones ejus et milites circa nonaginta quinque, reliquis fuga servatis. Hii in exemplum aliorum graviter

Battle of
Burrough-
bridge.

Lancaster
taken.

¹ *persistere*] *desistere*, Ed.; *continere*, Baker.

² *tum . . . tum*] *cum . . . cum*, Ed.

³ *baronetti*] So also Baker and the MSS.

- A.D. 1322. Execution of the earl and his partizans. puniuntur, sententia Andree de Harkeley, et justitiariorum regis. Imprimis Thomas Lancastrie comes, cujus nobilitas, potentia et divitiarum splendor reliquos animaverat, sexto post die suspendio condemnatus est: tametsi regia clementia gravitatem poenae et turpitudinem praesertim consanguineo mitigavit. Capite itaque truncari jussit, et circa octodecim reliquorum in diversis Angliae partibus suspensi et tracti sunt; quinque in exilium acti; reliqui carceris squalori mancipati, tandem pretio redimuntur. Baker, p. 62.
- The elder Hugh made earl of Winchester. Anno M^oCCC^oXXII^o Eboraci parliamentum post Pascha celebratur, ubi, Hugone patre comite Wintoniensi constituto, rex, collecto exercitu, ad festum Sancti Jacobi Scotiam invasit. Scoti vero, regiam potentiam veriti, cum suis omnibus ultra mare Scoticum se conferunt, regione citramarina victualibus prius evacuata, quoad poterant. Rex brevi exercitum fame pressum in Angliam reduxit. Scoti igitur, mari transmissi, nocturnis et clandestinis itineribus regem insecuti, apud forestam de Blackmore noctu ex improvise castra¹ Regis adiunguntur, in regis ipsius hospitium obsessum insultum faciunt. Rex vero, vix eorum insidias elapsus, fuga cum paucis aliis se servavit, captis ex ejus comitibus comite Richmondiae, et domino de Siliaco, regis Franciae nuntio, multisque aliis. Scoti deinde totam Marchiam Eboracum usque rapinis et igne devastant, Ripense oppidum incendunt, Beverlacum quadringentis libris sterlingorum redemptam indemnem relinquunt, et ad propria spoliis onusti revertuntur. Anno sequenti Junio mense captae sunt induciae in tredecim annos. p. 63.
- Expedition to Scotland.
- Escape of the king.
- Ripon burned.
- A.D. 1323. Truce.
- The new king of France summons Edward to do homage.
- Forfeiture declared.
- Anno M^oCCC^oXXII^o Philippus rex Franciae moritur. Succedit Carolus frater, qui statim in Angliam misit Andream de Florentia, ad citandum regem, ut ad se veniret homagium praestiturus de ducatu Aquitaniae, et aliis terris, quas a se tenuit. Et licet Hugo Despenser et Robertus Baldocke precibus et monitis nuntiorum [mentes]² informassent satis, ut ipsi putabant, quod causam sui adventus non notificarent regi, tamen in suo recessu monuerunt ipsum, et suaserunt, ut homagium facturum se regi praesentaret. Super qua monitione Andreas, qui Carolo fuit notarius, consilio regis Angliae hoc ignorante, fecit publicum edictum, cujus virtute rex Franciae, contra regem facto processu, terras nonnullas de ducatu Gas-

¹ castra] castro, Ed., MSS.² mentes] Supplied from Baker.

Baker, p. 67. comitatus¹ et comitatum² Pontivi in suum emolumentum seiscire curavit. Edwardo putante, sicut fuit informatus, prædictam citationem non valuisse, seiscinam fecit patruus Caroli regis, Carolus de Valois, vir Angliis infestissimus, qui magno cum exercitu fingens legationem,³ præstendens Edwardi inobedientiam de homagio minime præstito, comitatum Pontivi, et totam Agenam in manus sui nepotis seiscivit. Tandem ad Regulam oppidum progressus munitum invenit, duce Edmundo de Woodstocke, Edwardi germano⁴ et comite Cantie; qui inter se colloquuti inducias faciunt dum inter reges de pace agi posset.

A.D. 1343.
Charles of Valois
seizes Pontivy and Agen.

p. 68.

Anno m^occc^oxx^oiii^o Rogerus de Mortuomari e turri Londinensi, corruptis custodibus, evasit, et in Franciam elapsus, Carolo de Valois se adjunxit, in novum dissidium et bellum intestinum miserrimum a diabolo reservatus. Proxima Quadragesima, in parlamento Londini, facta est inquisitio contra

Roger de Mortuomari

p. 69.

Adamum episcopum Herefordensem per legales viros ejusdem comitatus, super eo quod prædictus Adam adhæsit quondam illis de Mortuomari regis hostibus, eoque equis et armis accommodatis adjuverat ad dicti regis eversionem. Nolente vero episcopo accusato respondere, ejus omnia temporalia sicut proditoris regia auctoritate confiscantur; unde inexorabile odium concipiens, episcopus in regem et amicos ejus, vir ingenii callidissimus et prudentia mundana summus, facinorosus et audax, et factiosus, ad regis degradationem et multorum nobilium ruinam iræ conceptæ venenum propinavit, resuscitando procerum odium in Hugones, jam fere post regis victoriam ad Burrowebrigge sopitum, aut certe terrore regie potentie coopertum; quod jam tandem vires resumens acce conspicendum obtulit. Multi autem nobilium, qui sub comite Lancastrie arma gerissent adversus regem, non alia via salutem sperantes, quam Hugonum intercessu, eorum animos et favorem terrarum et prædiorum⁵ donatione coemerunt; quæ res eos omnibus valde exosos reddidit, non solum quod regi commibus reliquis posthabitis soli illi maximi habebantur, verum quod sua ambitione et cupiditate plurimos nobiles depauperaverant hiis modis. Atque videbantur pro uno tres jam esse Angliæ reges. Sed eos præcipue odio habebat Adam Herefordensis, jam temporalibus suis privatus, et Henricus de Burwarthe, et istorum amici, qui solum regie majestatis reverentia man-

A.D. 1324.
The bishop of Hereford accused in parliament.

He excites the peers against the king's friends.

Incumbent hatred of the Burwarthe.

p. 70.

¹ *Comitatus*] *Glaucous*, Ed.

² *comitatum*] *comitate*, Ed.

³ *fingens legationem*] *fingens legationem*, Baker.

R 1681.

⁴ *germanus*] *frater*, Ed.

⁵ *prædiorum*] *prædiorum*, Ed.

- A.D. 1324. The queen takes offence. continebant. Ad hoc ipsum reginæ ipsius animum incende- Baker, p. 70.
bant, in majus nefas iram muliebrem rapidissimam concitantes, eo quod Hugonum consilio reginæ familia esset diminuta, et certorum reddituum præcisione et annonæ magis parca sub-
ministratione. Inde vel avaritia insatiabilis fœmina frustrata,¹ vel certe prodigalitas affectata, quorum alteri solent semper muliebres sexus indulgere, in causa fuit, quod non solum in Dispensatores, sed etiam in maritum mortale odium conceperit. Luget Francorum regis filiam, immo unicam successorem, avaro maritatum, se promissam fore reginam, sed ancillam factam esse Dispensatoribus stipendiariam. Cum fratre regis colloqui cupit, ut ei de miseriis suis conquereretur, et de vin- p. 71.
dicta in Dispensatores consuleret. Episcopus Herefordensis non cessat clam cum ea hiis de rebus conferre, de præsentī calamitate conqueri, et reginam omnibus horis et modis incitare, et ejus indignationem augere. Idipsum agit etiam Lincolnensis episcopus; uterque reginam admonet, ut capteret occasionem fratrem et patruum² in Francia visitandi, ut eorum consilium contra Dispensatores impleret, quod si fecerit, omnia facile pro voto successura esse. Erat illis diebus inter reges, ut prædictum est, de pace agendum: ad quod p. 72.
conficiendum voluit rex ipse mare transire. Illud vero sibi timentes comites Wintoniæ et Gloucestræ dissuadebant, ne interim illi in hostium manus inciderent, si vel domi manerent sine rege, vel eum comitarentur ad Francum hostem. Interim regina blandimentis regem inducit, ut ipsa fungatur hac legatione, omnia promittens se effecturam. Stipulantur episcopi duo, et aliquot procerum reliquorum, adeo ut tandem persuaso rege ea mittitur in Franciam.
- A.D. 1325. Reception of the queen in France. Anno millesimo trecentesimo vigesimo quarto regina a fratre Franco et patruo libentissime suscepta, dum causam mariti agit. Is interim per totam Quadragesimam et æstatem in littore³ commoratus est, ut facilius nuntios et litteras ab uxore recipere posset. Ea interim suas res agit. Consensit Francorum parliamentum, quod, si rex Edwardus filio jns suum in ducatu Aquitanie et comitatu Pontivi resignaret, rex Francus p. 73.
ei traderet in manus eorum plenam seisinam, et contentus foret homagio, quod ille sibi faceret. Hiis conclusis, Carolus rex litteras suas patentes, et alias de salvo conducto pro primogenito Angliæ ad Edwardum mittit. Super hiis habentur
- Proposal to send the young Edward.

¹ *fœmina frustrata*] *feminina*
concupitis frustrata, Baker.

² *patruum*] patrem, Ed.; corrected
from Baker.

³ *in littore*] om. MSS.

Baker, p. 73. consilia Langedone et Dovorise saepius. Aliqui suadebant, ut A.D. 1225.

rex in propria persona transiret; nec securum posse esse regis

Opposite
counsellors.

filium paterna ope destitutum inter Francos astutos et facinorosos, ne rex Francorum parvulum cui vellet dispari matrimonio copularet, aut sibi tutorem assignaret. Comites vero Wintoniae et Gloucestriae alterius erant sententiae, eo quod cum rege transfretare timerent, vel, eo transgresso, in Anglia manere. Quibus in eorum damnum assensit episcopus Lincolnien-
p. 74.

sis, ea quae proposuerat ad finem deduci posse sperans. Praeterea rex timens, ne eo absente barones in comites Dispensatores deessirent, et bellum intestinum jam sopitum re-
The king
reacts his
French pro-
vinces to his
son, Henry 3.

nascerent, facile assentit illis, qui suum filium esse mittendum suadebant. Unde chartam de praedictis terris, habendis et tenendis sibi et heredibus suis regibus Anglorum, filio suo fecit; addens, quod, si patre suo superetite filius moreretur, praedicta ad patrem redirent, et praeterea quasdam conditiones, quibus non liceret regi Franciae eum maritare, nec tutorem sine sua voluntate submittere. Hac ordinatio facta¹ fuit ex consilio² praelatorum et nobilium aliorum regni Dovorise postridie Nativitatis beatae Mariae anno regis decimo octavo. Et die Jovis sequenti Edwardus filius navem ascendit, comitatus Gualtero³ episcopo Exoniae, et aliis nobilibus aliquot. Exinde circa
The king
was
taken
to France.

festum Sancti Matthaei fecit homagium avunculo suo regi Franciae, sub protestationibus factis ex utraque parte. Completis negotiis, pro quibus regina missa fuerat in Franciam, statim post festum Sancti Michaelis scripsit ad eam rex maritus, praecipitque, ut filium suum in Angliam reduceret confestim. Rescripsit ipsa quod dominus rex Franciae frater nimia charitate foveret illos, et secum invitos⁴ detineret; unde remissa magna parte utriusque familiae, residuum illius anni circa negotia, pro quibus ex intentione proficiscebatur, ipsa transegit. Gualternus episcopus Exoniensis non in Angliam
Edward
reacts his
son, when
the queen
detains
him.

juasus redire, communione tamen secreti consilii reginae videns
Edward
reacts his
son, when
the queen
detains
him.

se sequestratum, sed⁵ R. de Mortuomari, et alios proditores, regis domini sui inimicos, locum suum quoad reginae familiaritatem usurpasse, clam repatriavit. Rex commotus est hac
The king
was
taken
to France.

reginae mora, filium suum detinentis extra regnum, quibusdam asserentibus, eos invitos detineri, alius conjicientibus, eam illicitis complexibus Rogeri de Mortuomari delinitam⁶ cum e

¹ facta] sancta, Ed.

² consilio] consensu, MS. H.

³ Gualtero] Guilielmo, MSS.

⁴ invitos] junctos, Ed.

⁵ sed] P. et, Ed.

⁶ delinitam] devinctam, Ed. de-
tinctam, V., delinctam, H.

A.D. 1325. et reliquis Anglorum profugis, quos in Francia reperit, nolle Baker, p. 73.
 The queen collecta an army for the invasion of England. redire; alii autem alia vane conjicientibus, episcopi Lincolnien-
 ensis et Herefordiae concilii negotii, finem expectantes, secreta animorum dissimularunt. Regina vero muliebri ira, et vindictae cupiditate aetnans, in fine anni in Hannoniae partes profecta est, toti mundo filium suum amabilem et formidabilem, sine consilio procerum Angliae matrimonio copulavit Philippae ducis Hannoniae filiae, tametsi inconsulto, tamen felici pulchrae prolis successu. Deinde colligit exercitum armatorum ex Hannonia et ex Germania, stipendarios vocatos, ex dote novarum nuptiarum solvendos. Huic exercitui praeerant viri militares, Johannes comitis Hannoniae frater, Rogerus de Mortuomari secretissimus et principalis de privato consilio reginae.

A.D. 1326. September.
 The queen lands and is joined by the discontented earls and bishops.

Proposals of the invaders.

Classis prospero flatu in Angliam ad portum Orwelliae appulit die Veneris proximo ante festum Sancti Michaelis. Cui obvii comes Marcellus, et Henricus comes Leicestriae, et cum eis baronum atque militum proterva multitudo se conjunxit; nec defuerunt prelati, qui hiis contra patriam et dominum suum se conjunxerunt; sed et illi tanti facinoris auctores, sceleratissima suae disciplinae antedicti¹ sceleris, se ad reliquos contulerunt ad diem expectatum, non quidem lanigerarum ovium, sed armigerorum luporum crudelium pastores, horum phalangis praecipue ducatum praebuere. Hi duo seniores, a quibus egressa est iniquitas Babylonica contra Susannam, sed pro Isabella,² hi, inquam, Baal sacerdotes, alumni Jezabellae, id est, Lincolniae et Herefordiae episcopi, cumque hiis quoque Dublinensis et Eliensis,³ cum eadem regina magnum congregaverunt exercitum; proditori facundo verba committuntur Herefordensi, qui pleno conspirantium parlamento peroravit, expediens fore regno, quod, tanta nobilitatis ibi congregata consilio regendus, rex coarctaretur; regina quoque offensa inexorabilis per voluntatem suam factam de comitibus Wintoniae et Gloucestriae placaretur. Sed quia pro constanti fuit apud omnes, quod rex, amicitiae cultor fidelissimus, suos amicos comites praedictos, in quorum necem fuerat regina debacchata, non sine securitate p. 74
 suae comitivae⁴ dimitteret, et omnibus modis ab invidorum tyrannide tueretur; censuerunt finali praecipuorum juratorum cautione, quod manu armata regis praesentis per eos peteretur; mittuntur ab exercitu epistolae episcopales ad suos coe-

¹ antedicti] armis doctae, Baker
² Isabella] Jezabele, Baker

³ Eliensis] Holmensis, Ed.
⁴ suae comitiae] suae comitia, Ed.

Baker, p. 77. scopis, et alios amicos, tot duces, comites, totque barones A.D. 1284.
 Francigenas, cum eorum copiis per regem Francorum pro- Reports of aid from the king of France and the pope.
 tuitione juris sororis sue mitti, quod vix eorum victui Anglia
 sufficeret. Consternitur pavore grex indigena sine pastore,
 expectans triumphum partis unius, parata se dare virtuti potiori.
 Præterea prorsus mendacium ab exercitu in omnes regni plagas
 divulgatum, quod summus pontifex Romanus omnes Anglos
 absolvit a fidelitate jurata suo regi, fulminaretque sententiam
 excommunicationis in omnes contra reginam arma deferentes.
 Ad hujus mendacii confirmationem finguntur duo cardinales
 esse exercitui regine adherentes nuntii præmissorum.

Anno M^{CC}CC^{XX}VI^o, et regis vicesimo et ultimo, bellum inter- Flight of the king to Wales.
 tinuum Anglis consuetum progreditur, quod perinde non poterat
 diu durare, quoniam rex et comites, quos expectavit manus pro-
 ditionis, invalidos ad resistendum se putantes, fugæ se mandant.
 Rex enim per exploratores perspectum habens, quod uxori suæ
 tota fere regni communitas, falsis territa rumoribus, adhaeret,
 cum duobus comitibus, et Roberto de Baldocke, et paucis de sua
 secreta familia in Walliam se confugit, dimisso comite Wintonie
 ad tuitionem oppidi et castri Bristolie. Deinde ipse usque ad
 Chepstow progressus, cum comite Gloucestræ et Roberto de
 Baldocke, aliisque valde paucis, se commisit navigio, intendens
 ad insulam de Lounday¹ proficisci. Lounday est insula in He proposes to go to Lounday Island.
 Sabrinae ostio duobus miliaribus undique longa, abundans
 paucis amoenis; cuniculos producit copiose, columbas, et
 struconas, quos vocat Alexander Necham² Ganymedis aves,
 indies³ habet prægnantes: aquas insuper recentes de fontibus
 scaturientes incolis ministrat; ipsa, licet undique mari sit cir-
 cumcincta, unum duntaxat aditum habet, quo vix duo viri
 poterint conjuncti pedites incedere: ex omni alia parte rupis
 horrendæ alta præminetia prohibens egressum.

Ad hanc insulam, ut dictum est, victualibus universaliter Failing to reach it, he lands in Glamorgan-shire.
 abundantem, tamen abundanti vino, oleo, melle, frumento,
 bracio, piscibus salis, carnibus et terrestri carbone instuffatam,
 regem volentem adnavigare, ventus contrarius prohibuit om-
 nino, unde, sævas tempestates maris vix declinans, applicuit
 in Glamorgan, et se transtulit ad abbathiam de Netha, ubi
 Wallorum, qui promittebant se secum velle mortem et vitam
 communicare,⁴ falsæ promissioni nimium confusus latitavit. Re-

¹ Lounday] Conday, Ed.

² Necham] Nechristum, Ed.

³ indies] nidus, Baker.

⁴ communicare] commutare, Ed.

- A.D. 1183. The king at Neath. gina jam potentissima sub vexillo filii, non animo malitioso Baker, p. 79. sed maleducto, patrem prosequenti, jussit exercitum in regis persequutionem promovere.
- The queen at Oxford. Perventum igitur est Oxoniam, ubi coram universitate, presentibus regina, et parvo duce Aquitanie, sed et Rogero de Mortuomari, et aliis satellitibus,¹ principalis machinator tante cladis, Adamus Herefordensis vocatus episcopus, de adventu regine, et causa exercitus publice predicavit, assumens pro themate: "Caput meum doleo," quam auctoritatem ad talem duxit questionem, quod auferendum foret necessario caput languidum de regno, nec ullis Hippocratis vinculis alligandum salutiferis. Dein exercitum Gloverniam motum auxerunt multi Boreales regine servientes.
- Oct. 15. Murder of the bishop of Exeter. His ita de habentibus, vulgus Londini, regine et Rogero de Mortuomari volens complacere, bone memorie dominum Walterum episcopum Exoniensem, decimo quinto Octobris, in medio civitatis furiose captum decapitavit, et quosdam etiam alios, ea sola causa, quod regis ministerio fideliter adhaeserunt, atrociter necuere. Caput vero episcopi regine apud Gloverniam p. 80. suo exercitui incumbenti, ut sacrificium Deo et beneplacitum, obtulerunt. Ingressi praeterea turrim Londini omnes incarceratos liberarunt, et etiam per edictum publicum regine omnes incarcerati per totam Angliam dabantur libertati. Ban-niti quoque et fugati fuerunt revocati, ut et, praetensa generali pietate et misericordia, in novi regis coronationem populi cupiditas excandesceret. Tunc omnes facinorosi, et laesae majestatis rei, apud reginam cunctis imperantem, summae gratiae sublevamen facile sunt consequuti. Tunc regii ministri per totam Angliam diffusi sunt regem advocare, aut se regis familiares nuncupare; tantus pavor gregem perterruit, rege pastore persequuto. Omnes regii ministri in turri Londinensi a Londinensibus amoti sunt, et novi constituti sub nomine domini Johannis de Eltham, pueri novem annorum filii regis, quos custodes turris et civitatis nominaret. Fuit enim apud omnes regis adversarios cautela generalis, quod non nisi nomine aliqujus filiorum suorum ullum facinus laesivum regiae majestati ederetur, ut si forsitan justitia regalis ad libere faciendum quod vellet in regno, et posset de jure, forte aliquando re-suscitata, in filios suos proprios, tanquam detrimentorum principales auctores, deserviret.
- Release of prisoners and recall of exiles.
- John of Eltham in charge of the Tower.

¹ satellitibus] satellibusque, Ed.

Baker, p. 80. Sic confusione fas et nefas sunt collata, ut omnes rapaces et homicidas, et sub indifferentia quoscunque facinorosos aceleris ^{A.D. 1294.} ^{General} ^{contumacia.} impositos retinerent, et venie facilitate in sua flagitia provocarent. Sic crevit subita rapacitas impunita, et ubicunque reperiretur regius amicus, profuit sub ista confusione cuilibet facinoroso suis flagitiis adjicere¹ prodicionem.

p. 81.

Gloucestris relicta, Bristolium, quod, ut predictum est, ^{Baroness of Bristol.} occupaverat Hugo Dispensator pater, regina cum exercitu properavit, obsessa tam oppidum quam castrum. Sed loca munitissima solita reserare, desperatio compulit generosum in iratas fœminas misericordiam se et sua cuncta commendare.

Reddebatur igitur castrum cum oppido, quod ingressa ^{Pate of the} ^{elder Hugh} ^{is Dispens-} ^{ator.} virago jussit comitem, sine questione seu responsione, finali supplicio torqueri. Alligatur confestim strenuissimus miles brachiis, et tibiis in longum protensis; et in ipsius viventis conspecta viscera propria, de ventre crudeliter et nimium inhumaniter² extracta, ignibus traduntur; residuum quoque corporis³ et in furca latronum suspensum.

p. 82.

His confectis ad partes marchie regina conversa, apud Herefordiam per mensem composita, exercitum suum dividit, et cum ejus una parte misit Henricum comitem Lancastrie, et dominum magistrum Rheseum apud Powel⁴ clericum, natione Wallum, ad comprehendendum regem, et sibi adherentes. Predictus comes etiam germanus et heres supe nominati comitis Lancastrie, Thomæ; et iste Rheseus secum minus, qui justitiam regali in Turri Londoniensi incarceratus erat, sed per regine potentiam eam libertati restitutus. Tam comes predictus quam Rheseus habuerunt possessiones et ampla dominia juxta locum, in quo rex latitabat. Partem Rheseo tota regio valde nota. Denique comes et clericus, non sine pecunie interventu, Wallis corruptis, regem in monasterio de Nether, Hugonem Dispensator filium, desertum profuge presidium caperentem, per exploratores Wallos invenerunt. Captus igitur ^{The king} ^{was at} ^{Kenilworth.} rex, Hugone, et Roberto de Baldocke, et Simone de Redingia aliis sine cura dimissis; custodie comitis Lancastrie rex auctoritate consilii episcopi Herefordensis commendatus, ad castrum Kenilworth adductus est, ubi per totam hyemem in

¹ adjicere] edicere, Ed. MSS.

² et nimium inhumaniter] etc.

H. V.

³ corporis] equis detractum,

Baker: these words seem to be accidentally omitted in the text.

⁴ Powel] Perceval, Ed. H. V.

Baker.

A.D. 1228.
The earl of
Arundel
beheaded.

The younger
Hugh le
Despenaer
beheaded.

The chan-
cellor
brought to
London.

His death.

Suspicious
conduct of
the bishop
of Hereford.

satis honeste mansit comitiva,¹ tractatus non aliter quam oportet. Baker, p. 82.
tuit regem captivum custoditum. Regina apud Herefordiam
cum magistro totius suae militie, episcopo civitatis scilicet,
exercitui presidente, Edmundus comes de Arundel, Johannes
Daniel, et Thoma Micheldene² ad instantiam Rogeri de Mor- p. 83.
tuomari, qui perfecto odio, sed non prophetico, oderat illos,
fuerunt decollati. Postea comes Gloucestris, Hugo Despen-
ser filius, in vinculis, oblatus oculis terribilibus indignatus,
non expectata ratiocinatione cujuscunque judicis, fuit ab
eadem civitate tractus, suspensus, decollatus, et in quarterias
divisus: cujus caput fuit missum apud pontem Londonien-
sem, et quatuor quarterias ad quatuor regni partes fuerunt
distributae. Simon etiam de Redingis fuit ibidem tractus et
suspensus. Sed magister Robertus de Baldocke post multas
contumelias carceri episcopi Herefordensis fuit mancipatus,
ubi vitam nimis dolorosam usque ad proximum sequens festum
Purificationis duxit. Tunc siquidem episcopus Herefordie,
omnis hujus mali architector, fecit ipsum ad se Londinum ad-
ducī. Quo deductum Londinenses non sine consensu episcopi
rapuerunt, et apud Newgate incarcerarunt, quarentes occa-
sionem contra eum tanquam proditorem tractum, suspensum,
mortuis adnumerare. Sed tamen post multas inquisitiones
in ipso non inventientes maculam proditoris nec alicujus
feloniae, ita inhumaniter ipsum tractarunt, quod eodem anno
cito post Pascha obiit in tormentis. Tanti sceleris, scilicet
rapinae et jugulationis clerici atque sacerdotis Dei, non im-
probabiliter aliquis putabitur auctor, an manifestus vel occultus,
qui de medio luporum misit in ovile sui tutissimum, carce- p. 84.
rem videlicet episcopalem: pro ove sibi et lupis tradito tu-
telae, quam portendit quod ab Herefordia ipsum Londinum
fecerat traduci a suo episcopatu in diocesim alienam; id est
loco munitissimo in Montes Pardorum: qui insuper fingit,
quod clerici sibi traditi rapinam, atque jugulationem sacer-
dotis, ipse potentissimus praelatus provinciae salva dignitate
archiepiscopatus debita diligentia non curavit praemunire.
Credo, quod in tali casu verum est illud Quintiliani: "Tor-
quentem vincit, quisquis occiditur." Et ideo sub silentio
palliato querelam omitto, quam etiam sub altare Dei audivi
per voces occisorum innocentium. His scriptis et aliis non

¹ *mansit comitiva*] om. Ed.

² *Micheldene*] Micheldeure, Baker.

Baker, p. 84. paucis per reginam, episcopum Herefordensem, et Rogerum de Mortuocuari, ut cuilibet eorum placuit, confectis, ipsi simul Londinum se contulerunt. Ubi cito post Epiphaniam in parlamento per ipsos convocato, in quo nullus ausus est resistere, fuit ordinatum et constitutum, quod ex parte totius regni tres episcopi, duo comites, duo abbates, quatuor barones et de quolibet comitatu Angliæ duo milites, de qualibet civitate et villa capitaneus cujuscunque comitatus, et similiter de Portibus duo burgenses mitterentur ad regem, apud Kenelworth custoditum, facturi infra scripta. Johannes de Stratford episcopus Wintoniensis, Adam de Torleton episcopus Herefordie, et Henricus episcopus Lincolnie, collegæ principales negotii tractandi, erant missi.¹ Precesserunt ceteros itinerando, episcopi Wintoniensis et Lincolnensis, secretis alloquentes regem, una cum custode suo comite Leicestrie, ipsum inducturi, et suo primogenito designaret coronam; astute autem hi tres circumvenierunt regem, promittentes ei non parviorem honorem post honoris depositionem, quam antea solebat ab omnibus habere regia celsitudo. Adjiciebant quoque, adulterantes verbum veritatis, quanti foret meriti apud Deum pro subditorum pace, quam ea sola via spondebant affuturam, regnum respicere temporale, in hoc non indubitanter cum Cæsar pontifice pontifices prophetantes. Ex alia parte sibi comminabantur, quod, nisi resignaret, populus sibi abdicato, honoris et fidelitate, filiis quoque suis repudiatis, aliam in regem exaltarent, quam de sanguine regali. Istis et aliis imperumis promissis atque minis inflexum, piumque cor regis, non sine singultibus, lacrymis et suspiriis, monitis episcoporum condescendit, paratior pro Christo vitam finire, quam suorum filiorum exheredationem, seu regni disturbium perturbationem, oculis viventis corporis videre, sciens quod bonus pastor animam suam poneret pro ovibus suis.

Finaliter ad castrum, ubi rex incluserat, episcopus Herefordie inimicos ceteros adduxit, quos in regia camera secundum suam dignitatem ordine collocavit, a multis temporibus affectum, ex omnium permissione, sibi ipsi reservavit. Tandem regis ma-

A.D. 1327.
 January.
 Parliament.

Monks
 sent to the
 king.

Proposals
 for his
 coronation.

Threats of
 punishment.

The king's
 self-satisfaction.

The king's
 at Kenelworth.

¹ missi] It is at this point that Baker inserts the mention of Thomas de la More: "quem comitum adhaerens predicto episcopo Wintonia, Tu generum miles qui huc videtur et in Gal-

- lico scriptum est, cujus ego sum talis
 - quodis interpres, in dico dicitur
 - Thomas de la More, in epistola
 - et in epistola proventus dicitur.
 These words are given in R.S. II. and V.

A.D. 1837. January. The king faints. Address of Orleton. The king submits. Renunciation of homage. The king's answer reported to the parliament. Provision for Edward.

jestas, togam nigram induta, de secretiori camera progrediens, Baker, p. 86. suis servis se representans, conscius negotii, pro quo venerat, præ dolore sui impos effectus, corruit expansus. Cui accurrentes comes Leicestræ, et episcopus Wintoniensis, vix regem semivivum erexerunt; quem ad mentem et vires pristinas ut-
cunque revocatum alloquebatur Adam Herefordensis, exponens causam adventus nuntiorum, mira impudentia non confusus regis animum attrahere, cui se putavit præ ceteris mortali-
bus exosum fuisse. Adjecit suis dictis ille Herefordensis, quod oporteret regem regni diadema suo primogenito resignare, aut post sui repudium vivere aut pati, quod eligerent in regem quemcunque visum ipsis aptiorem pro regni tutela. Hiis auditis, rex cum fletu et ejulatu respondit, quod multum doluit pro eo, quod populus regni taliter exasperatus foret contra ipsum, quod suam dominationem fastidiret, finaliter quoque subjunxit suo beneplacito valde convenisse, quod scilicet filius suus populo sic fuerit acceptatus, ut ipsum in regem affectaret. In castro iidem nuntii homagia et legeamenta do-
mino Edwardo de Carnarvan nuper regi, per manus Guilelmi Trussell militis ex parte totius regni renuerunt; et Thomas Blunt miles, regalis hospitii seneschallus, fractione virgæ suum officium resignavit, et regiam familiam nuntiavit esse licentiatam. Post hoc ad parliamentum Londinum reversi, responsum regis plene, immo plenius quam factum fuit, retulerunt. Ad factam resignationem, communitas regni veterum fastidiatrix, novorum appetitrix, gratanter admittens suum primogenitum dominum Edwardum bonæ indolis undecim¹ annorum promptissime erexit, ut infra plenius dicetur, cujus pueritia cuique eo plus cessit ad votum, quomodo sub tam molli pastore sperabant gregem regni suis libitis minari.² Reginæ quoque Isabellæ de Carnarvan fuit talis et tanta dos assignata, quod regi filio suo et reginæ Philippæ vix remansit tertia pars reginæ coronæ. Domino vero Edwardo de Carnarvan comitis Leicestræ deputato custodiæ, centum marcas pro mense expendendas ordinauerunt regina et Simon Herefordensis et Rogerus de Mortuomari, de fisco regali tribuendas.

Itaque gratus dominus Edwardus quondam rex reginæ coronæ et libertatis privationem pro amore Jesu Christi pau-

¹ undecim] So also Baker; quatuordecim would be true; and perhaps it was so written "iiii decim."

² minari] victurum, Ed.

Baker, p. 67. peris crucifixi patienter admittens, cum suo consanguineo
 comite Leicestria Henrico mansit, nullo egens quo reclusus
 et monasticus indigebat, nullum infortunium in ima depres-
 sus deplaxit, nisi quod uxor sua, quam non potuit non
 amare, molebat ipsum videre, cujus amplexibus plus quam per
 annum vixit videns, et quod nec illa permisit filium suum
 novum regem, aut aliquem suorum liberorum sibi presentiale
 solatium praebere. Quot amorosa delectamenta voce submissa,
 tanquam alter Orpheus concinuit, sed incassum. Ha! quoties
 deflevit querulus, quod tam gratiosa et praedita dotibus, tam
 speciosa, potuit proditionis amaricari felle. Auscultantibus
 quoque non siluit sub juramento, quod, ex quo primum eam
 vidit, nunquam aliam mulierem potuit amare. Amoris lan-
 guor, in ceteris adversis patientia, comitem custodem, et omnes
 reliquos familiares ad tantam miserationem provocarunt, quod
 gloriosi militis amorem languidum uxoris suae, corde duriori
 incude adamantino, non dimiserunt nuntari. Unde non amore
 mota, sed furore commota ferrea virago, secreto cogitata coepit
 expavescere, ne unquam, per ecclesiam miserationum consuetam
 misereri, foret compulsa viro repudiato iterum impartiri tho-
 rum. Excogitavit enim quod a fortiori homines indifferentes
 et pietatis alumnos in sui miserationem provocaret contra
 suos inimicos, cum quos ipse ministros suos ordinavit per
 adversitatum tolerantiam, et omnium virtutum uberem fra-
 grantiam ad pietatem sui inclinavit.

A.D. 1257.
 January.
 Edward's
 grief at
 separation
 from his
 wife.

Her aversion
 to him.

Talibus et aliis cogitationibus angustata, truculenta, saeva,
 recurrans ad consilium sui sacerdotis Beal episcopi Herefordiae,
 ab ipso recepit rursum, quod certe sanguinem tetigit, quando
 comes Edwardo consanguineo suo compatiabatur; constituit
 foemina crudelis ex ordinatione magistri sui, subdoli, episcopi
 praedicti, quod Thomas de Gorney et Johannes Maltravers,
 duo milites, ipsum Edwardum, de custodia comitis Leicestriae
 receptam, ducerent quo vellent: ita quod nullus sui benevo-
 lus seu indifferens persona ipsum libere adiret vel sciret, ubi
 diu perendinaret. Hiis duobus proditoribus nequissimis fuerat
 commissum auctoritate principali, ut in quamcumque regni
 plagam declinarent, omnis fortalitii, castri, seu villae quam-
 diu ipsis placeret, et quandocumque, usum haberent, quomo-
 dolibet de regno, sub poena confiscationis census et vitae,
 prohibito contravenire hujus rei mandato. Educitur de nocte e
 Kenelworth inter inimicos, securus de vita plena doloris, post
 ad castrum de Corfe, deinde ad Bristoliam, reclusus per tem-
 pus aliquod in castro, quousque id foret quibuscumque bar-

The king's
 temper
 changed.

Instructions
 given to
 them.

A.D. 1267. *After several removals the king is brought to Berkeley.* gensibus in villam notum, qui ad ipsius liberationem et Baker, p. 28. abductionem in partes transmarinas quam optabat se disponebant. Quorum consilium ut primum innotuit custodibus Edwardi, sub noctis ejusdem opaco silentio ipsum de loco ipso Berkeleyam adduxerunt. Immanitate majore quam ferina Edwardum sui tortores tractavere, sed nec ab ullo videri sibi amicabili. Equitare compulerunt exiliter indutum, caput habere discoopertum, volentem dormire non permisit; non quos volebat, sed quos nasebat, cibos ipsi preparavere, verbo

Ill-treatment of the king. suo cuilibet contradixere, vesanum esse calumniati sunt. Et, ut breviter concludam, in omnibus ejus voluntati se contrarios exhibuere, ut frigore, ut vigiliis, et cibis intemperatis, aut fastiditis, aut saltem prae melancholia aut infirmitate correptus expiraret. Sed contra vir in necessitate optime dispositus, fortis ad labores, et ad universos, gratia Dei patientis, languores, omnes verentias malignantium natura et gratia superavit: venenum, quod pluries propinaverunt suo domino ministri Belial, aut fortitudine naturali evacuavit, sicut solent viri temperatae complexionis secundum Galenum in tertio simplicis medicinae, aut, quod verius credo, manifestiori martyrio suum confessorem Altissimus reservavit.

Cruel insults done to him.

Attestamur et scribimus,¹ quae luce clariora innotuerunt mundo, si non timor aemulorum regis devotissimi adhuc superstitione clarere prohiberet, quae non poterint semper occultare. Tum abducitur Edwardus, ut praescriptus est, versus Berkeleyam a satrapis Sathanæ equitans stipatus; duxerunt etiam exemplar patientiae per grangias castri Bristolii, ubi de feno factam coronam capiti, jamdudum oleo sancto consecrato, imposuit nefarius ille de Gorney, ausus contingere Christum Dei: cui illudentes ironia nimis acerba milites dixerunt, "Fare forth, syr kynge."² Metuentes maligni, ne pariter directe incedentibus obviam aliquis amicus Edwardi, et manus misericors ipsum liberatura, declinaverunt ad sinistram per mariscum ad flumen Sabrinæ terminatum. Ingeniati sunt inimici Dei, quomodo Edwardum deformarent, ne foret facile notus. Unde caesariem et barbam radendas constituerunt. Venientes proinde in itinere ad fossam, jusserunt ipsum radendum descendere. Cui assidenti super cujusdam talpae monticulum pelvim aqua frigida de fossa recepta attu-

He is shaved with ditch-water.

¹ Attestata scribimus, miles reverende, MSS.

² "Avant, sire king," Baker.

³ Ingeniati sunt] Excogitarunt, Ed.

Baker, p. 91. lit barbitonior. Cui et aliis amecentibus, quod aqua talis A.D. 1297
pro tunc deberet suffocare, ait Edwardus: "Velitis, nobilis. ^{They said}
"habebimus pro barba aquas calidas," et et promissum con- ^{by William}
sequeretur veritas, coepit profuso lacrymare. Ita mihi retu- ^{Barthol.}
lit vivens post magnam pestilentiam Guilelmus Barchop, qui
doctoribus Edwardi sodalis,¹ unde confensus et contritus peni-
tuit, sub spe misericordiae divinae.

Tandem advenerunt ad castrum Barkley, ubi pateretur ex- ^{Archiep. et}
ercens virtutem reclusa, ut anchorita, nobilis Edwardus, ubi ^{Barkley}
cum beato Job, regno spirituali nondum per alienigenas, sed
per uxorem, servos et ancillas, honorum et utilitatis dominum
privatus, expectavit regnum aeternum pro terrenis. Uxor in-
terim Isabella impatienter ferens, quod vita mariti, quam
nimium odorat, tandiu produceretur, conqueritur magistro ^{The queen}
suo Herefordensi, fingens sibi somnia pessima interpretata. ^{was of a}
unde dixit se timere, ne vir, dignitati pristinae restitutus, ^{restlessness.}
ipsum tanquam proditricem igni aut servituti perpetuae com-
naret. Episcopus igitur, laesae majestatis sibi conscius, timuit
hoc idem. Aliorum non minus ob eandem causam interde-
batur metus, quos adversus Dominum et Christum epus fa-
bulas confoderavit. Placuit igitur non paucis utrimque sexus
magnae dignitatis, tam ecclesiasticae quam saecularis, quod
causa tanti metus foret cum Edwardo conspecta; quoniam ut
quinque metuebatur, perire concupivit. Mittuntur igitur litterae ^{The queen}
inceptorie custodibus Edwardi: calumnias fallacissimas, quod ^{was reported}
remissius quam deberent ipsum custodire, et minus delicate ^{for their}
confoverent. Intinatur etiam eadem, sed semper, quod ^{could have}
interitus Edwardi aut naturalis aut violenta indifferenter ^{been of the}
complaceat. Hic vigebat sophistarum fallacia accensum per
episcopum, qui scripsit: "Edwardum occidere nunc timere
"bonum est." Quod illi in perversam partem interpretati
sunt. Sciens autem callidus sophista, quod sine sua scriptis ^{Author's}
consensus non auderent executores crudelis mandati eum ^{unflinching}
occidere, ne sine consensu majorum de regno aliquando in- ^{remains.}
rept accensum, hoc fecit² episcopus, quia in aeternum Edwardi
determinatus, et provide sibi ipsi formam accusandi de con-
sensu providit cautelam. et eadem auctoritas per mandati
affectionem contrariam expressura, uno modo expansa et accen-
tata³ animaret stultos in mortem innocentem, sed sub ali-

¹ sodalis] probabilius. MSS. per-
tuit, Baker.

² Hic fecit] hoc fecit. Baker.
³ accensum] pascuum. Ed.

A.D. 1327. *The guards are perplexed by uncertain orders.* sensu facinoris tanti ipsum immunem faceret putari. Quod Baker, p. 83. ut fuit cogitatum, contigit. Denique Edwardi interfectores putantes proinde amicitiam Isabellæ et episcopi sophistici deceptoris erga se fuisse confirmatam, invenerunt illam et episcopum ferventes¹ exactores pignoris hominis traditi, scilicet domini Edwardi, et stipendium proditorum, scilicet mortem vilissimam pro demeritis ipsis comminantes. Unde stulti confusi quid facerent ignoraverunt, nisi quod epistolam, Isa-^{p. 84.} bellæ et episcopi aliorumque conspiratorum sigillis munitam, in testimonium de ipsorum consensu eis ostenderent. Epistolam episcopus non recusavit, sed suam esse alicui confitebatur, sed interpretabatur illam ad sensum innocentis, et fidelitate imprægnatam, sed ipsos tanquam falsos suarum litterarum expositores minis terribilibus in fugam coacturis affligere non cessavit. Ad castrum ductus Edwardus per dominum feodi Thomam Berkley fuit humaniter et benigne receptus et tractatus, sed post receptionem epistolæ, exercuerunt tortores commissam potestatem de tutela castri. Jubent protinus Thomam de Berkley nullam cum Edwardo habere familiaritatem. Qui non solum positens, sed verecundus, quod sibi fuit denegatum facere quod vellet et Christiano de jure liceret, domino Edwardo finaliter et suspiriis salutato, ad alia sua loca transmigravit.

The lord of Berkeley forbidden to show attention to Edward. Tunc incepit Edwardi consummata persecutio adusque² suam mortem concinnata. Primo³ reclusum in camera tutissima per exhalationem⁴ cadaverum in subsolario positorum ipsum torserunt⁵ per multos dies pene usque ad suffocationem: unde foetorem illum intolerabilem fuisse poenam maximam quam unquam sustinuit ad fenestram una dierum carpentariis a dextra laborantibus servus Dei deplanxit. Videntes tyranni, quod adversus^{p. 85.} virum strenuissimum non posset per foetorem more prævalere, nocte decima kalendas Octobris, in lecto cubantem, subito præoccupatum, cum pulvinaribus magnis atque gravitate amplius quam quindecim robustorum, ipsum oppressum et suffocatum cum ferro plumbarii intense ignito trans tubam ductilem ad egestionis partes secretas applicatam membra spiritalia post intestinas combusserunt, caventes ne vulnere in regio corpore, ubi solent vulnera requiri, per aliquem justitiæ amicum reperto, sui

September. Edward is imprisoned in a pestilential chamber, over a charnel house.

He is assassinated.

¹ *ferventes*] servientes, Ed. MSS.
² *adusque*] adversus, Ed. MSS.
³ *Primo*] Post, Ed. MSS.

⁴ *exhalationem*] exaltationem, Ed. MSS.
⁵ *torserunt*] transferunt, Ed. MSS.

Baker, p. 94. tortores de lesione manifesta respondere, et penam salutare forent coacti.

A.D. 1272
September

Taliter obruitur miles strenuissimus emissæ clamore audientibus et intra castrum et extra, satis novo, qualis esset violentia in mortem patientis. Clamor ille expirantis mulieris de Berkleya, et quodam de castro, ut ipsi asseruerunt, ad compassionem et orationes pro sancta anima migrante monabat. Sic hunc mundus odio habuit, sicut suum magistrum, scilicet Christum, prius odio habuit; primo præceptorem de regno Judeorum reprobatum, deinde discipulum regni Angliæ spoliata receptit celsitudo regni angelorum. Proditorum ministros, scilicet Thomam de Gorney et Johannem de Maltravers, persecutio Isabellæ et episcopi Herefordensis, ut proinde viderentur manus innoxias et mentes habuisse, ulagavit, et in exilium egit. Thomas de Gorney Marciliam fugitivam clanculo post triennium cognitus, captus, et veritus Angliam reductus, poenam pro demeritis recepturus, in mari fuit decapitatus, ne forte magistros et magnos prælatos, et quamplures alios de regno sibi suum nefas monuisse, et in illi sibi assensum præbuisse accusasset. Alter vero Maltravers partibus Teuthonicorum agens penitentiam, diu latavit.

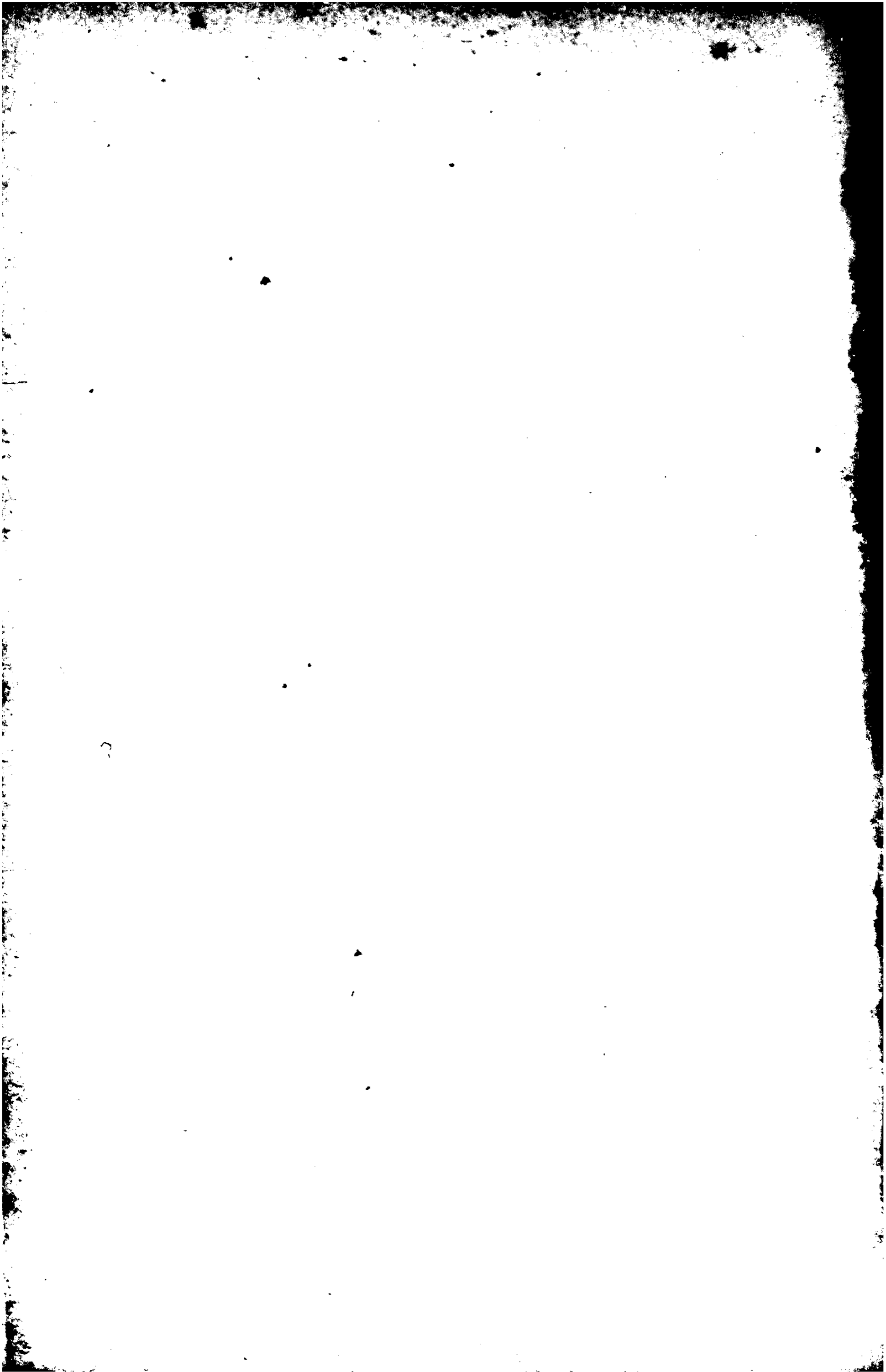
The case of
the mother
de Berkleya.

Persecution
of the
kingdom.

p. 97.

*Ex vetustissimo exemplari quod penes Guillelmum
Bowerum et Laurentius Noelus transcripserunt.*

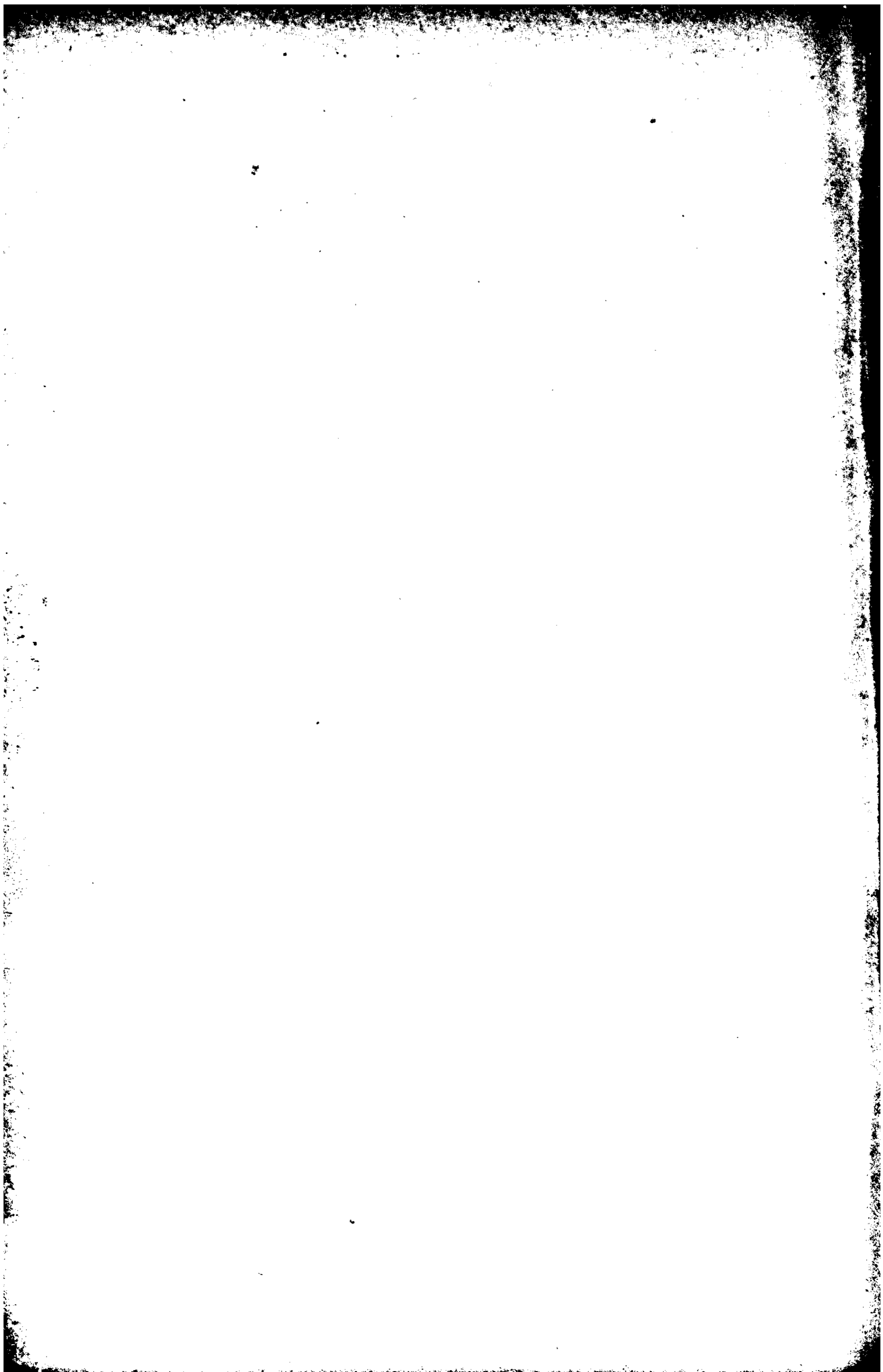
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- Corvara, Peter of, antipope, i. 245; ii. 100.
- Cosyn, Peter, i. 93.
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- Cotekyn, Adam, i. 229.
- Coteler, Simon le, his wife Katharine hanged, i. 146.
- Coterel, John, i. 243, 245, 246, 246.
- Cotiller, Salomon le, i. 97.
- Coucey, Ingelram de, father of Mary, wife of Alexander II. king of Scots, i. 36; his death, i. 43.
- Courcelles, Philip, defeated at, i. 5.
- Courtenay, Hugh de, joins in the Stamford letter to the pope, i. 162; one of the lords Ordainers, i. 172; ii. 37; appointed auditor of the exchequer in 1312, i. 199.
- Courtrai, battle of, ii. 206.
- Coventry, execution of the man who attempted to murder Henry III. at, i. 36.
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- Henry of, i. 54.
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- Crane, Nicolas, i. 241, 250.
- Crae, Richard le, Sir John Heyron accused of his death, i. 138.
- Cratinton, William Paynel, lord of, i. 124.
- Crawe, John of Berwick, ii. 108, 109.
- Crecy, battle of, ii. 149, 293.
- Crepyn, Ralph, i. 92, 137.
- Crombwell, John de, i. 162, 170; constable of the Tower, i. 215, 225, 272, 314; ii. 79.
- Cros, Thomas, i. 95; Gibelin, i. 244.

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- Croxton, abbot of, hears John's confession, i. 20.
- Crozeith, the, i. 91, 92.
- Cumbernauld, castle, ii. 122.
- Cupere, W. le; has twin children, i. 124.
- Carton, Gerard de, clerk of the king of France, i. 225.
- Curzon, Robert de, legate in France, i. 16.
- Cusanee, William de, i. 246; ii. 67.
- Cystin, Sanchia, wife of Richard of Cornwall, i. 40.
- Cyprus, exploits of Richard in, ii. 191.
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- Damietta, besieged and taken by the Crusaders in 1219, i. 22; recaptured in 1221, i. 23; taken by Lewis IX. in 1248, i. 45; restored to the Saracens, *ib.*
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- Darcy, Robert, dismissed from court, i. 200.
- Darel, Edmund, arrested in 1230, i. 228.

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Dartford, tournament at, i. 232, 233.

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Deincourt, William, killed at Bannockburn,
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Despenser, Hugh le; made justiciar by the
barons, i. 55; has charge of the
king of the Romans after the battle
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i. 69.

Despenser, Hugh le (his son), the elder;
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bassador to France in 1301, i. 103;
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1305, i. 143; supports Gaveston
in 1306, ii. 158; and incurs the
hatred of the barons, *ib.*; removed
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the letter of 1309 to the pope, i.
162; sent by the king to the Lon-
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i. 221; and in the king's scheme of
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gaged in the Scottish war in 1314,
ii. 201; banished from court, ii.
208; ejected from council, ii. 209;
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pacification, ii. 236; holds out
against Lancaster's influence, ii.
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Lancaster, i. 302; made earl of
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monstrates about his influence, ii.
279; he hinders the king from
going to France, ii. 282, 287; has
command at Bristol, ii. 309; his
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tried and executed at Bristol, i.
317; ii. 87, 289, 311; oaths against
him, i. 328, 325.

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married to the earl of Gloucester's
sister, i. 292; intrigues for Gower,
ib.; his estates ravaged by the
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the barons, ii. 75; escapes capture
at Byland, ii. 79; negotiates with
the Scots, ii. 84; arrested with the
king, i. 319; ii. 87, 289; tried and
executed, i. 319, 320; ii. 289, 312;
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322; ii. 87-89; popular hatred of;
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Devizes, Hubert de Burgh imprisoned at,
i. 32.

Devon, Baldwin earl of, dies in 1262, i.
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- Dynacourt, Reginald, i. 221.
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- Diras, Robert de, i. 67.
- Disard, castle of, destroyed by Edward in 1268, i. 69.
- Dokesworth, preceptory near Cambridge, i. 123.
- Domerday, book, i. 204.
- Dom'nis, canonized in 1287, i. 84; his order approved, i. 83.
- Donald, king of Scots, i. 118.
- Dordrecht, seizure of wool at, ii. 123.
- Douglas, James, takes Roxburgh and threatens Berwick in 1314, ii. 199, 200; in command at Bannockburn, ii. 208; leads the Scots into Yorkshire, ii. 247, 249; his exploit at Stanhope park, ii. 246, 247.
- Douglas, William, invades Cumberland, ii. 111; submits, ii. 127; taken at Nevill's Cross, ii. 294.
- Douglas, Archibald, guardian of Scotland, ii. 110, 115.
- Douglas (Dalcroix), Sweetheart abbey in Galloway, i. 107.
- Dover, John awaits the arrival of Lewis at, i. 19; Hubert de Burgh put in charge of, i. 19; besieged by Lewis, i. 19; the bishop of Carlisle outraged at, i. 32; the countess of Provence at, i. 40; the king lands at, in 1254, i. 48; he sails from, in 1259, i. 53; he is shut out of the castle in 1263, i. 60; Edward imprisoned at, i. 64; the queen lands at, in 1265, i. 71; Thomas Fitz-Richard released at, i. 80.
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- Dreper, William, son of Richard, i. 45.
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- Drayton, Roger de, murdered, i. 100.
- Drori, John, causes the loss of Berwick, i. 262.
- Dronclaw, siege of, i. 96.
- Druri, Nigel, sheriff of London, i. 151.
- Dublin, Alexander Bicknor, archbishop of, i. 283, 307, 322, 346.
- Duk, Roger le, i. 29.
- Duket, Laurence, i. 92.
- Dumbarton, castle, ii. 119.
- Dunfries, John Comyn murdered at, i. 147.
- Dunfermline, Patrick of, earl of March, i. 121; ii. 111, 123, 127.
- Dunbar, castle of, ii. 137, 295.
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- Dundalk, ii. 238.
- Dundarg, siege of, ii. 120, 121.
- Dunfermline, abbey of, i. 257; ii. 104.
- Dunheved, Thomas of, i. 237.
- Dunkeld, bishop of, crowns Edward Baluol, ii. 108.
- Dunmore, Ridebrook near, i. 337.
- Dunstable, tournament proposed at, in 1264, i. 65; suspended by the king, i. 67.
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- Dunster, John de Mahun, lord of, i. 123.
- Dunwallo, king of Britain, i. 113.
- Dunwich, John de, i. 344.
- Durham, William of, sheriff of London, i. 45, 79.
- Durham, diocese of, visited by archbishop Greenfield, ii. 40; cardinals robbed near, ii. 301.
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- Durham, bishops of:
 Richard de Marisco, dies, i. 27.
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Durham, bishops of: Richard le Poor—
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1237, i. 31; the legate lodged in his house, i. 35.

Antony Bek, bishop of, ambassador to France in 1302, i. 127; patriarch of Jerusalem, comes to London in 1306, i. 145; is present at the knightings of Edward II., i. 146; is king of Man, i. 176; is commissioned to crown Edward II., i. 260. dies at Eltham, i. 176, 269; ii. 38. his advice to Edward I., ii. 38, 39.

Richard Kellow, consecrated, i. 270.

Lewis de Beaumont, elect, robbed and imprisoned, i. 280; ii. 52.

consecrated at Westminster, i. 282;

is at the convention at Sherburn, ii. 62; dies, i. 359; ii. 118.

Robert Graystones elected, consecrated and set aside, i. 359; ii. 118.

Richard de Bury consecrated in 1334, i. 39, 360; ii. 118; negotiates with French ambassadors; ii. 121; treats for peace, ii. 127.

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Earn, battle on the river, ii. 104.

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Edmund, earl of Lancaster, son of Henry III., ii. 181; taken by his parents to France in 1259, i. 53; marries the heiress of Anmâle, i. 80; has the earldom of Derby given him, i. 78.

Edmund, earl of Lancaster —*cont.*

arrives at home from Acre, i. 83.

marries the queen of Navarre, i. 86.

attacks Llewelyn's army in 1282, i. 90.

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Edward the Confessor, translation of, in 1269, i. 80.

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Edward, the Black Prince, born, i. 349.

made duke of Cornwall, i. 366; ii. 129, 292.

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Egremont, Thomas of Multon, lord of, i. 123.

Eleanor, of Guienne, besieged by her grandson at Mirabel, i. 11; dies, i. 12.

of Provence, wife of Henry III., i. 32; daughter of the count of Provence, i. 33; Henry proposes to marry her, i. 33; is married in 1236, i. 34; crowned, i. 32; escapes assassination with the king, i. 33, 36; bears a son, Edward, i. 36; marriage of her sister to the king of France, i. 36, 37; her daughter Margaret born, i. 37; promotion of her relations, i. 37, 38; her daughter Beatrice born, i. 39; is visited by her mother, i. 40; one of her relations killed in London, i. 47; is left as regent in 1254, i. 46; visits London, i. 48; goes to France with her husband and son in 1259, i. 53; reconciles Edward with his father, i. 57; a favourer of the alans, i. 59; is insulted by the Londoners at London Bridge, *ib.*

Eleanor, of Provence—cont.

- refuses to agree to the provisions of Oxford, i. 59; is at the arbitration at Amiens, i. 60; after the battle of Lewes collects forces at S. Omer, i. 64; she lands at Dover after the battle of Evesham, i. 71; the daughter of the marquis of Montferrat, her cousin, stays with her and is married to the duke of Brunswick, i. 76; dies in 1291, and is buried at Amesbury, i. 99; her heart buried at Blackfriars, i. 100.
- daughter of John, widow of the earl of Pembroke, married to Simon de Montfort in 1238, i. 35.
- daughter of Simon de Montfort, married to Llewelyn, i. 86, 87.
- of Castille, wife of Edward I., married in 1254, i. 46, 47; comes to England in 1255, i. 48.
- her son John born, i. 71.
- is crowned with her husband, i. 84.
- succeeds to the county of Ponthieu, i. 87; goes to Amiens with her husband, *ib.*; her son Edward born, i. 91; her son Alfonso dies, i. 92.
- dies and is buried, i. 99.
- ceremonies at her funeral, *ib.*
- her heart buried at Blackfriars, *ib.*
- ceremonies at her tomb in 1307, i. 255.
- daughter of Edward II., i. 354.
- Elham, John of, archdeacon of Essex. See London, S. Paul's.
- Elizabeth, Eleanor of Brittany, called, i. 19.
- Elizabeth, daughter of Edward I., married to the earl of Hereford, called Margaret, i. 129.
- dies in 1316, i. 279.
- Ellesmere, Roger le Strange, lord of, i. 123.
- Elmorigge, Richard, hanged, ii. 78.
- Elkfield, John of, i. 231.
- Eltham, bishop Bek dies at, i. 176, 269; ii. 38.
- queen Isabella at, i. 221.

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- John, son of Edward II., born at (Waltham), i. 238, 279; in command at the Tower in 1326, ii. 310; made earl of Cornwall in 1328, i. 342; is at Halydown hill, ii. 114; defeats the Scots in Redesdale, ii. 121; at Newcastle, ii. 121; dies and is buried at Westminster, i. 369; ii. 128; mentioned, ii. 130.
- Ely, Nicolas of, i. 75, 79. See Worcester and Winchester.
- John of, i. 156, 278.
- Robert of, i. 241.
- Roger of, i. 304.
- Ely, isle of, seized by the refugees after the battle of Evesham, i. 74.
- the king marches against, i. 77; reduced by Edward, i. 78.
- cathedral of, dedicated in 1252, i. 46.
- Ely, bishops of:
- Eustace, one of the executors of the interdict, i. 8; accompanies archbishop Langton to England, i. 9.
- John, abbot of Fountains, consecrated in 1220, i. 22; dies in 1225, i. 26.
- Geoffrey de Burgh, dies in 1228, i. 28.
- Hugh of Belaham, prior of Ely, elected, i. 50; the archbishop wishes to promote Adam de Marisco, *ib.*; Hugh consecrated, *ib.*
- John Kirkby, treasurer of Edward I., i. 94, 95, 98.
- dies in 1290, i. 98.
- William of Louth succeeds, i. 98.
- John Keeton, dies in 1316, i. 238.
- John Hotham succeeds in 1316, i. 238; ii. 50.
- chancellor, i. 287, 348.
- at the battle of Myton, i. 287; ii. 57, 243.
- negotiates with the Scots, ii. 60.
- at the consecration of Rigand of Winchester, i. 290.
- mediates in 1321, i. 295.
- arrested and fined, ii. 73.
- is in convocation, i. 300.
- swears to support the queen, i. 322.

Ely, bishops of—John Hotham, *cont.*
 attests the charter of London, i. 332.
 Philippa lodged at his house in Holborn, i. 338.
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 Simon Langham, succeeds to Canterbury, ii. 150.

England, kings of:
 Henry I., i. 115.
 Henry II., i. 25, 46, 115; his character like Edward I.'s, ii. 84, 189.
 Henry III., son of Henry II., i. 115.
 Richard I., king of England, his exploits, ii. 15, 150, 151, 189, 191, 192.
 imprisoned in Germany, i. 3; money raised for his ransom, *ib.*; makes peace with Philip, i. 4; carries off the shrine of S. Valery, *ib.*; forms a confederacy against Philip, *ib.*; defeats him at Vernon, *ib.*; and at Courcelles, i. 5; makes a truce, *ib.*
 is wounded and dies in 1199, i. 5;
 statement of the bishop of Rochester as to the state of his soul, i. 30.
 John, conspires to keep Richard in prison, i. 3; captures the bishop of Beauvais, i. 4; succeeds to the crown, i. 5; is crowned, i. 6; divorces his wife and marries Isabella of Angoulême, *ib.*
 in 1201, at Guildford and Canterbury, i. 10.
 in 1202, at Argentan, i. 11; relieves Mirabel, *ib.*; takes Arthur and imprisons him, i. 11, 12.
 in 1203, loses Normandy, i. 12, 95.
 in 1204, at Canterbury and Oxford, i. 12.
 in 1205, quarrels with the monks of Canterbury on the election of an archbishop, i. 7; goes to Aquitaine, i. 13.
 in 1206, takes Montauban, *ib.*; refuses to receive Stephen Langton, i. 8, 9.
 in 1207, exacts a thirteenth, i. 13;

England, kings of—John, *cont.*
 banishes the monks of Canterbury, i. 8; entertains the emperor Otto, i. 13.
 in 1208, his son Richard born, i. 14; confiscates the goods of the clergy on account of the interdict, i. 8; instances of his tyranny, *ib.*
 in 1209, is excommunicated, i. 9; at war with Scotland, i. 14; burns the charters of London, *ib.*
 in 1210, goes to Ireland, *ib.*; persecutes the Jews, *ib.*
 in 1212, goes against the Welsh, i. 15; is warned of a conspiracy of the barons, *ib.*; throws down Baynard's castle, i. 9, 15.
 in 1213, prepares for an invasion from France, i. 10; submits to the pope, *ib.*; hangs Peter the prophet, *ib.*
 in 1214, is unsuccessful in France, i. 16; returns to England, *ib.*
 in 1215, has to yield to the claims of the barons at Runnymede, *ib.*; besieges Rochester, i. 17; goes north and extorts money, *ib.*
 in 1216, besieges Belvoir, *ib.*; retires before Lewis, i. 19; ravages the eastern counties, *ib.*; his illness and death, i. 20.
 Henry III., in 1216, is crowned at Gloucester, *ib.*; the barons adhere to him, i. 20, 21.
 in 1217, makes peace with Lewis, i. 21.
 in 1218, begins to have his own seal, i. 22.
 in 1219, under the tutelage of the bishop of Winchester, *ib.*
 in 1220, makes a truce for four years with France, *ib.*; is crowned at Westminster, *ib.*; begins to build there, i. 23.
 in 1221, marries his sister to the king of Scots, *ib.*; his mother married again, *ib.*
 in 1223, confirms the charters, i. 24, 25; his answer to William Briwere

England, kings of—Henry III., *cont.*

- i. 28; examines into the rights of the crown, *ib.*; claims Normandy from Lewis VIII., *ib.*
 in 1224, declines to dismiss Hubert de Burgh, puts down the rebellion of Falkes de Breauté, and destroys Bedford Castle, i. 26.
 in 1225, has a grant of a fifth, *ib.*
 in 1227, oppresses the Londoners, declares himself of age, and orders the forest charters to be cancelled, i. 27.
 in 1229, receives a mission from Aquitaine, i. 28.
 in 1230, keeps Christmas at York; goes to Brittany and returns, i. 29.
 in 1231, quarrels with archbishop Richard, i. 30; makes a truce with France, *ib.*
 in 1232, removes Hubert de Burgh from office and persecutes him, i. 28, 29, 31; admits John Bland as elect of Canterbury, i. 31.
 in 1233, at war with Richard Marshall, i. 31; orders the arrest of the bishop of Carlisle, i. 32; remonstrated with by the bishop of London, *ib.*; builds a house of converts at London, and a hospital at Oxford, *ib.*
 in 1234, makes a truce with the earl Marshall, i. 33; acts on the advice of S. Edmund, *ib.*; and is reconciled with Hubert, *ib.*
 in 1235, marries his sister to the emperor Frederick, *ib.*; offers to marry Eleanor of Provence, *ib.*
 in 1236, is married, i. 34; has an embassy from Frederick, *ib.*
 in 1237, has a grant of a thirtieth; quarrels again with Hubert, and asks for a legate, *ib.*
 in 1238, marries his sister Eleanor to Simon de Montfort, i. 35; his sister Johanna dies, *ib.*; refuses to accept William de Raleigh as

England, kings of—Henry III., *cont.*

- elect of Winchester, i. 35; escapes assassination, i. 33, 36.
 in 1239, his eldest son born, i. 36; grants a fair at Westminster, *ib.*
 in 1240, has fealty sworn to his son, i. 37; his brother goes on crusade, *ib.*; his daughter Margaret born, *ib.*
 in 1241, gives the earldom of Richmond to Peter of Savoy, *ib.*; and knights him, *ib.*; obtains the election of Boniface to Canterbury, i. 36; goes to Wales, *ib.*; death of his sister Isabella, *ib.*
 in 1242, goes to Gascony, and makes a truce for five years, *ib.*; orders the execution of William de Mareis, i. 37, 38; his daughter Beatrice born, i. 39; asks the Cistercians for their wool, *ib.*
 in 1243, is at war in Gascony, *ib.*; returns to England, and outlawes Raleigh, i. 40.
 in 1244, condoles with his mother-in-law, *ib.*; opinion of the French about him, i. 41; attempts made to reconcile him to Raleigh, *ib.*; is reconciled, i. 42; visits S. Alban's, i. 43; refuses to recognise the elect of Chichester, *ib.*; designs war on Scotland, *ib.*
 in 1245, treason against him in London, *ib.*
 in 1246, remonstrates against papal extortions, i. 44; receives the Holy blood and attends it to Westminster, *ib.*
 in 1248, marries his daughter Margaret to the king of Scots, i. 46.
 in 1254, loses earl in Gascony, *ib.*; has a scourge, *ib.*; goes to Gascony and negotiates the marriage of Edward, *ib.*; leaving the queen and earl Richard as regents, *ib.*
 in 1254, is entertained by Lewis IX., i. 47; provides for Edward, *ib.*; keeps Christmas at Boulogne, i. 48;

England, kings of—Henry III., *cont.*

cost of his expedition, i. 47; returns and extorts money, *ib.*; quarrels with the Londoners, *ib.*; visits London, i. 48.

in 1255, has a present of an elephant, *ib.*

in 1256, orders London to be cleansed for the visit of the king of Scots, i. 49.

in 1257, his brother crowned king of Germany, *ib.*; leads an army into Wales, *ib.*

in 1258, degrades the mayor and several aldermen of London, i. 50; holds the parliament of Oxford, i. 50, 51; agrees to the banishment of the aliens, i. 51; exile of his half-brothers, i. 51, 52.

in 1259, obtains the earldom of Kent as an escheat, i. 52; goes to France and surrenders his claims on Normandy, i. 53, 54; has his right to Aquitaine recognised, i. 54.

in 1260, marries his daughter Beatrice to John of Brittany, *ib.*; is alarmed by the news from England and returns, *ib.*; lodges at St. Paul's and holds parliament there, i. 55.

in 1261, intrigues against the provisions of Oxford and obtains letters of absolution, i. 56, 57; is reconciled with Edward, i. 57; makes Philip Basset justiciar, i. 58; publishes the absolution, *ib.*

in 1262, visits France; confirms the provisions, *ib.*

in 1263, in the Tower of London, agrees to the provisions, i. 59, 60; forbids the Londoners to admit the earl of Leicester, i. 60; agrees to the arbitration of Lewis IX., *ib.*; at the Mise of Amiens, *ib.*; returns home and collects a force, i. 61.

in 1264, holds council at Oxford, takes Northampton, keeps Easter at Nottingham, *ib.*; takes Tunbridge, i. 62; is defeated and cap-

England, kings of—Henry III., *cont.*

tured at Lewes, i. 63, 64; ii. 196; comes to London, i. 64.

in 1265, agrees to terms with the barons, i. 65; holds his court at Gloucester, i. 66; the earl of Gloucester espouses his cause, *ib.*; stops the tournament at Dunstable, i. 67; is at Hereford when Edward escapes, *ib.*; is at the battle of Evesham and wounded there, i. 69; holds parliament at Winchester, *ib.*; the Londoners submit to him, i. 70; but he forfeits their charters, *ib.*

in 1266, fixes the exchequer and bench at St. Paul's, i. 71; holds court at Northampton, *ib.*; besieges Kenilworth, i. 73; makes an agreement for the surrender, i. 75, 76.

in 1267, keeps Christmas at Oxford and goes against the refugees in Ely, i. 76, 77; is kept out of London by the earl of Gloucester, i. 77; is reconciled with him, i. 78; admits the Ely refugees to terms, *ib.*

in 1268, keeps Christmas at Winchester, i. 79.

in 1269, appoints sheriffs of London, i. 80; keeps Christmas at Winchester, *ib.*; translates Edward the Confessor, *ib.*

in 1270, restores the liberties of London, *ib.*

in 1272, dies, i. 82.

his body translated, i. 98.

his daughter-in-law buried at his feet, i. 99.

compared to Daniel in the den of lions, ii. 14.

his length of reign, ii. 189.

Edward I., son of Henry III., born, i. 36; baptized, ii. 11; fealty sworn to him, i. 37; Gascony conferred on him, i. 39, 45; his father negotiates his marriage in 1253, i. 46.

in 1254, is sent to Spain, married at Burgos and knighted, i. 46, 47;

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- brings home a charter for Gascony, i. 47; his father gives him Gascony, Ireland, Wales, Stamford, and Bristol, *ib.*; his wife comes to London in 1255, i. 48; he comes from Gascony, *ib.*
- in 1257, the Welsh go to war with him, i. 49.
- in 1260, has a quarrel with the earl of Gloucester, i. 54; is accused of complicity with the earl of Leicester, *ib.*; sends his followers to parliament and occupies the bishop of London's palace, i. 55; is reconciled with his father and Gloucester, *ib.*; goes to France, *ib.*
- in 1261, renews his oath to the provisions of Oxford, opposes his father, but is brought over by his mother, i. 57.
- in 1263, is on the side of the aliens, i. 59; occupies Windsor, *ib.*; at war with Llewelyn in Cheshire, *ib.*; at the Mine of Amiens, i. 60; occupies Gloucester, i. 61.
- in 1264, is at Oxford when the disturbers of peace are excommunicated, *ib.*; attacks the earl Ferrers, i. 61, 62; is informed of the danger of London, i. 62; defies the barons at Lewes, pursues the fugitives, but has to surrender, i. 63; is confined at Dover, i. 64; in 1265, agrees to peace with Leicester, i. 66; escapes from custody at Hereford, i. 67; recovers Cheshire, routs the younger Simon, *ib.*; is victorious at Evesham, i. 69; his son John born, i. 71.
- in 1266, besieges Axholme, i. 72; makes terms with the defenders at Northampton, *ib.*; comes to London in September, i. 74, 75.
- in 1267, is sent into the north, i. 77; reduces the refugees in Ely, i. 78.
- in 1269, goes to Palestine, i. 80.
- in 1270, Lewis IX. waits for him at

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- Tunis, *ib.*; enters the Greek sea, but has his crusade delayed by the death of Lewis, i. 81.
- in 1271, is wounded by an assassin at Acre, i. 81; ii. 10.
- in 1272, succeeds his father as king, i. 82.
- fealty sworn to him at Westminster, *ib.*
- wins glory in tournaments, *ib.*; does homage for his foreign provinces, *ib.*
- in 1274, settles Gascony, comes home and is crowned, i. 84.
- in 1275, enacts statutes at Westminster, i. 85; summons Llewelyn, *ib.*
- in 1276, has a grant of a fifteenth and negotiates with the Welsh, i. 86.
- in 1277, conquers Wales and receives homage, i. 87.
- in 1279, does homage at Amiens, i. 88.
- in 1282, is at war with Wales, and divides the conquered territory, i. 90.
- in 1283, builds a castle at Aberconway, *ib.*; the cross of Neath given up to him and the crown of the king of the Britons, i. 91; fulfils the prophecy of Merlin, *ib.*; raises a thirtieth, *ib.*
- in 1284 his son Edward born, *ib.*; his son Alfonso dies, i. 92; has an inquiry into the goods of the Jews hanged for money clipping, i. 93.
- in 1285, presents the cross of Neath to the nuns of S. Helen's, *ib.*; examines into the offences of the Londoners, i. 94; enacts a statute on the possessions of the religious, i. 95.
- in 1286, attends a parliament at Paris, *ib.*; and goes to Gascony, *ib.*; leaving Edmund of Cornwall regent, i. 96.
- in 1289, returns to England and punishes the judges, i. 97.
- in 1290 visits London, receives a present and hears complaints against

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- his servants, i. 98; marries two of his daughters, *ib.*; sends Qtho Grandison to Palestine, i. 99; loses his wife, *ib.*
- in 1291, goes to Newcastle to decide the Scottish claims, *ib.*; loses his mother, *ib.*
- in 1292, is at Balliol's election, i. 100.
- in 1293, has money from the Londoners, i. 101; comes from Scotland, and holds a parliament, *ib.*; restores the rights of the Londoners, i. 102.
- in 1301, sends an embassy to France, i. 103; has a tenth from the clergy, *ib.*; holds a round table at Falkirk, i. 104; his negotiations about the Scottish succession, i. 104-127; letter of Boniface VIII. to him; i. 108-112; his answer, i. 112-120; he sends documents to the abbot of St. Augustine's, i. 120-121.
- in 1302, his son Edward holds parliament for him, i. 127; sends an embassy to France, *ib.*; holds parliament at Westminster, i. 128; is reconciled to the earl Marshall, i. 127; has a visit from his brother-in-law, i. 129; holds parliament in October, *ib.*; marries his daughter Margaret to the earl of Hereford, *ib.*
- in 1303, sends ambassadors to France, *ib.*; makes peace, *ib.*; holds a parliament at Odham, i. 130; grants the charter of the merchants, i. 131.
- in 1304, has a tallage in London, i. 132; banishes the Flemings, i. 133; Stirling castle surrendered to him, *ib.*; returns from Scotland, i. 134; forbids the papal collector to act, *ib.*
- in 1305, issues the commissions of Trailbaston, i. 134, 135; quarrels with archbishop Winchelsey, i. 137; William Wallace tried as a traitor to, i. 139-142; has a great feast at

England, kings of—Edward I., *cont.*

- Westminster, in which his son presides, i. 142; sends a mission to the pope at Lyons, *ib.*
- in 1306, knight his son Edward, i. 144; is absolved from his oath touching the forests, *ib.*
- banishes Piers Gaveston, i. 151, 255; ii. 155.
- in 1307, is in Scotland, i. 150, 255.
- dies, i. 151, 255; ii. 27, 155.
- his burial, i. 257; ii. 155.
- had arranged his son's marriage, i. 258; ii. 39.
- his character and figure, ii. 3-6.
- panegyric on him, ii. 3-21.
- his creation of parliaments, ii. 10.
- his liberality to his knights, ii. 16.
- his laws, ii. 13.
- called the good king, ii. 27.
- an adventure of, in Gascony, ii. 94.
- Edward II., born in 1284 at Carnarvon, i. 92; his engagement to Margaret of Scotland, i. 109; is in Scotland in 1300, i. 107.
- in 1303, holds parliament for his father, i. 127; in 1305 quarrels with bishop Langton, i. 138; presides at a festival at Westminster, i. 143.
- prince of Wales, i. 146, 255.
- knighted, i. 146.
- goes to Winchester to see the queen on his way to Scotland, *ib.*
- succeeds to the crown, i. 152, 256; ii. 27, 155, 297.
- compared to a goat, i. 150; ii. 91, 92.
- removes Langton from the treasury, ii. 28.
- his favour shown to Gaveston, i. 151, 255, 256; ii. 28, 155, 156, 297.
- gives Richmond to John of Brittany, i. 256, 257.
- goes abroad to be married, i. 153, 258; ii. 156, 157.
- arrests the Templars, ii. 32.
- in 1308 is married at Boulogne, i. 142, 258; ii. 33, 157.
- is crowned, i. 152, 260, 261; ii. 34.

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 draws over the barons to support Gaveston, ii. 160.
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 in 1270 writes to the pope, i. 167; sends Gaveston away, ii. 162.
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 in 1272 restores Gaveston, i. 203, 271; ii. 42, 43, 175.
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- asks for absolution from his oath to the Ordinances, ii. 227.
- his negotiations with Lancaster, ii. 228, 229.
- collects forces at York, ii. 230.
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- postpones parliament, ii. 233.
- holds council at Leicester, ii. 54, 233;
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- makes peace, ii. 236.
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- knights his brother Thomas, i. 286.
- goes to Scotland, i. 286; ii. 56, 57, 241, 242; besieges Berwick, ii. 242;
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- in 1321, goes into the west and takes St. Briavels, ii. 256.
- his daughter Johanna born, i. 291.
- makes his brother Edmund earl of Kent, i. 292.
- is obliged to banish the Despensers, i. 293-297; ii. 258-261.
- besieges and takes Leeds castle, i. 299; ii. 73, 262, 302.
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- in 1322, moves northward, i. 301; ii. 74, 264, 265; at Burton on Trent, ii. 74, 75, 267, 303.
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- has a narrow escape at Thirsk, i. 304; ii. 79, 304.
- reaches Bridlington, ii. 79.
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- is persuaded not to go to France, ii. 276-280, 304, 306.
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- holds parliament at the Tower, i. 308.
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- sends his son to France, i. 309; ii. 85, 285, 286.
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- keeps Easter, 1327, at Peterborough, i. 333.
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- his marriage, i. 339; ii. 99.
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- and at Northampton, i. 341.
- agrees to his sister's marriage, i. 341; ii. 98, 99.
- holds parliament at Salisbury, i. 342.
- makes his brother and Mortimer earls, *ib.*
- visits London, i. 343.
- is reconciled with the earls, i. 344.
- in 1329 holds parliament at Westminster, i. 345.
- sends envoys to the pope, i. 348.
- in 1330 his eldest son born, i. 349; ii. 101.
- holds council at Oxford, i. 350; arrests Mortimer, ii. 101.
- holds parliament at Westminster, i. 352; ii. 201.
- attends a tournament at Dartford and has a narrow escape, i. 352, 353.
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- keeps Christmas at Wells, i. 356.
- in 1332, holds parliament and has grants, i. 357.
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- obtains the appointment of Bury to Durham, ii. 118.
- detains the temporalities of Winchester, i. 340.
- in 1334, holds parliament at York, i. 341.
- receives the homage of Edward Balliol, i. 341; ii. 119, 291.
- attends a tournament at Smithfield, i. 341.
- holds council at Nottingham, and parliament, i. 342.
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- receives the submission of the Scottish earls at Perth, ii. 124.
- writes to the king of France, ii. 125, 126.
- in 1336, makes a truce, i. 344; ii. 127; keeps Christmas at Hatfield, ii. 128.
- attends his brother's funeral, i. 345.
- in 1337, makes six earls, i. 344; ii. 129, 292.
- writes to the archbishop of York for an aid, ii. 130.
- assembles a fleet, i. 344; ii. 133, 137.
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- writes to the archbishop of York for prayers, ii. 135, 136.
- goes to meet the emperor at Antwerp, i. 369; ii. 138.
- in 1339 his son Lionel born, i. 369; ii. 140.
- writes a long letter to the pope and cardinals, ii. 140.
- invades France, ii. 148, 292.
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in 1215 excommunicated for his complicity with the English barons, i. 16.

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